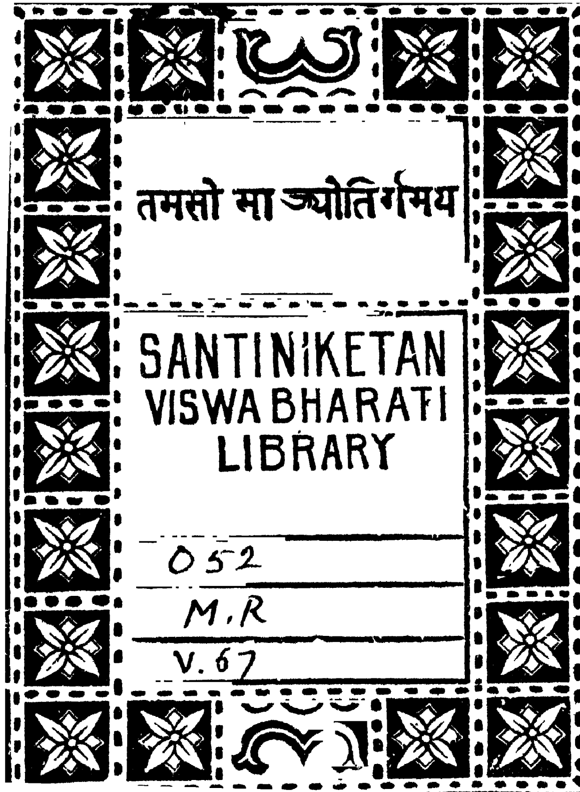


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(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

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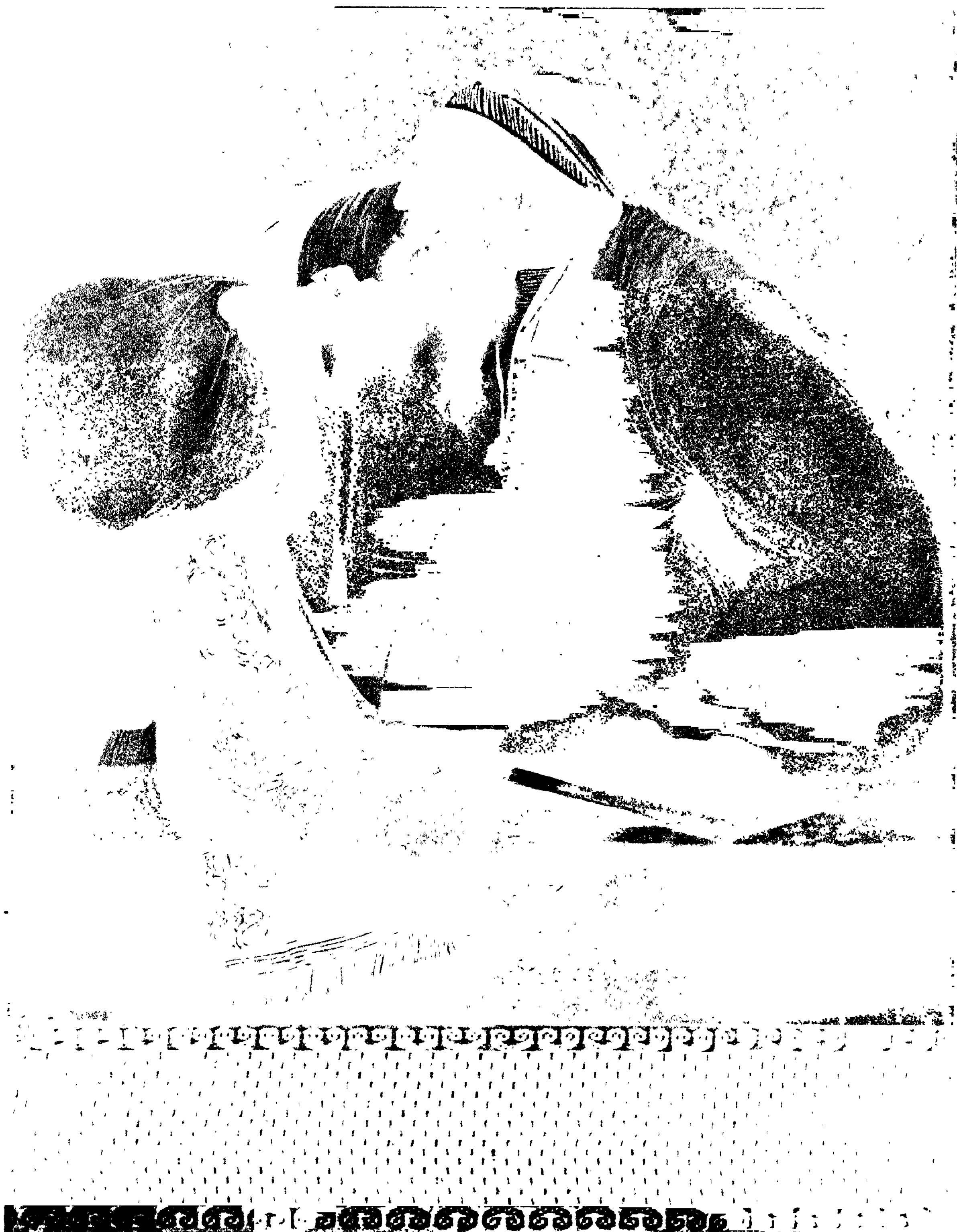
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NOTES

Lord Zetland On Communal Differences in India

In the course of a statement which Lord Zetland made in the House of Lords on the 14th December, he said :

> "What we have to aim at is a state of affairs under which the legislator will think of himself as an Indian first and as Hindu or Moslem afterwards. When that has been achieved the greatest stumbling block in the way of India's progress will have been removed."

This is perfectly correct, as every honest man will sincerely admit and as every disingenuous politician must declare aloud.

The present constitution, given to India after having been manufactured in Britain entirely by British politicians including Lord Zetland, aims at and has achieved to a very great extent a state of affairs under which the Hindu or Moslem Legislator is elected not as an Indian but as a Hindu or a Moslem and has to think of himself first and all the time as a Hindu or a Moslem, but never as an Indian. In fact, the word Indian does not, we believe, occur in the Government of India Act of 1935.

"The state of affairs" "to aim at" cannot be "achieved" unless the Communal Decision is knocked on the head and a new constitution is prepared solely according to the desire of Indians. When that is done, "the greatest stumbling block in the way of India's progress will have been removed." Does Lord Zetland agree, and will he do his bit to bring about this state of affairs ?

Feigned Impotence Vis-a-Vis Minorities

In the course of the same statement Lord Zetland observed :

> "We regard it as essential for constitutional advance —by whatever means advance is to be obtained—that assent of minorities should be secured as far as possible by agreement. But it is not within our power to impose an agreement upon minorities; that can only be reached by Indians themselves."

It was within the power of the British Government to impose the unwanted and unwelcome British-made constitution on the entire population of India, including both the majority and the minorities—at least on the majority. But now the same British Government pretends to be powerless in the face of the minorities ! The minorities bogey, as a political bogey, was its own creation. It aggravated political disagreement, but asks us to produce agreement, all the while extending its recognition to all who are intent on not agreeing.

The Muslim deputation to Lord Minto was a "command performance." Lord Morley told Lord Minto that it was the latter who "started the Moslem hare." So long as British statesmen have the power and the partronage to command "performances" and to start communal minority hares, it will be a very easy task indeed for Indians to reach an agreement among themselves !

The Congress Working Committee on the Present Political Situation

On the 22nd December last the Congress Working Committee released its resolution on

the present political situation passed at its recent Wardha session. The resolution states:

The Working Committee has studied with regret the recent pronouncement of the Secretary of State. His reference to the communal question merely clouds the issue and takes the public mind off the central theme that the British have failed to define their war aims especially with regard to India's freedom.

In the opinion of the Working Committee the communal question will not be satisfactorily solved so long as different parties are to look to a third party through whom they expect to gain special privileges even though it may be at the expense of the nation. The rule of a foreign power over the people involves a division among the elements composing it. The Congress has never concealed from itself the necessity of uniting the various divisions. It is the one organization which in order to maintain its national character has consistently tried, not always without success, to bring about unity.

The Working Committee is convinced that lasting unity will only come when foreign rule is completely withdrawn. Events that have happened since the last meeting of the Committee confirm this opinion. The Working Committee are aware that independence of India cannot be maintained if there are warring elements within the country. The Committee are, therefore, entitled to read in the British Government's raising the communal question reluctance to part with power.

The Constituent Assembly as proposed by the Congress is the only way to attain final settlement of the communal question. The proposals contemplate fullest representation of all communities with separate electorate, if necessary. It has already been made clear on behalf of the Congress that minority rights will be protected to the satisfaction of all the minorities concerned, difference if any being referred to an impartial tribunal.

Congressmen must have by now realized that independence is not to be won without very hard work. Since the Congress is pledged to non-violence, final sanction behind it is civil resistance, which is part of satyagraha. Satyagraha means goodwill towards all, especially towards opponents. Therefore, it is the duty of individual Congressmen to promote and seek goodwill. Success of the programme of khaddar, as an accepted symbol of non-violence, harmony and economic independence, is indispensable.

The Working Committee, therefore, hope that all Congress organizations by vigorous prosecution of the constructive programme will prove themselves fit to take up the call when it comes.—*U. P.*

This resolution has been very considerately worded.

The Congress Working Committee say in effect that the continuance of British rule and dominance stands in the way of the solution of the communal question. Of course, British imperialists hold that Britishers *have* to be in India to rule it because different communities—particulartly the Muslims and the Hindus, are at loggerheads with one another. So, here is a vicious circle! The Committee are right.

Well, if the British imperial philanthropists would feign leave India to her fate as soon as communal conflicts and clashes ceased, why do they not make strenuous efforts to bring about unity among the different communities? It seems, their function is merely to piously demand unity whilst giving statutory and other official recognition to all divisions and cleavages that exist or may be brought about in our ranks. Economists have praised division of labour and have proved its necessity in the economic sphere. But it is only machiavellian politicians who would, in the political sphere, assign to Indians the sole and exclusive duty of bringing about unity and to their British masters the duty of merely dwelling on the supreme need of unity without doing anything to promote it;—some would add, while all the time passing laws and making rules which promote disunity.

We do not deny that the Congress has all along honestly tried to bring about unity. But it has adopted wrong means and methods involving humouring of the Muslim communalists.

We think the Committee perfectly right in holding that lasting unity can come only when foreign rule is completely withdrawn. They ought to have mentioned "the events that have happened since the last sitting of the Committee" which "confirm this opinion." That would not have made the resolution very much longer than it is. Did the Committee have in mind Mr. Jinnah's and Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Haq's antics and the communal disturbances in different parts of India?

The resolution rightly says:

"The Working Committee are aware that independence of India cannot be maintained if there are warring elements within the country. The Committee are, *therefore*, entitled to read in the British Government's raising the communal question reluctance to part with power."

The use of the word 'therefore', which we have italicized above, suggests that the Committee have drawn their conclusion from the premise stated by them. But, the former does not directly and plainly follow from the latter. We can guess the intermediate links in the chain of the Committee's argument. But the Committee have not supplied these links. Perhaps, if they had been expressed plainly and in full, the indictment of the British Government would have been extremely harsh, and would not have been in keeping with the suave language of the resolution. But if anybody and any body are at present immune from the displeasure of the Censor and the wrath of the sedition section of the Indian Penal Code, certainly they are Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee. If they will not be explicit, it is not for us poor and weak

journalists to try to unfold the meaning of what they suggest.

The Constituent Assembly is a big topic and cannot be briefly discussed.

We do not subscribe to all that has been claimed for the khaddar programme, though we use khaddar, and though we are for a thoroughly non-violent prosecution of our struggle for freedom.

As we did not take part in the civil resistance campaign in the past and cannot promise to do so in the immediate or distant future it is not for us to complain that the resolution does not clearly indicate under what circumstances and when Congress organizations may be called upon to offer satyagraha. But by talking for months vaguely of the probable coming struggle, the Congress has given long notice of the fight (if it comes at all) to the British Government, enabling it to make preparations to successfully meet its opponents and frustrate their efforts, with the help of the henchmen of the bureaucracy and other " warring elements."

Janab Jinnah Saheb's " Day of Deliverance "—Another Command Performance ?

It was years after the date of the Muslim Deputation to Lord Minto that Maulana Mohamed Ali declared it to have been a " command performance " and readers of Lord Morley's *Recollections* learnt from that book that that Secretary of State for India wrote to that Viceroy, " you started the Moslem hare." Nobody can now foretell whether in future Janab Jinnah Saheb's " Day of Deliverance " would stand revealed as another " command performance." But many have already given it that name.

In the meantime, however, many influential Mussalmans and many important Muslim organizations have condemned Mr. Jinnah for his *fatwa.*

One wonders from what in his opinion the Muslims have obtained deliverance. Indians, of whom they are a part, are still in bondage. Along with other Indians they continue to be exploited and remain impoverished. The Congress ministries, whose *voluntary* resignation has led Mr. Jinnah to rejoice and to call upon fellow-believers to rejoice, tried to free Muslims along with other Indians from political subjection and economic exploitation. They also tried to free the country (of which Muslims are a part of the population) from the ravages of disease and the intellectually blighting effect of illiteracy and ignorance.

Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly complained of the tyranny to which Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces have been subjected, without being able to prove a single case of such tyranny. No British Governor of a province can be accused of being hostile or indifferent to Moslem interests or welfare; nor can the Viceroy or the Secretary of State. These high functionaries have of their own accord praised the work of the Congress ministers. Minority interests are a special responsibility of the Governors and the Governor-General. In not a single province under a Congress ministry has the Governor found it necessary to intervene, as he has the power to do, to protect a single Mussalman from tyranny. Dr. Rajendraprasad, Congress president, proposed that the Chief Justice of India might be asked to inquire into Mr. Jinnah's allegations of tyranny. But the latter said that he had submitted his case to the Viceroy. But Lord Linlithgow has evidently treated the allegations with silent contempt; otherwise why should Janab Jinnah Saheb's latest demand be for a Royal Commission to inquire into the so-called cases of tyranny ?

For their administration the Congress ministers were responsible to the legislatures of their respective provinces. All these ministries had Muslim members and all the provincial legislatures had representatives of the Muslim community elected solely by Muslim electorates. The Muslim members of the provincial Congress cabinets have stoutly given the lie to Mr. Jinnah's accusations. And in no legislature of any Congress administered province has any Muslim member brought a general charge of oppressing the Muslims against the ministers.

There is no likelihood of a royal commission sitting in judgment over the Congress ministries. But if a royal commission had been appointed, the members of those cabinets would have been perfectly justified in refusing to be judged by such a commission, as Dr. Katju, ex-Congress minister of U. P., has said he would have done. Their responsibility was to their legislatures. As these bodies, far from convicting them of tyranny over the Muslim community, did not even seek to do so, they can afford to treat Mr. Jinnah's fulminations with contempt.

And Mr. Jinnah himself shifted his ground before his day of deliverance came. But we have already given more space to comments on his mischievous *fatwa* than perhaps we ought to have done. So we must now stop.

Jinnah's "Day of Deliverance" Proves A Damp Squib

Professor Humayun Kabir, M.L.C., says in the course of a statement to the press:

Mr. Jinnah's Day of Deliverance has proved the utter hollowness of his claim to be the "sole and genuine" leader of Indian Moslems. It evoked hardly any response from even staunch Muslim leaguers and as for Mussalmans belonging to other organizations, they treated it with the contempt it deserves. As Moulana Abul Kalam Azad put it tersely, the Indian Mussalmans would not have suffered "unspeakable oppressions and atrocities" patiently for two years until it should suit Mr. Jinnah to come to their deliverance after the alleged oppressors had already voluntarily resigned from power.

We are, therefore, not surprised that the so-called "Deliverance Day" proved such a damp squib. Few people in Calcutta seemed to know about it and the meeting organized to protest against Mr. Jinnah's pleas were far better attended than the meetings organized to support him. Even more significant is the utter failure of Jinnahites to hold successful meetings in Delhi or Ajmer. For in Delhi, the meetings at the Jame Musjid was organized by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema in celebration of Unity Day and resolutions were passed appealing for communal unity and co-operation. In Ajmer, the General Secretary of the All-India Khilafat Committee ridiculed the idea of Mr. Jinnah's Deliverance Day and did not allow Jinnahites to indulge in their mock-heroics. The same story was repeated in the Jame Musjid at Dehra Ismail Khan and in Peshawar, and a hundred other places, but it is unnecessary to repeat instances, for those who are not determined to be blind can have hardly any doubt that Mr. Jinnah, however popular he may be with those who desire Indian disunity and communal discord, does not command the allegiance or confidence of a very large section of Indian Muslims.

Professor Kabir also makes caustic comments on the Viceroy's choice of spokesmen for the Muslims of India:

The Viceroy in his famous cavalcade of fifty-two could not find any place for Dr. Khan Saheb or Khan Bahadur Alla Bux, though they were the Premiers of two Moslem Majority Provinces, and the representative chosen from Sind was Sir Abdulla Haroon who could not even secure return to the Sind Assembly in the last general election. One is reminded of the fate of Mr. Jinnah himself in the days when he belonged to the Congress or was suspected of sympathy with it, for was he not considered unfit to be a member of the Third Round Table Conference? One also remembers the days when there were two Moslem Leagues and Mr. Jinnah, because of his then liberal views, had to retreat to practise in London.

Today, because Mr. Jinnah speaks for the most reactionary section of Indian Moslems, the British Government cannot conceal its anxiety to foist upon him the leadership of the Indian Mussalmans.

We have always held that Mr. Jinnah suffers from an inherent inferiority complex and cannot conceive that Moslems can defend themselves without the protection of a third party. But the young Moslem of today has greater confidence in himself and his own energy and power and courage to protect himself and all that he holds of value in life. After the patent failure of Mr. Jinnah's Deliverance Day, none but the darkest-dyed imperialist or agent of imperialism can hold that he can speak for Moslem India.

Rabindranath Tagore on "Christmas Day, 1939"

SANTINIKETAN, Dec. 25.

Rabindranath Tagore has given expression to his view of the bitter sorrows of the world at the present season in a song dedicated to "Christmas Day, 1939."

The Christmas day service was held this morning in the Mandir, and was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Andrews.—*A. P.*

The Poet's own translation of the song is printed elsewhere.

Prof. H. C. Mukherjee's Fourth Endowment

Dr. Harendra Coomar Mukherjee, M.L.A., Head of the Department of English, Calcutta University, and President of the Indian Christian Association, has now made his fourth endowment of Rs. 50,000 to the Calcutta University for educational advancement of Indian Christians. This amount brings up his total endowment to the University to Rs. 4,00,000 (four lakhs).

The first and the second endowments of Rs. 2,50,000 (2½ lakhs) were made in the name of his deceased father and the 3rd and the 4th, made recently, are in the name of his deceased mother Prasannamayee Mukherjee. It is understood that Dr. Mukherjee will make a further endowment to the University.

Professor Mukherjee is a great Indian, a great Bengali, a great Nationalist, and, needless to add, a true and good Christian.

"Independence Day" Declaration of the Congress

At its recent Wardha session last month the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution on "Independence Day", which is an annual function in celebration of the decision of the Congress that Independence should be and is the political goal of India:

"The Congress Working Committee draw the attention of all Congress Committees, Congressmen and the country to the necessity of observing properly and with due solemnity the Independence Day on January 26, 1940.

"Ever since 1930 this day has been regularly observed all over the country and it has become a landmark in our struggle for independence.

"Owing to the crisis through which India and the world are now passing and the possibility of our struggle for freedom being continued in an intenser form, the next celebration of this day has a special significance attached to it.

"This celebration must therefore not only be the declaration of our national will of freedom but a preparation for that struggle and a pledge to disciplined action.

CALL TO CONGRESSMEN

"The Working Committee, therefore, call upon all Congress Committees and individual Congressmen to take the pledge prescribed below in public meetings called for the purpose. Where owing to illness or other physical disability they are unable to be present at a meeting, they should take the pledge in their homes individually or in groups.

"The Working Committee advise organisations and individuals to notify their Provincial Congress Committees of the meetings held as well as the individual or group pledges taken.

"The Committee hope that none who does not believe in the contents of the pledge will take it merely for the sake of form. Those Congressmen who do not believe in the prescribed pledge should notify their disapproval stating reasons thereof to the Provincial Congress Committees giving their names and addresses.

"This information is required not for the purpose of any disciplinary action but for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of disapproval of anything contained in the pledge. The Working Committee have no desire to impose the pledge on unwilling Congressmen.

"In a non-violent organisation compulsion can have little place. The launching of civil disobedience requires the disciplined fulfilment of the essential conditions thereof."

The following is the full text of the pledge :

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people as of any other people to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life so that they may have full opportunities of growth.

"We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually.

"We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain independence

"We pledge ourselves anew to the independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained.

"We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent direction in particular require successful working of the constructive programme of khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability.

"We shall seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed.

"We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed.

"We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system. we have no quarrel with Englishmen whether officials or non-officials

"We know that distinctions between the caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished and the Hindus have to forget these distinctions in their daily conduct. Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct though our religious faiths may be different. In our mutual relations, we will act as children of Mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

"Charkha and khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements nothing but khadi and so far as possible, products of village handicrafts only and endeavour to make others to do likewise.

"We pledge ourselves to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress, whenever it may come, for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India."

We agree with the Congress Working Committee that "Independence Day" should be observed properly and with due solemnity on January 26. The Committee's desire that the observance should not be merely formal, and of course not hypocritical, has been very clearly expressed. They "hope that none who does not believe in the contents of the pledge will take it merely for the sake of form." "Those Congressmen," they add, "who do not believe in the prescribed pledge should notify their disapproval stating reasons therefor to the Provincial Congress Committee, giving their names and addresses." In order to ascertain the real extent of this non-conformity the Committee have taken care to explain that "This information is required not for the purpose of any disciplinary action but for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of disapproval of anything contained in the pledge. The Working Committee have no desire to impose the pledge on unwilling Congressmen. In a non-violent organization compulsion can have little place. The launching of civil disobedience requires the disciplined fulfilment of the essential conditions thereof."

Though we are not Congressmen, it may be permissible for us to make a few remarks on the "Independence Day" Pledge.

The "Independence Day" Pledge

The reason why "India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence" is stated in the Pledge to be that "The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation

of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually." Supposing that the British Government in India had not based itself on the exploitation of the masses and had not ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually, would it not have been necessary and desirable for India to be free and completely independent ? We think, and we believe Congressmen also think, it would have been. The ideal of existence for human beings is not to be merely well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed and properly looked after human cattle, but also to be masters of themselves and their affairs and possessed of the capacity for and the power of self-direction in the onward march of progress. No doubt, it is easier to rouse people to make strenuous efforts to regain independence by telling them how they have been deprived of their rights and oppressed and how their country has been ruined economically, politically, culturally and spiritually, than by simply calling their attention to the ideal of human existence. Nevertheless, in order that the people may carry on the struggle for freedom with full vigour, keeping before them the realization of the true ideal of life, they should be roused to action by both the methods mentioned above.

Has The British Government Ruined India Economically ?

We shall now consider whether the British Government has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. This can be done here only very briefly. If such ruin has taken place in any direction during British rule, it need not be considered whether it has been brought about deliberately or is an indirect result of British rule and the British connection and contact with India.

That the indigenous industries and trade of India has been ruined during British rule admits of no doubt. How this has come to pass is narrated in Major B. D. Basu's book on the *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries.* That endeavours have been going on for some time past for the resuscitation of the dying and dead indigenous industries of India and for the starting and carrying on of large-scale industries with the help of power-driven machinery, does not disprove the fact of the ruin. It is no doubt a fact that at present India produces more goods than in the pre-British period of her history. But most of the large-scale industries are owned and carried on by foreigners and most of the profits go to them. Hence, though the quantity of goods at present produced in India exceeds what was produced in the pre-British period, the volume of production does not go to ameliorate the condition of the masses of the people. Similarly, the volume of the inland and overseas trade of India may be at present greater than before. But formerly all the trade was practically in the hands of the people of the country. But now most of the trade is in foreign hands. The transport of goods within the country, the coastal traffic and the carrying of goods and passengers across the seas has mostly gone out of the hands of the people of the country. The State Railways in India are only nominally the property of the Indian nation. They can be really so only when the country becomes politically and economically independent.

Has the British Government Ruined India Politically ?

The very fact that India is a subject country proves the truth of the statement that India has been ruined politically. The Indian States are only nominally self-ruling. Even the rulers of the biggest States are no more independent, no more masters of themselves, than the humblest man in British India. The final political power does not rest with any Indian or Indians in India but with foreigners outside India living far from the country.

Any comparison of the kind of administration prevailing at present with what was prevalent at the time of the gradual occupation of the country by the British is beside the point. Like the majority of monarchs of those days in countries outside India, the Indian monarchs were autocrats. But whether Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim or Sikh, they were Indian, and the final power was in their hands. There is now some local self-government. But the local self-governing bodies do not possess more power than what the village communities existing at the time of the British occupation exercised. There has been a brief spell of so-called provincial autonomy. But the constitution, which has pleased no community, class or section of the people, was British-made and is unalterable by Indians.

There is at present undoubtedly a greater political awakening through the length and breadth of India than during the period immediately preceding the British period. Our political consciousness is of the modern type. There is a feeling of national oneness which did not exist at the time of the British occupation. But it cannot be said that the British

Government has deliberately and knowingly brought this political consciousness into being. It is the work of the Time-spirit, whatever that expression may mean. For, we find a similar awakening and a more fruitful one in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, China and Japan—countries which were never subject to British rule. But, though political awakening and sense of national unity are not peculiar products of British rule alone and were not produced of set purpose by the British Government, we need not quarrel with anybody who may say that the British rulers of India builded better than they knew or wanted to.

Has the British Government Ruined India Culturally ?

We have not been able to understand exactly what the Congress leaders mean by saying that the British Government has ruined India culturally. The culture of a country includes its arts and crafts, its educational endeavours, its religion, its literature in the broadest sense, its musical and other entertainments and its science. Some of our indigenous crafts are no longer in existence and some are in a moribund condition. The Indian styles of architecture are no longer followed by our builders, but somewhat new styles of a mixed character have come into existence under British influence. An attempt is being made to revive a purely Indian style in a somewhat modified form. Perhaps no purely Indian style of sculpture is any longer followed, but successful efforts are being made to evolve an Indian style of sculpture.

In painting, Abanindranath Tagore and his disciples and followers have been successful in producing works which are the fruits of their genius. Other Indian painters, who though not his disciples or the disciples of his disciples, have been indirectly inspired and stimulated by their examples.

Seeing that Rabindranath Tagore alone has composed far more songs (and set them to music) than any master musician of the East or the West, living or dead, it cannot be said that the British Government has succeeded in ruining India culturally in the sphere of music, though it has done little to encourage music. Musical conferences are the order of the day.

We have no definite information as to the extent to which music was cultivated and the art of dancing was practised in the pre-British period. Nor have we any precise idea of the indigenous theatricals of those days. Dancing had long ceased to be looked upon as respectable in many parts of the country. But at present many girls and young women of respectable families dance in public, and new dance forms have been evolved—particularly at Santiniketan. As in music, so in dancing and the histrionic arts, Tagore's achievement has been very remarkable. The modern Indian stage owes a great deal to Western influence. The British Government cannot claim any credit for all these developments. The cinema is an entirely non-Indian form of entertainment introduced into India. But there does not seem to be any fine type of culture in it.

In Science in its modern sense India has not produced as many masters as even some small countries of the West. But it must be said that it has produced during the British period some master minds in science, State encouragement to science of a very meagre description notwithstanding. Such scientists did not exist in India in the pre-British medieval India.

As regards literature, we can speak only of Bengal's achievement from personal knowledge. During the British period Bengali literature has made remarkable progress both in prose and poetry, so that Bengal now possesses a literature which surpasses any which she possessed before, both in quality and volume. This may be true of other provinces also. Both Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore—acknowledged masters in the republic of Bengali letters, have ascribed the flowering of Bengali literary genius, partly, to Bengal's contact with English literature in particular and Western learning in general. We do not know whether this is true of the modern literatures of other provinces.

Of course, the progress of Bengali literature has not been due to State help. On the contrary, for some years past the Bengal Government's text-book committees have been debasing school literature.

As regards education, there was more literacy in Bengal (and probably in some other provinces, too) in the immediately pre-British period than now. And there were more primary schools per mille of population and more Sanskrit seminaries than now. But in the acquisition of knowledge in the modern sense and in higher learning in the modern sense, the country has made greater progress than before—though this progress is not worth speaking of in comparison with that of the civilized countries of the world. The London County Council spends more money on elementary education alone than the British Gov-

ernment in India spends on all sorts of education combined in the whole of British India !

Though the number of Sanskrit seminaries is smaller than before, modern scholars possess a wider knowledge of the treasures of Sanskrit and Pali literatures than in the age just preceding British rule, and Indian archaeology has made some progress. The State in India can claim a little credit for the small amount of money which it has spent for the conservation of ancient literatures and monuments and for researches connected therewith.

Religion forms part of culture. Whether there was more of true religion in India just before the rise of the British power in India than there is in modern times will be briefly indicated in the next note.

While considering whether the British Government has ruined India culturally or not, we were reminded of a passage in a Bulletin, dated November 7th, 1938, received from the China Information Committee. It occurs therein in an article entitled "The Cultural Problem of China" and runs thus :

> "When two entirely different cultures meet and clash, two things may happen to the one which emerges second best from the contest. First, it may cease to grow and perhaps, even to go out of existence, or it may re-orientate itself and carry on to a greater future. The latter process requires a great deal of cultural vitality and an abundance of willingness to unlearn and learn."

Indian culture, it seems to us, possesses this vitality and some Indians at any rate possess sufficient willingness to unlearn and learn. Hence our culture has not received its death blow at the hands of any adversary and may reorientate itself and carry on to a greater future.

On the whole our opinion is that the British Government has not ruined our culture in India. Neither has it given it any encouragement worth speaking of.

Has the British Government Ruined India Spiritually ?

Whether the Government of the East India Company or that of the British Crown ever intended or tried to destroy India's spirituality need not be considered. Only the present degree and extent of India's spirituality need be compared with what existed before the rise of the British power in India. Such comparison is not easy, for two reasons: it is not easy to give an exact definition of Indian spirituality, and we do not possess any adequate knowledge of the spiritual condition of India just before British rule. Nevertheless, let us place some considerations before the reader.

At present the places of pilgrimage of Hindus, Muslims and others are visited by more pilgrims than before. This may or may not be due wholly or mainly to the facilities for travel given by railways, steamers, etc. This fact may not be a test of spirituality. Indians at present spend more on the establishment and maintenance of orphanages, asylums for widows, hospitals and other charitable institutions, and for the relief of sufferers from famine, flood, earthquake and storms than before. This may be an indication of greater spirituality. At present, there are every year more Saraswati Pujas and some other Pujas and more ceremonial cow sacrifices than before. What is their 'spiritual' significance ?

Ramakrishna Sevashrams (Homes of Service for Suffering Humanity) have come into existence during British rule; they did not exist before. They are the results of spirituality.

Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Hindu Mahasabha, Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha, Bharat Sevashram Sangha, Hindu Mission and other Hindu organizations may give some indications of the growth or decline of Hindu spirituality if their non-political objects and activities be considered. These arose during British rule.

Similarly among Muslims the Ahmadiya movement, the Wahabi movement, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, etc., arose during British rule and may be considered in order to decide whether Muslims are now more spiritual than before.

As regards Buddhists the Mahabodhi Society comes to mind. It belongs to modern times.

All the other Indian religious communities need not be mentioned exhaustively.

Thugs had a 'religion' of their own. Thuggee was suppressed during British rule. The cremation of living widows with their dead husbands, the throwing of babies sacrificially into the sea at Ganga Sagar, female infanticide among Rajputs, self-torture during the Chadak festival, and other similar practices were put a stop to during British rule. This fact may be taken into account for determining whether our spirituality has increased or decreased.

As Mahatma Gandhi was born and is living during British rule and as the truth, non-violence, soul-force and purity which he teaches by precept and example are spiritual qualities, it may be held that the British Government

has not ruined Indian spirituality so far as these are concerned.

We have not yet mentioned any religious and social reform movements. Some will consider them as marks of the decline or death of spirituality, others as those of its opposite. But it may be permissible to mention them.

The Brāhma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Theosophical Society, the Radhasoami Sect, Sri Aurobindo's Movement, the Ahmadiya Sect, many Christian Ashramas, and the like did not exist before the rise of the British power in India; they exist now. So far as we are aware, reforming bodies and movements similar to these did not exist in India at the time immediately preceding the establishment of British rule in India.

The British Period of Indian history can claim as its own Rammohun Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Dayananda Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Keshub Chunder Sen, Sivanath Sastri, Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo and others. Do their lives indicate the utter ruin of India's spirituality?

On the whole, we are of the opinion that the British Government has not succeeded in ruining Indian spirituality, if it ever tried to do so, which we doubt. If it has, we do not understand what spirituality means and what ruining India spiritually means.

A New Enemy of Spirituality in India

If the British Government ever intended to destroy spirituality or religiosity in India, it seems to have given up that intention. It favours what is called religious education in educational institutions and wants, in the pursuit of its imperial policy, that Hindus, Muslims and other religious communities should be very orthodox, at least in the observance of the externals of their religions.

The enemy of spirituality which India has now to meet is not the British Government. A new enemy has to be met. And that is Marxism, Leninism, or communism—whichever name may be preferred. We recognize the good that there is in communism. But as it does not attach any importance to spirituality, we have called it an enemy of spirituality.

Bengal Co-operative Bill

The Report of the Select Committee on the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill was placed before the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 19th December, 1939. The original bill was an exceedingly reactionary one. In fact, it would not be any exaggeration to state that it was the most retrograde provincial co-operative bill in India. The bill as amended now by the Select Committee removes or modifies some of its most objectionable features; but even in its amended form it is an extremely undesirable, unwise and retrogressive piece of legislative measure. In many of the provinces in which provincial co-operative acts have come into operation in place of the Indian Co-operative Societies Act, 1912 (Act II of 1912), the provincial governments, in the respective provinces, considered it necessary, prior to introducing such measures, to make a public enquiry into the working of co-operative societies in their provinces. Further enquiries have since been started in some of these provinces to revise the provincial measures in the light of the experiences gained. It is rather extraordinary that in spite of the repeated requests made in the legislature and in the press for such an enquiry, the authorities in Bengal have wholly disregarded this most reasonable demand.

As is well known, at the outset, when co-operative legislation was introduced in this country, the Government of India declared that it was their intention that co-operative organisation should, in its essence, be a popular movement; that no efforts be spared to strengthen among the general public the feeling that it was to be based upon self-reliance and freedom from outside control and dictation and that the Government should not allow co-operation in the country to develop into an official concern managed by the State. The present bill not only runs counter to the enlightened and sound policy thus laid down, but, in fact, seeks to convert co-operative societies in the province to so many government-managed concerns and non-official co-operative workers into servile tools of the co-operative department. In view of the deplorable condition of co-operative societies in Bengal, and of the charges that have from time to time been made against the way co-operative societies are managed and controlled by the department—charges which the authorities concerned have so far been unable to meet—we consider that there can be no justification on their part to place the present bill on the statute book before an independent and impartial enquiry into the working of co-operative societies in the province has been made.

Co-operative organisation is now universally recognised as a potent agency for the uplift of poor and indigent people all over the world.

As the passing of the present bill would practically amount to sounding the death-knell of the co-operative movement in Bengal, which if properly worked could be developed into an effective and powerful instrument for the welfare of the vast mass of economically helpless and inefficient people of the Province, it is to be hoped that no effort would be spared by our legislators to prevent such a disaster.

Note of Dissent

Appended to the Report of the Select Committee on the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill is a lengthy and ably written Note of Dissent by Mr. Satyapriya Banerjee, M.A., B.L., of Rajshahi. Mr. Surendramohan Maitra, B.L., also of Rajshahi, in a separate Minute expresses complete agreement with Mr. Satyapriya Banerjee's valuable Note. Satyapriya Babu deals at some length with some of the provisions of the Bill which have evoked opposition and have given rise to prolonged controversies. One of these provisions refers to the question, as to how far it is desirable, in the interests of the future progress of a genuine co-operative movement, to encourage further the principle of unlimited liability. As he points out, as primary societies constitute the foundation on which the whole edifice of the co-operative movement rests, it is of the utmost importance to consider, as to whether the liability of these societies should be limited, or unlimited, or whether the members should be given the option to decide as to the nature of the liability. He says :

> Obviously its application in any given case must result in loss, and often in great misery to, and ruin of the members for whose benefit the societies were formed, besides shaking confidence in the movement over a considerable area. If it is contended, however, (as is done by the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee), that unlimited liability has not been, or will not be, enforced, it must be admitted that it has been a dangerous sham and that a fraud has been perpetrated on the creditors, in that it has served to create a false sense of security in them. In fact, the present Registrar in his scheme of rehabilitation of the co-operative credit movement has indicated the danger of serious agrarian troubles to which the realisation of assets of societies may lead.

Further :

> Whatever might have been said of it (unlimited liability) at the inception of the movement, the experience of the last few years points definitely to the conclusion that the expectations that were originally entertained with regard to it have not been fulfilled and that it has outlived its period of utility;....the conclusion becomes irresistible that option as to the choice of liability should be left to the members themselves and not superimposed from above.

Satyapriya Babu quotes a number of expert authorities, foreign and Indian, in support of his view. We think he is right in coming to the conclusion, in the circumstances stated above, that there is absolutely no justification for unlimited liability.

Maulvi Azhar Ali, another member of the Select Committee, also, in a separate Note, urges that unlimited liability should not be forced upon societies, and that a clear provision should be made giving full liberty to start societies with limited liability.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the subject came up for consideration at the All-India Conference of Registrars, held at Delhi, in the middle of December, 1939. We understand that when the question was put to vote, there was an equal number of votes on each side, and finally the case in favour of unlimited liability was adopted by the Committee, on the Chairman, Sir M. L. Darling, casting his vote in favour of it. This strengthens the view taken by Mr. Satyapriya Banerjee in the matter.

Satyapriya Babu further urges an absolute separation of audit from the department, suggests the appointment of an independent non-official committee for advising the Registrar, proposes the selection of a properly qualified person as Registrar, in accordance with the observations made on the subject by the Maclagan Committee on Co-operation, the Royal Commission on Agriculture, and the Reserve Bank of India, recommends that non-officials should be placed on the same footing with officials in the matter of liability for mal-administration, audit, inspection, supervision, etc., insists that the rule-making power under the Act should be confined within proper limits, opposes the provision enabling the Registrar to exercise undue power over societies and members in the matter of reconstitution of committees of management, asks that societies should be released entirely from official control, etc., etc. We commend to the notice of the Provincial Government the warning contained in the following observations made by Mr. Satyapriya Banerjee :

> The Bill has been so framed as to make the Registrar the centre of the picture and not the society, on the assumption that "a tightening of official control by clothing the Registrar with very wide powers over the movement and subjecting the co-operative institutions to tutelage and spoon-feeding in a larger measure will improve the movement in this province," forgetting that the essential character of the co-operative movement, *viz.*, that it is a people's movement, will thereby be lost, that self-respecting and independent persons will fight shy of the movement, non-official initiative

and enterprise will be discouraged and sense of responsibility will be destroyed among those to whose care the institutions should be committed.

Audit of Co-operative Societies

A most vulnerable feature of the administration of co-operative societies of Bengal has been the system of audit followed by the Co-operative Department. The auditors are appointed by the Government, they carry out the orders of the Registrar, and are entrusted with all sorts of miscellaneous departmental duties, in addition to the onerous work of audit. The salaries of auditors are met from the proceeds of a levy made on the societies. The basic principle of a sound system of audit is that the auditing authority should not have any responsibility in the work of management, control and supervision of a concern, the accounts of which are to be audited either by him or by any person working under his supervision. The system of audit as at present followed in respect of co-operative societies in Bengal completely contravenes this essential principle. No independent, impartial and efficient audit can be expected from an arrangement which requires officers to sit in judgment on their own action or of those of their fellow-officers or their superiors and whose appointment, promotion, transfer, etc., depend entirely upon the discretion of the Registrar. The situation, therefore, demands a complete overhauling of the existing method of audit and its substitution by an arrangement which would be free from the defects of the present system. The attention of the authorities has been repeatedly drawn to the inefficiency of the present system, but no suitable action to remedy this grave defect appears so far to have been taken. It is extremely unfortunate that, although the Select Committee in a note appended to their report admit that a separation of audit from the administration is desirable, the bill does not propose any proper change of the system which has been found to be extremely defective in its working and been repeatedly condemned by a succession of responsible committees and commissions, representative conferences and leading public men. Mr. Satyapriya Banerjee in his Note of Dissent referred to above quotes the opinions of some of these in support of the view that the audit agency of co-operative societies should be wholly independent of the Co-operative Department. In this connection the view expressed by Mr. N. R. Sarker in his Note on the problem of Rural Credit, written as Finance Minister, will be read with interest. He says :

The present system of departmental audit of the co-operative societies does not appear to be satisfactory as it cannot ensure the obtaining of that condition which is desired. It does not engender public confidence very much, nor does it give the real position very clearly. The attempt should be to make the audit more and more in the nature of commercial audits to be undertaken by independent auditors. But even if in the present atmosphere audit by an official agency cannot be dispensed with, it is essential to ensure the independence of the auditors, by making the audit staff, divorced from the administrative staff and by seeing that their departmental loyalty does not stand in the way of a frank and full exposure of defects in the working of the co-operative institutions. If audit is to be done by Government staff, a separate department for the auditing of co-operative societies and land mortgage banks should be set up.

Almost similar views are expressed by both Dr. J. P. Niyogi, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, and Dr. J. C. Sinha, Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta, the former in the course of a public lecture at the Calcutta University and the latter in the course of his note on the Bill.

Death of Sir Daniel Hamilton

Sir Daniel Hamilton passed away at his home in Scotland on the 6th December, 1939. Sir Daniel was one of the most ardent advocates of the co-operative movement; in fact, he was intimately associated with the work of co-operative societies in this country from the very beginning, and worked actively to further the cause of co-operation up to the close of his life. He was a member of the Committee on Co-operation of the Imperial Legislative Council of India, whose deliberations led to the passing of the first legislative measure on co-operation in India, namely, the Indian Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904. As a businessman Sir Daniel rose to be the senior partner of Messrs. Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co., the well-known shipping firm, and became President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Though he retired from business about a generation ago, advancing age did not in any way abate his interest in the welfare of the people of this country or diminish his enthusiasm for the causes he upheld. In the Memorandum that he submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the White Paper on Indian Constitutional Reforms he asked, " Will the Constitution outlined in the White Paper make for unity ? " To this he supplied the following answer : " I think not; it will divide India still more. It will set party against party, class against class, master against servant, man against man. " Sir Daniel followed this up by quoting Mr. (Now Lord) Baldwin's prophecy that if

" they do not advance to India the right hand of fellowship, a generous right hand," they shall lose India, and added that this might come true when that right hand " holds only party or communal votes and safeguards." During his last visit to India in the course of a speech in February, 1939, he said :

If co-operation is the best hope of rural India, so is it also the best hope of industrial India; for co-operative finance can be applied to manufactures as well as to agriculture; and the workers in the mill can become the owners of the mill, and Capital and Labour become one. Strikes then go, peace comes, and a new spirit turns the wheels of industry; and I am persuaded that it is along these lines that the jute growing and manufacturing problems of Bengal will ultimately be solved. To help in their solution I would suggest that a small experimental mill on these lines be erected, one-third of the capital being found by the existing jute mills jointly, and two-thirds by the mill-workers and jute growers respectively—Government (through the Reserve Bank) finding the workers' and growers' capital, recovering the loans from the profits over a period of years.

By the death of Sir Daniel Hamilton, India loses one of her truest friends.

Vocational Education

We have before us the text of an interesting and suggestive speech on " Vocation, Vocational Education and Vocational Guidance", delivered by Mr. Anathnath Basu, of Calcutta University, as Chairman of the Vocational Education Section of the Lucknow session of the All-India Education Conference. The Conference met under the presidency of Sir S. Radhakrishnan on the 26th December and subsequent days. The subject, as Mr. A. N. Basu points out, has, of late begun to attract considerable attention from the public and Government. As a result of this several Provincial Governments set up Unemployment Enquiry Committees, which made important recommendations, and the Central Government had an enquiry made by experts regarding vocational and technical education in India, the results of which are embodied in the Report of Messrs. Wood and Abbot. After discussing some of the more important among the problems involved, Mr. Basu sums up his conclusions in the following words :

"I feel that Vocational Education must be correlated, on the one hand, with vocations; *i.e.*, the economic life of the people, and on the other, with Vocational Guidance, *i.e.*, economy of man power. Unless we can effect such two-fold correlation we can never solve the problem. For a proper solution there must be replanning of the economic and industrial life in India along with a replanning of the educational programme of the nation, of which programme vocational education forms only one item, though an important item."

Indian Christians and the Communal Decision

There is one matter vitally affecting the Indian Christian community, which calls for special attention. Up to the year 1930-31 Indian Christians had never claimed special political rights *as a community*, or separate seats in any election. They had accepted the principle of joint electorates, in the same manner as the Parsees, and their high educational level, especially among the women, had brought with it an influence in Indian social and political matters out of all proportion to their numbers. In educational affairs, perhaps, they stood highest of all. Thus they were able to keep outside current 'party politics'; and their eminent leaders, such as Kali Charan Banerji and K. T. Paul (to mention two names only of those who are now dead) were trusted by all and gained an all-India reputation.

Then came the Round Table Conferences in London, and the Prime Minister, Mr. J Ramsay Macdonald, undertook to give what was called a 'Communal Award'. Among other unfortunate results of that 'Award', the Indian Christians were given, for the first time, a separate electoral roll and separate seats. Dr. S. K. Datta, on behalf of his community, had repudiated this proposal when it had been brought forward at the Round Table Conference. But in spite of this, the thing was done and could not be undone without the consent of the community.

Directly after the 'Award' was given, a meeting was held of leading Indian Christians, protesting against the action of the British Prime Minister, but this proved to be of no avail. For it was impossible to get such an overwhelming majority as to call for the withdrawal of this separate electoral roll. The question, however, is not dead: and in any proposals that are made with regard to the New Constitution it may be taken for granted that the leaders of the Indian Christian community in many provinces will demand the withdrawal of the 'Award', in this injurious respect, and the return as far as Indian Christians are concerned to joint electorates.

C. F. A.

Leaders of the Indian Christian community like Professor Dr. H. C. Mukherji have repeatedly condemned separate electorates and demanded a return to joint electorates. The Nationalist position they have taken up is truly Christian and patriotic.

The Viceroy's Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce

In the course of his long address at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta last month the Viceroy referred to the present "difficulties" and observed that

there are times when silence about constitutional developments is better than speech, and in my judgment this is one of them. Beyond, therefore, making the general observations which I have already made I do not propose today to touch in any detail on the political issue before us. I may however be allowed to add how profoundly anxious I remain to see a solution of those difficulties. I have spared no personal effort to ascertain what is in the mind of the leaders of all parties and communities, and to identify those claims of which account must be taken in any workable scheme for the future. I have done my best so far as in me lay to bring parties and communities together. I have not been successful so far. I would repeat that I do not propose to despair, though the need for harmonizing varying points of view and the fact that no scheme for the future can be successful that does not harmonize those different points of view becomes ever more apparent. We are at a moment when all parties are, as is clear to you from the public press, considering their position. My prayer is that there may be a readiness on the part of all parties and of all communities to face the realities of the situation; to recognize how grave is the crisis which we face in the international sphere from the point of view of India, and to come together on a basis that would admit of harmonious co-operation and harmonious progress....The difficulties are great—it would be shortsighted and dishonest of us to minimise them. They will not be easily overcome. But the importance of overcoming them from the point of view of India itself has never been greater than it is today. The reaching of an accommodation between the parties and interests concerned may well take time. Far more may be lost than gained by endeavouring to secure that discussions between communities, or parties, or interests shall proceed with precipitate haste. But when I say that it is not owing to a lack of realisation on my part of the desirability as soon as possible of finding ourselves again operating the normal rather than the emergency provisions of the constitution, or from any reluctance or lack of readiness on my part to lend every help I can to a friendly and honourable settlement of the problems before us today.

If the Viceroy had not been silent about constitutional developments, his remarks would have given rise to fruitless controversy. He did well, therefore, to remain silent.

He desires all "parties" to face "the realities of the situation." It is to be borne in mind that the most embarrassing of these realities are a creation of the Government.

It is unquestionable that he took great pains to ascertain the views of different parties. But he allowed too many men to see him and talk to him,—some of them men of little consequence. If the 52 men who saw him, are to be taken to represent 52 different political parties in India, then may God help India! But perhaps His Excellency wanted to see as many persons as there are weeks in the year. The days of the year are a more natural division of time than the weeks. If he has the necessary amount of patience and sufficient leisure, he may see 365 "leaders" of 365 political parties the next time he makes the experiment of harmonizing different views, interests and claims. We can assure him that India will be able to produce as many "leaders" of as many political parties as he may desire to see. And then he would be able to say with a clear conscience that the reconciliation and harmonization of different political interests and claims in India is an impossible task, and, therefore, the best course to adopt is to remanufacture another constitution for India untouched by Indian hands like the present one and entirely Brtish-Imperial-machine-made.

There would be just a possibility of reconciling and harmonizing 50 different views and claims, if the remaining two sorts, namely, those of the Congress and of the Hindu Mahasabha, were considered entirely negligible and were wholly disregarded.

Why were not the Nationalist Muslim leaders called?

The Viceroy described how the war had given an impetus to industries in India and how the Government were whole-heartedly co-operating with the "business community" so that "Indian industry" might derive full advantage from the opportunity offered by the war. We do not know to what extent, if any, the Government were co-operating with the Indian business community and the Indian industrialists. The Associated Chambers of Commerce do not represent them.

Owing to the absence or paucity of foreign competition many new industries, financed and managed by Indians, came into existence during the last great war. When peace came, many of these languished and finally disappeared owing to the absence of State encouragement. May it be hoped that this time Government will take steps to prevent such mishap?

For giving effective help to Britain leaders and the press of several provinces have asked the Government to extend the area of recruitment, but Lord Linlithgow had nothing to say on that point. Perhaps he thought this also was a matter on which silence was better than speech. But it is rather curious that whilst all provinces and areas are being asked to co-operate

with Britain in the war, it is only from a few that soldiers are recruited !

Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker's Resignation

Srijut Nalini Ranjan Sarker's resignation of the office of finance minister of Bengal does great credit to his patriotism. The point on which he differed from his colleagues and which led to his resignation was not the only one on which he did not see eye to eye with some of them. On many previous occasions, too, there were disagreements with them. Some of these are known to the public, some are known only to a few persons. On some occasions, he could carry his points, and sometimes there was a compromise. On the present occasion there could not possibly be any.

A nationalist and a patriot according to his lights as Mr. Sarker is, he has all along continually and persistently tried to counteract, or at least moderate, the communalism of his Muslim colleagues and the weakness or opportunism of his Hindu colleagues. For this reason, he has had to fight many a time and oft.

We hope, now that he has freed himself from the trammels of office, his countrymen will have the full benefit of his undoubted abilities and his extensive and sound knowledge of business.

Tagore Opens Vidyasagar Memorial Hall at Midnapur

On the 16th of December last, Rabindranath Tagore performed the ceremony of opening the Vidyasagar Memorial Hall at Midnapur, in which district the ever memorable Pandit was born. The Poet paid an eloquent and magnificent tribute, which came straight from the heart, to the great litterateur, educationalist, philanthropist and social reformer in an address, of which the hurried English translation published in the papers gives some idea but does not reproduce the fervour, the glow and the music. It concludes thus :

> The form of prose-writing which he introduced, serves as an introduction to the art of literary production in Bengali.......
>
> So today the time has arrived for reminding the Bengali public that it should be their every-day duty, in spite of new and varied developments, to offer the homage of respect to the memorableness of Vidyasagar, the creator,—the force which is circulating with a vital movement in the Bengali literature even today.
>
> I declare this memorial open to the public—a memorial that has been built at the birth-place of Vidyasagar for giving us an opportunity of doing our duty. There is a special significance for inviting me to occupy this honoured position on the occasion of showing respect to Vidyasagar of sacred memory. Because, I got an opportunity to remind myself that if my countrymen have appreciated my achievements in Bengali literature, I should also admit that its doors were once flung open by Vidyasagar.
>
> My offer of respect is not yet complete. Vidyasagar was born in an ancient and orthodox Brahmin family; yet the brilliance of his intellect had revealed an unconventional mind in him. Many of his countrymen ignore with wavering silence the history of the olympian greatness of this independent-minded fiery Brahmin, who, with uncommon courage had ignored and pushed aside all oppositions and obstacles of society with the blow of his kind heart They forget that there is not much importance in the difference of opinion in matters conventional; but in a country where invincible and fearless strength of character is generally rare, Ishwar Chandra's untiring service to humanity serves as a great inspiration to society.
>
> We have seen in his life that he has repeatedly ignored the fears of personal loss and maintained his self-respect with firmness. Similarly, the fact that he has not bowed down to the penal rod of the cruel society serves as a valuable instance of his maintaining his self-respect in the face of grave danger. All his countrymen admit his kindness in helping the poor with money; but the nobility of his action in giving hard knocks at the closed doors of the heart of society, being moved by pity towards helpless women, is far greater, for therein has been revealed not merely his sacrifice but his heroism also.
>
> Hence I pray and wish that the memory of his kindness befitting a great man may remain shining brightly before the public amidst his achievements, for which this memorial is raised.

"Russia Expelled from the League" !

Russia has been expelled from the League of Nations for attacking Finland. Expulsion is undoubtedly a fitting punishment for aggression. But no such action was taken against Italy and Japan for their acts of wanton aggression.

It would have been quite becoming if the States which had in their past history acquired territory in foreign lands by aggression had made their dependencies self-ruling before joining the non-imperialist States in expelling Russia. As that was not done, the expulsion order has little moral value.

When Rome banished Coriolanus, Coriolanus said, "I banish Rome." The day may or may not come when Russia may similarly turn the tables on the League.

Fairbairn's Tribute to Tagore's Dramatic Genius

COLOMBO, Dec. 9.

A tribute to the dramatic genius of Poet Tagore was paid by Mr. T C. Fairbairn, the famous London playwright and producer here.

Mr. Fairbairn, who is returning home after a visit to Australia, is anxious to produce oriental plays among them "Sakuntala" and some of Tagore's works.

"In Tagore we find one who has written some of the finest dramas in the world," he said.

In Australia he presented 'Haiwatha.' It was a tremendous success on a par with the London success in Albert Hall, where the box-office receipts exceeded £10,542 in a fortnight.

Mr. Fairbairn's latest work is a play entitled "Christmas Carol," an adaptation of Dickens' work which was written on board the vessel.—*A. P.*

Tagore's Message to Chinese People

United Press understands that following is the text of the letter sent by Poet Tagore to Marshal Chiang-Kai-shek through Sir Stafford Cripps :

"Dear Friend, China is great. Every day you are proving it at the cost of an incredible suffering and sacrifice. The heroism your people are displaying is epic in quality. I feel sure whatever may happen your victory will ever remain resplendent in the moral field of human endeavour.

Yours,
RABINDRANATH TAGORE."

Peace Move By De Valera

DUBLIN, DEC. 26.

Broadcasting to America Mr. de Valera urged that a conference of war leaders should be held to seek a settlement. People of the Eire and United States were not belligerents but both sympathised with peoples enduring the horrors of war. It was better to seek a settlement in goodwill rather than wait until exhaustion had forced it.

The way to a conference would have to be tried eventually when the war is ended and commonsense suggested that it should be tried now before the war had wrought its full havoc.—*Reuter.*

Mr. de Valera's move deserves full support.

No Christmas Truce

It was only fitting that there was no cessation of fighting during Christmas. Where there is no real homage to Christ, no Christmas spirit, a formal and external observance of the day would have been mere mockery.

Mr. Andrews on the Meaning of Christmas Day

On Christmas day at the Mandir in Santiniketan Mr. C. F. Andrews delivered a speech on "Christmas Day" after the divine service conducted by Pandit Kshitimohan Sen. The substance of Mr. Andrews' speech is given below :

The Sistine Madonna by Raphael gave in symbol, better perhaps than anything else, the true inner meaning of Christmas Day. The Child in its Mother's arms looked out with eyes full of wonder on this new and strange world into which it had entered at birth. The innocence of the child revealed the divine nature in man as nearly and closely as God could be made manifest in human form. The Mother holding the child in her arms represented the purest love of motherhood, and this also revealed the divine in human nature. The mother's eyes looked out upon us from the picture with a wonder and innocence that made them singularly like those of her Child. The Mother's wonder, however, was entirely wrapped up in her Child. Thus the Mother, the Child, and the Home, made up together the message of the Christmas festival : For it was the time when those who kept the festival thought most of all of the family with its mother-love and its child-life. These greatest gifts to mankind were consecrated in the Christmas festival, where the Babe of Bethlehem, in its Mother's arms, was worshipped and adored.

Mr. Andrews went on to tell the story of Christmas over again, how the shepherds in the fields heard the heavenly song,

"Glory to God in the Highest
"And on earth peace and goodwill towards men."

Not even yet, said Mr. Andrews, had this hymn been fulfilled on earth; for Christmas Day, this year, was a day when nations were at war with one another.—*U. P.*

Annual Stock-taking of Visva-bharati

At the annual meeting of the Visva-bharati Parishat held on the 24th December last at the Mango Grove the Karmasachiva (Secretary) read a report showing progress all round. Before the reading of the report the opening hymn in Sanskrit was sung in chorus, the Sankalpa Vāchana (Affirmation of Ideals) in Sanskrit was recited and chanted; and the Upāchārya C. F. Andrews delivered a short opening address.

In his opening address the 'Upacharya' said :"Since its inception Visva-Bharati has been and still continues to be one of the most important centres of world-culture and universal co-operation in this world. Her message to humanity has been the message of peace, love and freedom. It is the duty of all of us who profess to be friends of this institution to see that our ideal never falls short in any way of these great truths that we preach, and we must try our best to maintain the continuity of our line of action in the coming year along the same noble channel that we followed all through the past years."

Before he concluded Mr. Andrews spoke on practical lines for a few minutes and suggested a health planning scheme for this growing community at Santiniketan

Some of the salient points of the Karmasachiva's report are given below.

He opened with thanks to the donors as well as those who have promised their grants to Visva-Bharati, the most prominent names being those of Raja Suryapal of Awagarh, the Maharaja of Tipperah and the Birla Brothers. The total munificent donation of the Raja of Awagarh to meet some of the crying needs of the institution amounts to Rs. 1,27,501 from which Rs. 60,000 has gone to the Sangit Bhawan and Rs. 67,501 has been allotted as the capital expenditure grant. Maharaja of Tipperah's promised donation to the Sangit Bhawan amounts to Rs. 25,000. The Secretary further added that the Bengal Government's grant of Rs. 25,000 still has not reached his office. If this grant finally fails to arrive the institution shall then have to face a deficit of an amount as large as Rs. 16,000.

As for the work at Sriniketan Sj. Sukumar Chatterjee had been in charge of the general administration. Health and other propaganda of rural interest has been successfully conducted by him by means of a fortnightly paper *Deshe Bideshe* written in simple Bengali suitable for the rural folk. He further added that a grant has been received from the Bengal Government sanctioned for a child welfare and maternity centre. Return of Dr. Jiten Chakraborty with new experiences from Europe will invigorate the rural sanitation and medical side of the work at Sriniketan with fresh energy.

Santiniketan Students' Musical Performance At Agra

The following paragraphs are taken from *The Leader* of Allahabad:

Those who were privileged to attend the evening session of the Mackenzie Music Competition yesterday, had the unique experience of witnessing the students of Santiniketan perform. It was a treat, real and rare. One felt that India must acknowledge the miracle that Tagore's genius has wrought in this sphere as it has done in many others. Here was dancing exquisite in grace and elegance, and full of vitality of the new life that has been infused in it. No longer need Indian dancing have fear of the austere glances of purist criticism. She has come to life again—a youthful life that blossoms forth in endless and exuberant expressions.

We had a glimpse of the beauty and the richness of her possibilities. Art and music went hand in hand. The stage was attractive in its simplicity. Manipur technique and Kathakali forms were wonderful; still more wonderful was their fusion in the creative synthesis of Tagore's dramatic music Artist's magic touch brought colour and harmony in the dresses and decorations. The students of Santiniketan are to be congratulated on the quality of the standard they are endeavouring to attain in the domain of art. It was a rare entertainment. Even more: it revealed how India is coming to her own in creative cultural centres like Santiniketan.

The debt of gratitude must be acknowledged to the organizers of this musical gathering at the Government Training College, Agra, who have had this privilege and this good fortune through the gracious courtesy of the Poet himself.

Last Week's Many Conferences

We have to apologize to the organizers of the many conferences held in the country during last week, which we are sorry not to be able to notice or even mention owing to lack of space and also, in many cases, owing to not having received any timely information about them.

Reception to President Savarkar

The reception given to Srijut Vināyak Dāmodar Savarkar, President of the Calcutta session of the Hindu Mahasabha, on his arrival at Howrah and all along the route to his place of residence in Calcutta stands unsurpassed in magnificence and enthusiasm. The procession was at least two miles long. The crowds of men, women and children who assembled at the station, at the Howrah Maidān and all along the streets and housetops numbered several lakhs.

Draft Resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha Session

As this issue of *The Modern Review* will have to be published on the 30th December, 1939, and its printing finished earlier, the actual resolutions passed at the Calcutta session of the Hindu Mahasabha cannot be noticed in it. So we print below three of the draft resolutions, which have our general support:

War Resolution

The resolution on war and the defence of India states: "In view of the statement made by His Majesty's Government that it has declared the war with a desire to safeguarding the vital principles of freedom and democracy as against the rule of force and in view of the fact that nowhere is there greater necessity for the application of these principles than in India, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha declares:

"That as the task of defending India from any military attack is the common concern of England and India and as India is unfortunately not in a position today to carry out that responsibility unaided, there is ample room for whole-hearted co-operation between India and England and that, in order to make such co-operation effective His Majesty's Government should immediately take steps:

(1) To introduce responsible Government at the centre;

(2) to redress the grievous wrong done to the Hindus by the Communal Award, both at the Centre and in the Provinces—particularly in Bengal and the Punjab where the Hindus have been reduced to the position of a fixed Statutory Minority contrary to all principles of Democracy, with their representation in the Legislatures reduced far below what they are entitled to even on the basis of their population strength,

(3) in order to inspire the people of India to feel that the Indian army is the National Army of the people of India and not an Army of Occupation of the British, to remove all artificial distinctions between the so-called 'listed' and 'non-listed' classes or 'martial' and 'non-martial' races, and to accomplish the complete Indianization of the Indian army as early as possible;

(4) to modify the Indian Arms Act so as to bring it on a par with what prevails in England;

(5) to expand on an extensive scale the Indian Territorial Force and the University Training Corps, to establish such military organizations in provinces where they are not in existence at present, and to increase substantially the admission of cadets at the Indian Military Academy;

(6) to make adequate arrangements for the training of the people in all branches of the De-

fence Force so as to make it ready for all emergencies."

INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

The Independence and Dominion Status Resolution runs as follows :

"The All-India Hindu Mahasabha reaffirms complete Independence as the goal of India's political aspirations, and urges that a constitution based upon Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminster be conferred on India immediately after the war.

"The All-India Hindu Mahasabha further urges that a Constituent Assembly be formed on the basis of Joint Electorates in order to frame a Constitution suited to the needs of India.

"The All-India Hindu Mahasabha emphatically protests against the recent pronouncements of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to the effect that the further constitutional progress of India must depend upon a solution of its communal and minority problems, since they flagrantly violate the fundamental principles of a democratic constitution resting ultimately upon the vote of the political party commanding a majority and not subjected to the veto of the minorities"

BENGAL MINISTRY RESOLUTION

The resolution about the Bengal Ministry records strong protest against the "openly communal and reactionary policy of the present Ministry in Bengal as evidenced by its various legislative enactments and administrative measures calculated to curb the rights and liberties of the Hindus of Bengal and cripple their economic strength and cultural life." As instances of the above policy of the Ministry are cited the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act, introduction of communal ratio in the Public Services; recruitment to Public Services in defiance of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission or without reference to them; discriminatory treatment against Hindu Officers in Government services, discrimination against Hindus in the matter of educational grants and distribution of stipends and scholarships, etc.

All-India Food and Nutrition Exposition

The All-India Food and Nutrition Exposition and the lectures connected therewith, organized by the Calcutta Corporation under Mayor Nisith Chandra Sen, have a value far surpassing more spectacular functions. The Exposition was opened by the Poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore with a speech of which the full text has been published in the *Paush* number of *Prabāsi*. A few paragraphs of it are given below in translation.

When the last Great War came to an end in Europe, the great humanitarian, Henry William Nevinson, lamented that the vanquished Germans had been left without sufficient food. But a similar lament, on our behalf, is never made by any one—not even from among ourselves. The reason is that we command only negilgible value in the world's standard for humanity.

Nevinson spoke of the Germans who had been deprived of nutritional food that goes to preserve the mind and body, and he said that the future welfare of the entire nation was being jeopardised thereby In other words, dietetic insufficiency was lowering the vitality of the German nation, and Nevinson envisaged the danger incumbent upon the shortage of supplies in mutton, bread, butter and potatoes.

Unwholesome diet has long caused a steady waste of our vitality, and the depletion is being yet continued in full force. This is a matter we can no longer overlook, for the time has come when we have to meet in competition, in every sphere, those nations who have grown strong in this world. We are being ousted from every field, small or great, of life. We now only seek questionable solace in the moral turpitude incorporated in the objective drawbacks which do us out of all opportunities of decent livelihood. But the very reason of our incapacity of resistance against such drawbacks is the feebleness bred out of our meagre diet, which is pitiably deficient in food values, and which only suffices to keep us breathing at the farthest end of the arena of world-competition; it can never give us permanent impetus on the difficult journey of civilization Thus, we are easily tired out in any enduring test for difficult attainments, and we are so easily knocked out ! It is not true that we are lacking in intelligence. But the energy needed to turn the intelligence to good account, by dint of unflinching labour, can only be exercised by the nation that can feed its generations on the right diet.

Subhas Chandra Bose On Congress War Resolution

In an article in last week's *Forward Bloc* under the caption "The Correct Line". Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose criticises the attitude of the Congress Working Committee in regard to the war situation as one of indecision and procrastination. He and his party, according to him, do not suffer from any such feeling of vacillation.

Our own path is clear. We are now passing through the anti-imperialist phase of our movement. We have to rally all uncompromisingly anti-imperialist elements for the next move. The problem today is not merely to force the hands of the Congress Working Committee. That we must do But even if we succeed therein, with Mahatma Gandhi at our helm, there will always be the danger of another Chauri-Chaura, or another Harijan Movement or another Gandhi-Irwin Pact. For that danger we must prepare in advance, so that we may be able to meet it successfully when the time comes.

Let the Congress Working Committee have the leadership of the nation for all time, we have no objection to that. But a leader must lead. We still hope against hope that the Committee will soon make a move. But if they do not, then we must act. We are confident that the masses will follow no matter who gives the lead.

When Imperialism is ended, the Socialist phase of our movement will commence. Those who win power must undertake the task of post-struggle reconstruction.

Presidential Address to the National Liberal Federation

A comprehensive review of the Indian political scene embracing the international

situation and the lessons for India it held, the resignation of the Congress Ministries, the Congress demand for a declaration, the Viceroy's offer, the defence problem, Constituent Assembly, Federation, etc., was made by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye in the course of his presidential address to the National Liberal Federation, which met in session at Allahabad on 27th December.

He briefly sketched the reasons that led to the resignation of the Congress Ministries and added, "Imagination is the last thing our Government possesses and a fine opportunity of winning the heart of India was allowed to slip away."

Dr. Paranjpye disapproved of the Constituent Assembly scheme and instead suggested "a small and manageable conference like that which drafted the Nehru Report."

Deploring the Hindu-Muslim tension, he said, "If anybody is bent on finding causes for grousing he can always find them. But sensible leaders should take care not to attach an exaggerated importance to such matters and should try to smooth out such differences."

"The need of the hour," he continued, "is to secure peaceful political evolution in India. It is not to be secured by the delivery of political ultimatums, not by enunciating the minimum demands of any one section, or by too great an insistence on treaties or vested rights, not by fanciful theories of racial superiority or capacity. If this evolution is brought about in conditions of strife and turmoil, it will leave behind it unsavoury memories which will hamper future progress

THE GOLDEN WAY

"The best way is for all parties, the Government, the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Sabha, the Scheduled Classes, the Liberals and other sections, to come together in a spirit of friendliness and hammer out a solution by compromise."

We would certainly prefer this easy method of obtaining freedom. But we do not think liberty will be won without a struggle.

Martial and Non-martial Indians

The Leader writes :

During the war debate in the Bengal Legislative Assembly Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee, the member for Calcutta University, made an important suggestion which deserves the immediate attention of the Government of India. Referring to the question of India's co-operation with Britain in the prosecution of the war, he suggested among other things that

"In order to make such co-operation possible and effective this Assembly urges the Government to take immediate steps to enable the Bengalees to participate in the defence of their motherland (*a*) by the removal of the distinction between the so-called martial and non-martial classes; (*b*) by affording to the Bengalees military training on an extensive scale in all branches of warfare; (*c*) by raising Bengalee regiments and organizing mechanized units on a permanent footing..........."

It is curious that while on the one hand, the Government want the people of India to offer their full support in the prosecution of the war, on the other, they have debarred entire communities and areas from serving in the army, which is one of the best ways of helping in the prosecution of the war. If Bengalees and other 'non-martial' communities are not to be allowed to enlist in the army, in what other way can they help Britain ? By subscribing to war funds and supplying sand bags ? We do not under-rate the importance of such help, but if this was enough, why are the Government trying to raise recruits in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, and why have the Government borrowed from the Nepal Government the services of Gurkha soldiers ?

The Divine Right of Minorities

The war resolution moved in the Bengal Legislative Assembly by the Chief Minister Maulvi Fazlul Huq and carried by a majority consisted of four parts. The third part wanted the implementing of the policy of attainment of Dominion Status by India immediately after the termination of the war, and the fourth that "the new constitution formulated should provide sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognized minorities and interests and *should be based upon their full consent and approval.*" We are here concerned only with the words which we have italicized

The British nation is represented by a mere lion. But Maulvi Fazlul Huq is a lion and a tiger combined. Hence, it is likely that fear of him may lead the British lion to concede the divine right of minorities demanded by him. So, to make the best of a bad bargain we humbly hasten to urge that, as the Hindus are a minority in Bengal, that part of the new constitution which will relate to Bengal "should be based upon *their* full consent and approval."

H. H. the Maharaja of Nepal in Calcutta

Among the engagements of H. H. the Maharaja of Nepal in Calcutta was his interview with the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore. What they talked about has not transpired. We hope the Maharaja was impressed with the world-honoured old poet's courtesy in coming down to Calcutta to meet him.

Another function which the Maharaja attended was the reception given to him by the Calcutta Corporation in the Town Hall. In reply to the address presented to him, he said in part :

A close cultural association has existed between Nepal and Bengal, even from the dim ages of the past. Not many years ago, when Bihar was within your Province, the frontier of my country had marched for several hundred miles with yours. Even today we are in contact with Bengal, in well-over a hundred miles,

The port of Calcutta happens to be the main gateway for our imports and exports to and from the outside world. For industry and commerce we have recourse to the great concerns of this place. A brisk trade goes on across the border between our two countries. This friendly intercourse has been going on from centuries past with the greatest goodwill and friendliness and will surely continue to do so in future.

Jadabpur Tuberculosis Sanatorium

Lady Linlithgow performed the opening ceremony of a ward, named after her, of the Jadabpur Tuberculosis Sanatorium last December with a very instructive and interesting speech. We can make room only for the following extract from it :

> One last word which is addressed and to the general public at large. The idea seems to be universal in all parts of India that the establishment of sanatoria in the midst of residential district is a direct menace to the population Agitation is always organized against any scheme of this kind which makes it very difficult to find suitable situation on which to start a sanatorium. Having had a good deal of experience of this subject I know that this fear is without foundation; but to make assurance doubly sure I consulted Doctor Frimodt-Moller, the Medical Commissioner of the Centre, than whom no greater expert exists in India, and he endorsed my opinion without reservation.

The Jadabpur Tuberculosis Sanatorium is the only one of its kind in Bengal proper. But considering that 16.000 persons die every year in Bengal of that disease, it has very few beds indeed. An additional 200 beds will be none too many. We hope Lady Linlithgow's influence will lead to this addition.

The Two Hindu Mahasabha Presidential Addresses

As stated in a previous Note, our present issue has to be published on the 30th December, 1939, and, therefore, to be printed earlier. Hence we made repeated efforts to get advance copies of the addresses of the chairman of the reception committee of the Calcutta session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and of the president of the session in time to be able to read them and summarize them and comment on them where necessary. But we have got them so late that there is neither sufficient space, nor time, to do so. We are very sorry that it is so, as both the addresses are valuable and present many political issues in a new light. Both the speakers bring forward facts and arguments in support of their views. Both the speakers have political problems and issues as the main themes of their addresses, though both have touched on a social question—Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji a little more at length than Sjt. V. D. Savarkar.

Sir M. N. Mukerji's Address

The address of Sir M. N. Mukerji, chairman of the reception committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha session is briefer than the presidential address of Sjt. Savarkar. It contains about 9,000 words, that of the latter about 21,000 words, in round numbers. In the introductory part of the address he spoke of the achievements of the ancient Hindus in "mental, moral and spiritual sciences, in all matters connected with the inner life of man", in literature, mathematics, grammar, linguistics, the fine arts, some of the positive sciences, and many arts and crafts. He also dwelt on Hindu achievements in the sphere of colonization. If his recital of all these makes us diligent in our efforts to be worthy of our ancestors instead of making us vainglorious idle dreamers, his object will be achieved.

"How India came to lose that (glorious) position I do not know," says he. But he mentions internal dissensions and internecine strife among the causes and observes that the rigidity of caste rules gave the Moslems and the Christians ample opportunities for proselytization. He does not mention any definite remedy for the evil effects of the rigidity of caste rules.

He has described the Pakistan and two other Muslim schemes to illustrate Muslim mentality, and has mentioned many recent events and incidents to prove the desire of the Muslims to domineer over and oppress others. The evils of the Communal Decision and of the Poona Pact, particularly in their effects on Bengal, have been pointed out.

He says in conclusion :

> Let me hope that with your help and under your guidance the Hindus will realise the situation they are in, that they will consolidate and rally under one Hindu banner, and that not looking to this body or that for the redress of their grievances, they will stand on their own legs and fight for their own cause.—a cause which is essentially righteous and in which they want nothing more but nothing less than what to them is justly due. They have no ill-will towards any of the other communities and they declare in the words of their esteemed President,—
>
> "If you come, with you;
> if you don't, without you;
> and if you oppose, in spite of you
> the Hindus will continue to fight for their National Freedom as best as they can."

Sj. Savarkar's Address

We have not attempted to summarize Sir M. N. Mukerji's address. Nor can we epitomize that of Sj. Savarkar, which is much longer. In its second paragraph he refers to what Moslem mobs have done in recent months from

Sindh to Assam. In a section devoted to "the Nizam Civil Resistance Movement" he gives a glowing description of the sacrifice and heroism of the civil resisters, which cannot but remove the defeatist mentality of those Hindus who have it and inspire them with hope and courage. He justly contrasts the Congress attitude toward Hyderabad with that toward Kashmere as also that toward the petty taluka-like state of Rajkot.

A long section is devoted to the enunciation and exposition of some of the basic principles and tenets of the Hindu Movement. This is well worth serious study by all Nationalists. One of these principles is stated thus:

> Swarajya to the Hindus must mean only that "Rajya" in which their "Swatva," their "Hindutva" can assert itself without being overlorded by any non-Hindu people, whether they be Indian Territorials or extra territorials.

The implications of this principle are explained partly thus:

> Consequently, under the present circumstances too all that an Indian National State can mean is that the Moslem minority in India will have the right to be treated as equal citizens, enjoying equal protection and civic rights in proportion to their population. The Hindu majority will not encroach on the legitimate rights of any non-Hindu minority. But in no case can the Hindu majority resign its right which as a majority it is entitled to exercise under any Democratic and legitimate constitution.

The equality of all citizens, whatever their religion, is emphasized again and again. For instance:

> The Hindu Sanghatanist Party aims to base the future Constitution of Hindusthan on the broad Principle that all citizens should have equal rights and obligations irrespective of caste or creed, race or religion,—provided they avow and owe an exclusive and devoted alligience to the Hindusthani State. The fundamental rights of liberty of speech, liberty of conscience, of worship, of association, etc. will be enjoyed by all citizens alike. Whatever restrictions will be imposed on them in the interest of the public peace and order or National emergency will not be based on any Religious or Racial considerations alone but on common National grounds.

Or take this:

> But as practical politics requires it and as the Hindu Sanghatanists want to relieve our non-Hindu countrymen of even a ghost of suspicion, we are prepared to emphasise that the legitimate rights of minorities with regard to their Religion, Culture, and language will be expressly guaranteed: on one condition only that the equal rights of the majority also must not in any case be encroached upon or abrogated. Every minority may have separate schools to train up their children in their own tongue, their own religious institutions or cultural and can receive Government help also for these,—but always in proportion to the taxes they pay into the common exchequer. The same principle must of course hold good in case of the majority too.

Another long section is devoted to the Practical Policy of the Hindu Movement. Its longest sub-section is devoted to "The Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress." Sj. Savarkar's conception of nationhood is fundamentally different from that of the Congress. Hence his approach to and solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem is also quite different from that of the Congress.

There is a section entitled, "Our Economical Policy—the national co-ordination of class interests." Sj. Savarkar is for large scale production of goods by machinery, while encouraging the handicrafts also. The interests of peasants, labourers, landlords and capitalists are all to be safeguarded and co-ordinated for the good of the whole nation. The last section is, "Our immediate programme for the next two years."

He is for the removal of untouchability.

President Savarkar has throughout his address given expression to the results of his independent thinking in a perfectly frank and fearless manner. His speech, therfore, makes stimulating reading, and is sure to influnece a very large section of the Hindu public.

Calcutta Session of the Hindu Mahasabha

Amidst unbounded and unsurpassed enthusiasm the Calcutta session of the Hindu Mahasabha opened at 1 p.m. on the 28th December last in the biggest and most gorgeously and artistically decorated pandal ever erected in this city for a political gathering. There was not a single seat unoccupied in the vast pavilion. The number of delegates and visitors combined has been variously estimated from 30,000 to 50,000, and an equal number moved about outside the pandal unable to obtain entrance into it. To conciliate them it was announced that next day loud speakers would be arranged to enable those outside the pavilion to hear the speeches. As all the 8 anna & 4 anna tickets for visitors had been sold out, 1,500 additional seats for one-rupee ticket-holders were announced to be provided from the 29th December onwards. The pavilion was decorated inside with pictures of mythological and historical events and scenes and of eminent mythological and historial personages, including some past presidents of the Mahasabha.

This session bids fair to remain an ever-memorable and epoch-making one.

ANTARDEVATĀ

["THE INDWELLING DIVINITY"]

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

SORROW'S flood-tide sweeps the world today. Great memorials of history are being washed away, ancient boundaries of civilisation obliterated. Barbarism, robbed of its cloak, stands revealed; with arrogant mocking it flaunts destructive revelry against mankind. From the depth of man's anguished heart comes the cry—Why is this ? Angry voices are raised refusing to recognize the presence of a benevolent Providence anywhere in this cataclysmic fury.

To doubters I ask, were there no principle of goodness at the centre of creation, why does humanity, at the mortal struggle of an age, suffer from this world-wide agony ? Does not disease, with its suffering, prove that in the freedom of health dwells life's inherent truth ? Suffering is denial, while health is affirmation of life; our body, acknowledging this, offers stout fight to the last. If disease had caused us no suffering, then indeed we could have accused life as being treacherous.

War has burst on all sides. Who causes this war ? The insulted monarchy of the Good in the heart of the Universe. This insult was being heaped up for long under the far-flung patronage of power; filling its store-room with looted goods, power soon identified possessiveness with the principle of right. Practising oppression, it declared God to be on its side. Then obstruction touched its own roots, all peace vanished, the entire race arrayed itself in weapons and military monstrosity; swollen up munition dumps, like a red boil, became more inflamed. Mutual suspicion, unrest, repression's ugly trickery wrought by poisoned minds, sly diplomatic torture and sham decency spread their tentacles in lying politics and tyrannical government. If war stopped for a while, peace did not arrive; in the subterranean depths of history rumbling earthquake heralded fresh disaster. Natural human contact daily grew impossible, barbed obstacles were raised in the path of hospitality, behaviour forgetting all civilized tradition reverted to savagery. The fact that deadly symptoms of evil can no longer be hidden proves that beneficence, abiding in human history, keeps vigilant judgment. In society, as in our bodily system, the principle of self-preservation remains active; safeguarding humanity, it works in man's wakeful being. Violation of this principle has brought suffering to man, and death; had this not been so, creation's law would have been suspect. In the world's history many races have perished, either for unpardonable weakness or for sinful lust of power. We are not sure if, today, some races have not been summoned for judgment at death's court.

Beneficent providence, in our scriptures, has never been reduced to mere mercifulness from whom men, like children, could crave indulgence. *Rudra yat te dakshinam mukham tena mām pāhi nityam* : he is Rudra, The Terrible, who yet protects by his goodness whatever is true, courageous and pure: Whatever testifies to man's faith in his unconquerable majesty. Helpless inanition the Rudra never forgives.

Man's highest prayer is that he may reach from untruth to truth, from darkness to light, from death to immortality. This is not a prayer for the weak but a challenge from man's final blessedness, calling him toward fulfilment through toil and travail.

It brings Rudra's inspiration from man's inner being, and sets him on the arduous path of truth.

Surprised I feel, and ashamed, when our literature offers petulant tirades against Providence, nasally intonated and garbed in ridiculous gesture, punishing him for not existing at all. Simply because one has suffered personally or seen some one else suffer. We forget that our Scriptures have said: *Varenyam bhargo devasya dheemahi*, —we contemplate the energy of the adorable god—*dhiyo yo nah prachodayāt*, who gives us Reason. It has not been said that Providence nurses the inefficient weakling on his lap. He gives us Reason, that is to say, on ourselves we have to depend. We are forbidden, by his ruling, to knock tearfully at his door. To him I offer my salute because he has kept himself away from our sphere and does not, like an ever-anxious mother, constantly reveal his presence. My manhood he has dowered with respect, giving me the full right of responsibility. He does not lead the coward by the hand but makes him travel even through the experience of death so that he can live unafraid. Hence this paradox: those who rule out God from their belief can yet win the fruits of faith by using Reason to attain reality. Fulfilment awaits those who do not supplicate at God's shrine for removing disease, suffering, ignorance, inefficiency; who have accepted him as divinely rational and not as Sarasvati or Ganesha: who have realised him in their own creative power and magnified him, winning his companionship on the road of immortal life. They have not, as yet, discovered a cure for cancer, but, applying their Reason—that which dwells in the deep recesses of being, they have identified themselves with divine Reason, contemplating him in their enlightened mind; they have never insulted their manhood by pursuing magical words and nostrums. To them will come the cure for disease, won by resolute conviction. But, on the opposite side, what wailing and complaint—the cry of children who boastfully refuse to acknowledge him! Who has asked for their recognition? Do they hope to minimise him by their refusal? His punishment is not for those who reject specific names and forms in acknowledging him, but for those who frustrate his purpose by failing to recognise their own intelligence.

Do you not realise that birds and beasts have got their dress unasked, while to man, born naked, Providence has given far greater honour by endowing him with human intelligence—*Dhiyo yo nah prachodayāt*. Should we not remember this when we suffer from want of clothing? No other living creature suffers so much but through suffering he calls us—he who has given us Reason. This call is not to any one of us, but to all mankind. Those who do not respond to it but rush to seek the protection of temple-guides and priests ever die unfulfilled, having disgraced their own divinity.

But Reason which comes to us is not of the category of mere knowledge, it has another aspect which is its highest—the will for goodness. *Sa no buddhyā shubhayā samyunaktu*: may he become one with us through the union of good will. The frustraion of intellectual knowledge, by man's physical nature, leads to distress in living; the distortion of our sense of duty in the realm of moral life also brings disaster to human society. Led by passions we insult him who gives us Reason—*dhiyo yo nah prachodayāt*—and it leads to great devastaton. Inauspicious signs of such destruction have suddenly overwhelmed us from all sides. Those who blame their opponents for iniquity and proclaim their own saintlines will not escape; dexterity in special pleading will not bring mercy. *Mahadbhayam Vajramudyatam*, the Great Terror is here, holding the Thunderbolt.

Following greed's path some have won temporary success, and in their drunken egoism ignored their own divinity; using Science they have felt well-protected by their possessions and claimed the right to inflict injustice and oppression. But they are losing,

from age to age, the contact of their godliness. The prescribed temple of worship can be entered with the accumulated load of unrighteousness, even the orthodox texts of prayer may not stick in their mouth, but in their heart the darkness of passion has shrouded the inner god. In that obscurity their path becomes difficult indeed; blind forces are generated and strike at the roots of entire society. At first slowly, then sudddenly at last in terrific onslaught.

To those in our country who in weakling anger sit and lament that God does not come and wipe their tears, I would offer the following message from the Upanishads :

Atha yo'nyām devatām upāste, anyo'sau, anyo'ham asmeeti na sa veda, yathā pashureva devānām.

He who worshipping separate divinity thinks that he is one and divinity another, is like an animal of the gods.

On man's behalf no religious text, in any land, has dared to utter such mighty words, and yet in no other country but ours could more flagrant breach of it be witnessed.

Even like a beast man began his life, in want, ignorance, haunting fear. Had that been his true existence those conditions would have been permanent. But who has dragged man out of it—is he some external god with a special name ? Has some non-human entity, satiated with the blood of victims, offered man a boon ? Has man obtained reward from any god in exchange for flattering verses ? No, man is not an animal of the gods. Divine reality, united with man, has given us knowledge and science, our society and civilisation, and slowly revealed his luminous presence in history. That has been the result of no little suffering. Staking his life heroic man has controlled the primitive animal within, and also discovered his own godliness.

This discovery goes on through the fearless unremitting effort of brave generations. Where we are unsuccessful, where we are defeated, there must we suffer and never merit indulgence; in shameless petulance let us not demand pity when we have insulted our own godliness, and then cry out that God is not there. If he is not there, whose fault is it ? Enmeshed in inertia the coward denies his own reality and then rushing to the feet of some *guru*, or bribing some priests, deafens his powers by the harsh clang of bells and cymbals. That is why I say, let us not forget the message of Brihadāranyaka :

Atha yo'nyām devatām upāste, anyo'sau, anyo'ham asmeeti na sa veda, yathā pashureva devānām.

We must remember : *yuktātmānah sarvamevābishanti;* through the mastery of the power of his own being man enters everywhere, from the starry universe to the subtlest mysteries of the human heart. *Tam hi devam ātmabuddhiprakāham,* in his own rational mind is that god revealed, and through it must come realisation. *Ye purushe brahma viduste viduh paramesthinam* : those who know the Great in man know the supreme God. *Tam vedyam purusham veda* : by hiding God in one's soul and proclamaiming that he does not exist outside let us not vainly insult him.

The varied sufferings of worldly life need not be taken too seriously; they come either because of natural laws or of some mental principles—both are external. But we have seen men conquering pain by undaunted prowess, plunging into fiery ordeals only to march forward with triumph. What striving is this ?—the power that lies behind is neither physical, nor mental, it belongs to the inward self where man is united with his god. Realising greatness within himself man does not express sorrow at any sacrifice or pain : *yadā pasyati anyam eesham asya mahimānam iti beetashokah* : He who has realised the glory of God in his soul, freed is he from fear and suffering. To whose door can he march ever with complaints ? Whom can he blame ? Those who have attained realisation within can offer their all without hesitation and with unbounded joy; dedicating themselves wholly they lead history from life's daily niggardliness to the realm of

perfection. If they have any complaints, those are self-directed, the pain is terrible. Not that such heroes have never known defeat, but their banner is raised high over all failures.

Blessed are we, blessed is man, not because some god is ruling us, but because our own divinity is honouring us by sorrow after sorrow. Blessed is man that he is not an animal of the gods, but is one with God.

[Authorized translation of the Address delivered by Rabindranath Tagore in the Temple at Santiniketan on the 7th of Paush (23rd December), the Anniversary of the Ashram. Translated specially for *The Modern Review* and *The Visva-bharati Quarterly* by Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty.]

CHRISTMAS, 1939

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Those who struck Him once
in the name of their rulers,
are born again in this present age.

They gather in their prayer halls in a pious garb,
they call their soldiers, "Kill, kill," they shout;
in their roaring mingles the music of their hymns,

While the Son of Man in His agony prays, "O God,
Fling, fling far away this cup filled with
the bitterest of poisons."

Santiniketan.
25 12 1939.



INDIA'S PROBLEM

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Nowadays class conflicts in the West are mostly of economic origin. Miners, dock labourers, railway men, now and again, raise disturbances, for which new laws have to be made, or old laws suspended; the militia are sometimes called out, and blood shed. In that part of the world there are two parties concerned in such conflicts—those who create, and those who try to quell, the disturbance; there is no third party, with a high sense of humour, to look on and mock at them from outside.

There was also a time in England, whilst its constitution was still in the process of consolidation when conflicts used to occur between Protestants and Roman Catholics, during which fair play was not always in evidence. As a matter of fact the Catholics had for long to submit to all kinds of disabilities. Even today, the subjects of England, as a whole, have to bear the cost of maintaining a particular religious denomination, which is manifestly unfair to those outside it. But if today these and other inequalities no longer lead in England to chronic breaches of the peace, it is because all sections of its people now enjoy in common a system of government that they can call their own. Had they been ruled by an outsider, all these loose joints in their system would have knocked together, making permanent fractures in it.

In the earlier history of British politics the antagonism between Scotland and England was not a little bitter, for they had real differences in language, temperament, and historical memories. But their reconcilement was brought about because the system of government at which they arrived was subject to their joint control; wherefore their energies were turned towards common defence and walfare. On the other hand, because the people of Ireland had not been conceded equal rights with those of England, such union between England and Ireland was never found possible.

These instances of conflict in the West may partly explain, but can never wholly justify, our own national weaknesses. For it has to be admitted that in our country there is too rigid a line of demarcation between Hindus and Moslems. Where Truth is departed from, there comes in evil and with it punishment. If religion, instead of abiding in the heart, is allowed to put its emphasis on memorised texts and outward observances, it becomes the greatest of all obstacles to peace.

I can only hope that our religions will not for ever continue to lay such stress on external observances. Another hope is that if ever Hindus and Moslems can have a common ideal of national welfare, and that ideal can find concrete shape in some system of common government, then their external differences will become negligible compared with the unification arising out of common endeavour and fellow-feeling.

I once happened to have an Englishman as a fellow passenger in a railway compartment. Talking of the then Behar communal riots he told me with great gusto the story of a British captain twitting a local zamindar with the words: "You can't even control your own tenants, and yet you people want Home Rule!" I did not hear what the zamindar replied, but could imagine him saying: "No, Sir, we don't want Home Rule while we are so unfit, so worthless. Meanwhile be pleased to do the controlling for us." To my companion I simply said: "These riots have not occurred during Home Rule. The mind of that hapless zamindar must have turned enviously to the troops of which the Captain had command. For one to retain the means, and another to attain the end,—this is an unheard of division of labour. Moreover, what of the communal riots under the very shadow of Fort William in Calcutta? Those surely were as much a matter of shame to the government as to the governed. Had such occurred in the Nizam's dominions, or in Mysore, the Captain's sarcasm might indeed have proved unanswerable."

Just here is our grievance. We have no responsibility for our own self-defence, because our defence has been taken off our hands by an outside power. That is what is emasculating us, making us both weak and resourceless. If the condition to which we have thus been reduced be made the occasion by this same power for sneering at us, we are precluded, it is true, from giving any effective reply, but

what we say in our own minds is far from parliamentary. If we had power and responsibility it would have been equally to the interest of Hindus and Moslems to maintain them intact; both parties would have taken good care not to allow license to go unchecked, and India would have made strong the foundation on which she stood.

As matters are, if on the turning of the next page of India's history, the British power were to break, and leave, amidst the ruins of its strong government, millions of weak men and women,—unused to self-reliance, incapable of self-defence, bereft of self-confidence, unfit for self-improvement, while all around them would be newly awakened powers, skilfully organised in accordance with their recently learnt lessons,—then, if for a time these hapless millions are lost in confusion, on whom must be cast the guilt of their sad fate?

Or if we make the contrary supposition, that while governments all over the world are changing, the steel frame of the British government in India will alone endure for ever, then are we to contemplate with equanimity the prospect of an India eternally disunited, with no tie between its different sections of common endeavour and public service, with all their hopes and aspirations doomed to pettiness, their faculties warped and stunted, their future hopelessly hemmed in by the stone walls of an alien policy?

Up till now, under British rule, we have had unified government but not unified responsibility,—that is why our union is from the outside. Such union does not bring us near, it merely keeps us side by side, so that the least shock knocks us against one another. It is an inert, material, not a live, functioning union. It is like the proximity of men sleeping on the same floor, not of men awake and marching along the same road. There is nothing in it for us to glory or rejoice in. We may stoop low to give thanks for it, but cannot be uplifted by it.

Our old society of village communities kept us alive to our public duties. No doubt the public of those days was a limited one, inasmuch as our vision did not extend beyond the bounds of our village. Still, within those bounds, the wealthy acknowledged the responsibility of their riches, the learned of their knowledge; the whole community had a claim on the attainments of each. It is in such expansion of individual achievement that men can take pride and find their joy.

At the present day, all responsibilities of our countrymen have been shifted from within to the outside. The government is the only appraiser of our merits, defender of our persons and property, regulator of our health and well-being, dispenser of reward and of punishment. What is and what is not Hindu, is determined in their courts of law; even our intoxicants are provided for us by them; and if tigers molest our villagers, that gives a good opportunity for sport to the local magistrate and his friends.

As a result, we can no longer bear the burden of our own social regulations. The Brahmin still exacts his fees, but does not advance learning. The landlord extorts his rents, but does not make the prosperity of the tenants his concern. The upper classes insist on being paid due respect by the lower, but do not look after their welfare. Our expenditure on social ceremonies is as heavy as ever, but the vast sums so spent do not circulate within the community. Communal conflict, social ostracism, the sale of religious services,—all these social evils are rampant. The cow we are feeding no longer gives us milk, but viciously turns its crooked horns on us.

But the point is not really whether government from within is more or less efficient than government from without. If men had been merely so many pieces of stone, the question would have been how best to arrange them for serving some purpose. But men must live and grow and progress. That is why it cannot but be admitted that this destruction of initiative and opportunity for self-fulfilment, that makes despondency lie heavy as stone on the breasts of our people, is not only cruel, but vitiates the true end of government.

The self-determination we hanker after is not for the sake of wielding or flaunting power over others, nor for arming ourselves to exploit weaker peoples; nor are we obsessed with any insane desire to prove our vigour and enthusiasm for killing those who are alien to us. We are quite content to wear as our insignia the epithet of "mild Hindu" that has been conferred on us by the militarist West. We shall not flinch to bear the thorns of material loss that beset the pursuit of spiritual gain, though our rulers may twit us for it.

All we yearn for is our natural right and responsibility of serving our motherland. The soul-destroying deprivation of these is what is gnawing at our hearts and driving us to desperation. Hence the irrepressible eagerness of our youths to avail themselves of any opportunity to serve their countrymen. Manhood cannot flourish in the shade of protected

orderliness. The deepest urge of all life is to exert itself in progressing onward. In all great peoples the acceptance of toil and tribulation, the dedication of self for the sake of great enterprises, is seen as a turbulent desire that foams and roars on its course, reckless of success or failure, removing from its path, or cascading over, all obstacles. This grand sight it is impossible to keep hidden away even from political cripples like ourselves.

That is why for our youths, in whom this life-force is naturally welling up, the torture of its being remorselessly cooped up within their bosoms is greater than the pangs of death itself. Sufficient outlet for this surging force cannot be found in volunteering for occasional flood- or famine-relief work. It is only in the various pursuits of everyday life that it can find adequate room for expansion. Otherwise, its suppressed cravings become vitiated in the heat of hopeless heart-burning, giving rise to the secret violent activities that are spreading over the country. This in turn leads the authorities to view with dire suspicion any organised attempt at national self-development.

Any gift implying the grant of self-determination to India, involving a diminution of British interference, is bound to be whittled down and shrunk dry before it reaches us, if it is not altogether mislaid in transit,—whence the skeletons of good intentions that strew the desert pathway of India's destiny. Those who have usurped the power of such obstruction are obsessed with their own might, their minds and hearts made impervious to the plaints of the people of India by a hard crust of racial exclusiveness. India for them means only a magnified government or merchant office.

It seems anomalous to imagine that the British should wish to keep our sight away from this grand vision of Freedom, when we consider that their own history, for the last three hundred years or so, has been one long continuous pageant of such heroic endeavour. This anomaly can, however, be explained if we take care to remember that it is not the English people known as *great* who are ruling India, but that we are the subjects of those of them who, steeped from their youth in the acid of bureaucratic tradition, have been corroded into mere official men, reduced for us to the small measure of their special purposes.

The great Englishman has no immediate contact with India. Between him and us intervenes the small Englishman. So we only catch glimpses of the great Englishman in the sky of English literature, while the only sight he gets of us is through the reports of the bureaucratic offices and their books of account; that is to say, India is for him represented by a mass of statistics—figures of exports and imports, income and expenditure, births and deaths, how many policemen there are to keep the peace, how many jails there are for breaches of the peace, the lengths of railway lines, the heights of college buildings. There is no department of the India office through which the things that are far greater than all these can reach any human creature in England.

In spite of all present apearances to the contrary, I steadfastly cherish the hope and belief that East and West shall meet. But to that end we, also, have our duties and responsibilities. So long as we are small, the Englishman will remain small and try to terrorise us; for in our smallness lies his strength. But the coming age is already upon us, when the unarmed shall dare to stand up to the fully armed. On that day the victory will be not to him who can slay, but to him who can accept death. He who causes sorrow shall go under, and he who can bear suffering shall gain the final glory. Meeting crude force with soul force, man will then proclaim that he is not beast, but has overpassed the limitations of natural selection. The duty and the responsibility has been cast on us to prove these great truths.

[Translated from the original Bengali and revised by the Author.]



THE WORLD OUTLOOK TODAY

America

By C. F. ANDREWS

MANY years ago I ventured to write in the columns of *The Modern Review* a series of articles dealing with the world outlook in that earlier generation. In doing so I referred to each continent in turn and tried to find out its peculiar characteristic and thus to estimate what it was able to contribute to the Body of Humanity. In a somewhat similar manner, but with much fuller knowledge, I hope to write a series of articles for *The Modern Review*, in 1940, if health permits, which will deal with the most pressing problems of mankind that have now come to a head on account of the War in Europe. Mankind has become sick and diseased; but not unto death. It is, therefore, incumbent on all true lovers of humanity to consider carefully the things that are wrong and if possible to find out before it is too late some remedy for them which may be applied with good effect.

II

In the present article, which begins the series, I shall turn to America, because I have been in close touch with that continent owing to constant visits and also through frequent letters sent to me by my dear friends which have kept me well informed. Probably the future progress of America is of more immediate importance to the world as a whole than that of any other newly-opened area, with the possible exception of Soviet Russia. In what follows, I shall quote from the letters I have received and add my own comments on them. Two of those who have written to me have gone back to America after spending many years in India. One of them, Boyd Tucker, was with me at Santiniketan, and also accompanied me for flood relief work to Orissa. He is anxiously longing to return to India if family circumstances will allow it in the near future.

While it would not be possible for me to generalise about the condition of things in the United States of America from so small a basis of fact, yet it would be true, I think, to state that an anxious note about the future runs through the whole continent among those who think seriously. The United States, since the great crash in 1929-31, has become suddenly and acutely aware of its own unstable foundations. So long as the whole Society is being built up in unrestricted capitalism with its tendency towards Trusts and Monopolies there is no security. While all forms of Communism have at present very little active support, and even a modified State Socialism, such as is put forward by the Left is looked on with grave suspicion, there is no confidence still remaining in the old economic individualism of the Right, whereon the past prosperity of America was founded. It is now seen to have been adapted only to an earlier period of rapid expansion, while the pioneer stage still lasted and the boundless tracts of the prairies in the West remained unexploited. This note of warning with regard to rocks ahead is sounded in all the letters that I have been receiving lately from America. All is not well with this 'impious younger world', as Matthew Arnold might naturally have called it. For, like the Roman Empire, it has sought to accumulate wealth with such urgency that 'money' and 'real estate' have seemed to be the two objects in life that made it worth living. The word of Scripture, "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul" has been neglected, as out of date and old-fashioned. But its meaning is now being tragically realised in the present distress.

III

Down below, I have quoted some of the things which the former of these two correspondents has told me about the present condition of the United States of America. I shall abbreviate where necessary and only give the gist of his most discouraging picture. He is not a pessimist by nature and he knows his own country well.

"My thoughts," he writes to me, "have often turned to you in India during these recent months of breath-taking events. Here in America, I have been wondering what the present state of things looks like in the mind of a far-travelled voyager such as you. What is happening, let us say, between Aden and Singapore, or even further East in China and Japan? What is happening, I mean, in the religious world as well as in the political?"

"No doubt, you will think that I am proposing a very comprehensive subject, but pardon an old 'Indian' like myself, who has

never for a moment forgotten what Mahatma Gandhi meant, when he stated, that 'politics' in India, is quite unthinkable apart from 'religion'. With him there I agree, though on other things I differ from him. When I was in Bengal, it was always clear to me that the villager saw life as a whole. and mingled his politics and even his economics with religion. In the West, we have become entirely analytical, and human life has become disintegrated in consequence. We think of them apart."

"How much can we, in the West, (this is my question) absorb of such fundamental conceptions as *Dharma*, non-attachment, *Ahimsa?* Who will, for instance, deny that the Indian peasant in spite of (or should we say 'because of'?) the disadvantages of his lot, has certainly developed a homespun philosophy of life well worth studying and knowing in these revolutionary times when all is flux? I think that we can rightly say that we can bring him a more *abundant* life, the more we are truly Christian, but, but, ... what about our own peasants in the Western world? What about our millions of unemployed of all kinds and from all causes? What of them?"

"What can India teach us in some of these problems which I have already indicated? For it seems clear that we shall all sink or swim together, whether we are in Russia, India, China; or in France, Germany, Great Britain; or in the Western hemisphere of America. Our problems every day are becoming more and more identical. There is only one record in history of which I can think, that has revealed historically conditions similar to our own. That was the fifth century, when the Western Roman Empire fell to pieces, and the Goths and Vandals began to pour into the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. We have our Goths and Vandals today. What will be the outcome of the struggle between religion and materialistic secularism in India, I wonder? Are there any signs of spiritual stability that can be expected to weather the storm of moral and religious anarchy? Is God already showing us in the East some new provision for the spiritual needs of this divided and distracted world of ours, in ways that are still hidden from us? Or, is that still to come? Surely, if ever the world stood in need of divine intervention, it is right now and here."

"Speaking more specifically of social and political problems, I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that the 'machine' civilisation must be kept in check before it ruins the whole human race, and destroys all the best culture of the past. That, to me as an onlooker, is certain from what I have seen going on in America since I returned from Bengal. Mahatma Gandhi had good reasons, as I even see, for fighting with all his might against the too sudden introduction of our 'mechanised' age into India. I believe he was much wiser in that respect than in many others."

"Nobody here in the West seems to have either the courage or the vision to speak out against this Colossus of modern machine-made industrialism and commercialism. If the so-called Western democracies will not soon shed their outworn economic 'liberalism', they are doomed. Events of the last few years should have convinced them of that—which means that we are being forced back to some form or other of controlled or planned economy, where no one will be allowed to store, but where at the same time every one *must* contribute in his own special field according to his own ability. We cannot go on as we are doing today with Dives and Lazarus getting further and further apart."

"Well, dear friend, I must stop. But *do* write to me sometime in reply, for it will do me good to hear from you; for you, from your vantage ground there in the East, may be able to see things that the West has lost sight of. I, personally, never felt in a better shape to see the world in its true light than I did when I was on the soil of old India watching the patient peasant population at their daily work."

"One modern thought has been haunting me much lately and I would put it down in this letter before I conclude. India, I think, will never be able to fulfil her true destiny until she expands and has more elbow-room in the world than she has now. She is too cramped up in one place and overcrowded. With the end of the white man's rule in East Africa, *that* part of the great continent might become the receptacle for India's surplus population. This looks like a wild dream, doesn't it? But I give you my thought for what it is worth! Good bye, dear friend."

"P. S. The *American* unsolved problem of problems is the redistribution of the accumulated wealth. This is quite unlike India and China and Central Europe, where the greatest of all problems is to find space for the dense masses of population. We are grappling with our own problem, but have not at all solved it yet."

IV

The second letter before me on the table is from Boyd Tucker, whose name is well

known and loved at Santiniketan. He is also known as a friend in Suri and Pakur, and in Calcutta and Cuttack. In this last place in Orissa which I have mentioned he volunteered his services in flood relief, and helped with an almost reckless disregard of his own health living in the fever-stricken areas, which had been flooded over and had left stagnant waters behind which helped to breed mosquitoes and produced an epidemic of malaria in a most malignant form. Again and again, I had to plead with him to look after his own health, so devoted was he to his work. There are three letters of his lying before me on my table each of which contains an earnest plea from him that some way or other may be found whereby he may be able to get back to Santiniketan, which he loves so dearly, and also have another chance of living among the peoples of Orissa, and again at Segaon with Mahatma Gandhi. It is sad to think that the way is not yet open.

V

He writes in one of these letters, "I know of no one group with whom I should prefer more to be associated than the Quakers. The more I consider the tragic state of affairs throughout the world, the more convinced I am that the Society of Friends and Bapu are both fundamentally right in their doctrine of Non-violence. I am very greatly alarmed at the spirit which is now rapidly developing here in America.

The *tempo* of our life is for the most part opposed altogether to the true spirit of *Ahimsa*. Too many people take refuge in the mere escapist practice of getting into a motor car and speeding madly at from fifty to seventy miles an hour, just to get away from their own thoughts and from facing their own problems. I am beginning to feel a real antipathy to the motor car on that account, although I recognise that by itself we cannot blame the machinery which man has made for himself. But we may well blame the uses to which it is being put. This all makes me home-sick for the comparative simplicity of Santiniketan and India generally. I shall very eagerly await further news from you".

He then goes on, in other letters, to tell me of the difficulty connected with the expense of his return, especially if, as he would wish, his family came out again with him. "The longer I stay in America," he writes, "the more convinced I am that my destiny lies in India! Here, I am now quite out of my element; and yet I was never more aware of my ability to do serious work. Somehow God will help you to accomplish the desire of my heart."

In the third letter, which reached me only this morning from his home Massachusetts, he tells me how the straining point has there been reached by the mechanical and industrial civilisation built up as it is, on coal and oil and iron,—the Motor-car and Aeroplane Age, which has now come in, along with the Radio, Cinema and Television.

The constant insistence on further and further speed until the mind and the nerves give way beneath the excessive, unnatural, inhuman strain has literally appalled him. He tells me quite frankly that he does not intend any longer to share the responsibility of spreading this so-called civilisation over the earth. He *must* hold out against it; and India (so he feels) is the one place, which he already knows, wherein he can do this best. His diagnosis is that Western civilisation *itself* has become violent: and this violence produces the War mind. He sees, as it were, the vicious circle of violence and war being made complete in this very life that is being led in the West. Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini, he believes, with their 'gangster' methods of ruthless destruction in order to gain their ends, are merely the products of the age in which we are now living,—just as Tamerlane and Genghis Khan were the outcome of a former period of violence in human history long ago. It is useless, he would say, striking merely at the symptoms of this new disease, which show themselves on the surface, when the root of all the trouble lies deep down in the strangely new quality of human life itself which is being lived today by millions of intelligent and interested people who are driven along by the main current of the great flooded river which we call by the exalted name of 'Modern Progress'—Progress where? Progress towards what? Is it not Progress towards Destruction?

VI

Below I give the last letter from Boyd Tucker, which is the most interesting of all.

"My desire to return to India and to Santiniketan grows in intensity. The terrible conditions in Europe, which find their reflection here in America, make me homesick for India. Bapu and Gurudev have been the instruments which have given to India a moral character, which stands forth like a sun in the midst of the selfish and confused darkness of other lands. I have profound hope that out

of India shall emerge leadership for the preservation of civilisation when all this barbarity shall have exhausted itself. Like all Americans, my sympathy and my prayers are that the Allied Powers may wipe Hitlerism and Stalinism from off the face of the earth; but my personal fears are that the violence of War may make even Great Britain and France poor vehicles for the expression of the democratic spirit, if they are victorious. My only abiding hope is in India. I hope that India may not take advantage of the situation, in which Great Britain finds herself to gain a cheap and empty freedom. Neither do I want her to enter the conflict as an active combatant. In my estimation she should stand firm in her opposition to totalitarianism, but let that opposition remain absolutely non-violent. I do not want that Bapu, or any other nationalists, shall again become recruiting agents for the Army. Let them rather show the world the true spirit of Satyāgraha.

"There are many secondary reasons why I am so eager to return to India, but the only reason worth consideration,—for it dominates my heart and mind,—is that India is my spiritual home, and I want that whatever influence I have may find expression there. There, in India, my soul will feed itself and grow strong, and I can feel myself a part of a great vital spiritual movement. My part in the evolution of the great new India must necessarily be a very humble and minor one but I shall be satisfied to do whatever I can. I have no desire to be in the limelight or to engage in any of the activities which might bring me into any prominence. My only desire is to be a humble worker in my own quiet corner."

VII

I have taken, it will be noticed, these two writers from America in order to explain, in their own words, what they feel concerning modern civilisation in the West, after their own intimate knowledge of India, especially in its villages.

It is undoubtedly true, that, up to the present time, the pace at which life is being lived in India differs completely from this rush of the modern West. Yet every year we find the rate being accelerated; and those who would wish to introduce into India an industrial and individualist civilisation, similar to that which prevails now in the West, will have abundant reasons to show for such a development. Above all, the fever of War,—such as that which China has had to face from Japan,—may bring with it the new temptation to speed up the whole industrial system, so that it may be placed at a moment's notice on a War basis. This whole question of the future defence of India, and of all that India holds dear, is by far the greatest which the future has in store for us.

Will India, with its vast internal problems of divided communities, remain for its own sake, and also for the sake of the whole world, strictly non-violent? Will it meet even the crash of aeroplanes with Love, Non-violence and Moral Resistance? Or will India become wholly industrialised, like the Western nations and meet violence with violence in return, according to the age-long method of a 'blow for a blow', an 'eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'?

Let us not labour under any mistake as we make our own individual choice: The true pathway of Non-violence, with its appeal to moral sanctions only, will be far harder to traverse than in those earlier non-co-operation days when the opposing Power was bewildered by the new technique and the world conscience was still acutely awake. For the dictatorships of modern Europe, with their complete reliance on force, have now made the conscience of mankind stunned by their repeated blows. There is not the same moral reaction against cruelty and falsehood, on a nation-wide scale, that existed in earlier days.

VIII

When, therefore, we turn towards the United States of America, in the modern age, we are bound to ask ourselves here in India, whether it is wise merely to copy this Western system of private monopolies and accumulation of wealth in individual hands; whether we should appeal to the driving power of unlimited competition and unrestricted economic strife through machine-labour; or whether, on the other hand, we should take the first steps *now* to retain intact our moral civilisation by the encouragement of village industries and by new co-operative endeavour. If we take, as I hope, we should decide to do, the latter course, then we shall encourage the widespread use of every amenity which modern science can place in our hands to make this form of village economy attractive.

This great alternative must surely soon be faced by every thinking, intelligent man and woman in India; and the right choice will have to be made. Otherwise, we shall inevitably drift, and by refusing to be the masters of our

own destiny we shall merely imitate the West. Yet, never has the proud West been more humbled and bewildered than she is today! Never, perhaps, has she been more ready and willing to learn, if only she can find true and sincere teachers, who will be able to tell her plainly and faithfully where she has taken the wrong course. Like someone suddenly stricken down by a malignant fever, the West is holding out her hand asking why it is that her blood temperature has risen to such a high fever pitch, and how it may be lowered to normal.

One War follows another, and there seems to be no escape. Surely, there must be something wrong in Western civilisation itself, which causes such self-destructive tendencies to recur without any apparent means of prevention.

(To be continued)

EMERSON AND WILLIAM HENRY FURNESS

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

In the group of Unitarian ministers who were associated with the Transcendental Club was William Henry Furness. Emerson's friendship with him long antedated their Transcendental Club affiliations, having begun when both were boys.

William Henry Furness and Waldo Emerson (as Emerson was called in his boyhood) attended a Mrs. Whitwell's school in Boston when they were four to six years old. They were also playfellows in each other's homes. Emerson records as one of his earliest memories an afternoon spent by them together playing on the floor of his mother's room and, at the end, a supper made memorable by their being allowed cake.

Later, when they were ten and eleven years old, they attended together a school kept by a Master Webb, where Waldo's greatest delight was in writing verses about current events, especially about naval battles, such as the fight between "The Constitution" and "The Guerriere", and where William took equal delight in making drawings of the same. The boys worked hard at trying to acquire a creditable handwriting,—in which Waldo was not considered very successful. Late in life, Dr. Furness records his vivid recollections of how, at Mr. Webb's school, Waldo "labored over his copybook, with his tongue out of his mouth and working up and down with the strokes of his pen."

The ardent friendship between the two boys, formed in their earliest years, never ceased nor cooled. They corresponded all their lives and visited each other from time to time. In the year 1910 the son of Dr. William Furness, Mr. H. H. Furness, gathered together a large part of this correspondence and published it in a very charming volume, entitled, "Records of a Lifelong Friendship". There is no sentimental effusiveness in these letters but there is everywhere evidence of an attachment that is real affection and that time has no power to change. Emerson's letters always begin with "My dear, good William", or other endearing words; they refer often to the dear old times and memories, tell all the family news, and inquire eagerly concerning news of William's family. Furness writes to Emerson, "I cherish all your affectionate words. Heaven bless you, dear friend." Both refuse to speak of themselves as growing old but keep up the play spirit of boyhood throughout their correspondence. Emerson's last letter to Furness was written for him by his daughter Ellen and, when she asked him what message she should send, he answered, "Immortal love"!

In this lifelong series of letters, full of sincere and affectionate friendship, we see revealed Emerson's warm and loving heart, so frequently hidden behind the restraint of expression which he usually practised.

In 1875, only five years before his death, when he was already declining in health and strength, Emerson made a journey to Philadelphia to visit once more (the last time) his childhood friend. Here, to his great delight, he was joined by another dear friend since boyhood, Mr. Samuel Bradford. The three, thus happily brought together, spent day after day talking over old times when they were boys together in Mrs. Whitwell's school, in the Boston Latin School, in Master Webb's writing class, and, later, in Harvard College.

Dr. Furness survived Emerson by a number of years. When Emerson died it was William Furness who conducted the funeral services in the home and spoke the last words of affection there over the silent form of him, whose life had been so closely woven with his own.

THE FATHER OF PRESS FREEDOM

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

A FREE PRESS is an indispensable part of the freedom of the human mind, which is the greatest treasure on earth. Yet freedom of the press is not very old: it has not been in existence much longer than two centuries. It began with John Peter Zenger, an obscure American reporter and printer of New York City whom threats could not intimidate nor imprisonment silence. His name is indissolubly associated with the liberty of the press in America.

Zenger was not a brilliant writer nor always even a grammatically correct writer, but he had courage, fortitude and a keen eye for essential facts. He founded the *New York Weekly Journal* in 1733. He dared write the truth and dared print it, and braved jail in defence of his rights.

The early newspapers of the American colonies were published by working printers, and were about the size of four sheets of ordinary letter paper. They were all weeklies. Their contents were not usually exciting. The columns were filled with shipping news, foreign items, long letters on stale topics written anonymously, and such information about the colonial government that the Governor and his satellites cared to make public. At the time when John Peter Zenger burst into history, American newspapers had been sternly limited by government in their utterances. Any criticism of the government was held to be seditious libel.

In 1733 William S. Cosby, one of the worst of a line of generally incompetent proconsuls whom England had for generations been sending to administer the Crown's American colonies, was the English Governor of the Province of New York. Most of these English rulers were stupid and arrogant. Some of them were corrupt. Governor Cosby was all three. What the overlords most feared and hated was freedom of the press.

"I thank God", said Governor Berkeley of the Province of Virginia, "we have no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years. For, learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the government. God keep us from both!"

Cosby was a man of Berkeley's type—hating freedom, tyrannizing people and lustful for personal gain. It was the record of Cosby and his kind that prompted the American historian Bancroft to the devastating epitome:

> "America was the hospital of Great Britain for its decayed members of Parliament and abandoned courtiers."

There was in New York City at that time only one paper, *Weekly Gazette,* and that was conservative and pro-Cosby. When the truckling *Weekly Gazette* refused to print John Peter Zenger's account of high-handed official deeds, he founded the *New York Weekly Journal.*

For two years—nine months of that time from a prison cell—he made his little newspaper a thorn in the side of the despotic English Governor whom George II, with more than ordinary Hanoverian stupidity, had sent to misrule the Province of New York. Zenger opposed and attacked the political authority of the English colonial government.

The English government of the Province of New York in the eighteenth century was arbitrary and despotic in character. Grants of revenue were made generally for the use of the Crown, the revenues were disbursed by the Governors, practically as they saw fit, and the people could not compel them to account. The Governor was vested with power to convene and dissolve the legislature at pleasure, and was given an absolute veto on the acts of the legislature. The government officials, so long as they received their salaries promptly, paid little attention to the needs of the people and the development of the colony.

The marvel is that American colonists endured the tyrannies of English rulers as long as they did. The principal reason they had to endure was doubtless that they lacked a free press.

In the very first issue of the *New York Weekly Journal* there appeared an article on the liberty of the press which was issued as the text for many others. It also began a series of bold exposures of tyrannies and the arrogant misrule of William Cosby as Governor and his official henchmen. The paper became the gadfly

of the colonial government. Such audacity was dangerous indeed.

Several numbers of the *Journal* were condemned by Governor Cosby to be burned as containing "Scurrilous Scandalous and Virulent Reflections." On Sunday, November 17, 1734, Zenger was arrested on a charge of seditious libel and thrown in jail.

When brought before the Chief Justice three days later, Zenger's bail was fixed at eight hundred pounds, which he was unable to raise. For nine weary months he languished in prison before he could get a trial. He was finally allowed to have pen, ink and paper, which he had been previously denied. For nine months he edited his paper in jail.

In the first issue of the *New York Weekly Journal* after his arrest, Zenger apologized for missing an issue on the ground that, not only had he been without pen, ink and paper, but he had been held *incommunicado*. He promised his readers "by the liberty of speaking to my servants through the hole of the door of the prison to entertain you with my weekly journal as formerly", and this he did until the trial took place in August, 1735.

The celebrated trial of Zenger was the forerunner of the mighty struggle of the American Revolution. It was the greatest battle fought on this side of the water for a free press and a greater journalism.

Governor Cosby in his official proclamations against Zenger said, the statements in the *Weekly Journal*

"were contrived by the wicked authors of them, not only to create jealousies, discontents and animosities in the minds of His Majesty's leige people to the subversion of the peace and tranquillity in the Province, but to alienate their affections from the best of Kings and raise factions, tumults, and seditions among them."

But the specific charge of seditious libel on which Zenger was tried was his statement that:

"The people of this city (New York) think as matters now stand that their liberties and properties are precarious, and that slavery is likely to be entailed upon them and their posterity if some past things be not amended."

The Zenger trial took place in a courtroom in New York City. On one side was arrayed the power of the British Kingdom. On the other, stood a poor, struggling newspaper man. John Peter Zenger. The defence got away to a bad start. Zenger's two lawyers challenged the jurisdiction of the court, and they were at once disbarred.

At this point unexpected help appeared in the person of Andrew Hamilton, a giant of the colonial bar, a warm personal friend of Benjamin Franklin and a great believer in the service of an untrammelled press. Hamilton was then a man of eighty years of age, and was known as one of the most distinguished barristers of the colonies. He arose in court and announced himself, to the amazement of the judges, as counsel for the defence in what was the first legal test of the freedom of the press. The two judges, the same who had disbarred Zenger's first two lawyers, were dismayed. The appearance of Hamilton dumbfounded the Cosby adherents, but there was nothing they could do.

Andrew Hamilton opened the case by demanding that witnesses be called to prove or disprove the alleged libels. This the court refused, stating the principle: "The greater the truth the greater the libel". This was still the law of England, and necessarily of the colonies. Hamilton accepted this and addressed a strong plea to the jury, urging them to do their duty for freedom. He approached the trial knowing that he must acquit Zenger, not by the law, but by the feeling in community—the growing feeling among human beings that the law was wrong.

Hamilton's defence of Zenger and the principle of free, truthful utterances in public print—one of the greatest arguments ever delivered in an American courtroom—follows:

"Power may justly be compared to a great River, while kept within its due Bounds, is both Beautiful and Useful; but when it overflows its Banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemm'd, it bears down all before it, and brings Destruction and Desolation wherever it comes. If then this is the Nature of Power, let us at least do our Duty, and like wise Men (who value Freedom) use our utmost care to support Liberty, the only Bulwark against lawless power, which in all Ages has sacrificed to its wild Lust and boundless Ambition, the blood of the best Men that ever liv'd."

It was usual, Hamilton continued, for men who injured and oppressed the people, men who provoked them to cry out and complain, to use those very complaints as the foundation for new oppressions and persecutions:

"The Question before the Court and you, Gentlemen of the Jury, is not of small nor private Concern, it is not the Cause of a poor Printer, nor of New York alone, which you are trying: No! It may in its consequence, affect every Freeman that lives under a British Government on the main of America. It is the best Cause. It is the Cause of Liberty; and I make no Doubt but your upright Conduct, this Day, will not only entitle you to the Love and Esteem of your Fellow-Citizens; but every Man who prefers Freedom to a Life of Slavery will bless and honour You, as Men who have baffled the Attempt of Tyranny; and by an impartial and uncorrupt Verdict, have laid a noble Foundation for securing to ourselves, our Posterity, and Our Neighbors, That, to which Nature and the Laws of our Country have given us a right,—The Liberty—both of exposing and opposing arbitrary Power

(in these Parts of the World, at least) by speaking and writing Truth."

Hamilton declared that it was for the jury to decide how the words should be understood and that, if they understood the words complained of by the Crown prosecutor to be scandalous and false, then they should say that Zenger was guilty of publishing a false libel, and not otherwise. He argued that the jury had a right to pass not only upon the facts of publication, but also to determine whether the statements were libellous under the laws of seditious libel.

The Court, on the other hand, instructed the jury to find merely whether Zenger had published the articles complained about, then the court itself would pass upon the question of guilt or innocence.

The jury, going through the formality of retiring, at once came back with the verdict of "not guilty", and the courtroom rang with cheers. There were "three huzzas in the hall", wrote the triumphant Zenger in his own account of the trial, "which was crowded with people; and the next day I was discharged from my imprisonment."

From that day to this when libel is charged the facts and the law are both for the jury, practically the only case where the jury passes upon the law. It will be noticed that the year was 1735, which was fully 30 years earlier than the famous John Wilkes trials in London where again freedom of the press was sustained by the jury against the most vigorous protest of the court.

Zenger and his colleagues had won against the Crown. It was a revolutionary verdict, in view of every precedent. It was hailed, and has been regarded through two centuries since then, as marking the establishment of the freedom of the press in America.

At news of the acquittal of Zenger, the colonists went wild with joy. They rejoiced and celebrated from Boston on the north to Charleston on the south. In New York City the friends of freedom flew flags, rang church bells, fired cannon, and bestowed—in a golden box—the freedom of the city on venerable Andrew Hamilton, the best Constitutional lawyer in the colonies, "for his "learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind."

Zenger's undaunted courage and Hamilton's brilliant defence established for the first time the principle of a free press. The far-reaching consequences of that principle was admirably summarized by the historian Edward Channing, who commented on the Zenger acquittal in the second volume of his *History of the United States* as follows:

> "The importance of this decision lay in the fact that the newspapers which were printed in the colonies after that time came to be the vehicle of instruction on the constitutional status of the American colonists and on the rights of Americans as men in the light of the law of nature and of theory. These articles were written by the ablest politicians and literary men of the day in America . . . . Had the newspaper press been muzzled it is possible that the Declaration of Independence might have been written, but it certainly would not have been adopted by a Continental Congress in the year 1776, or in all probability for many years thereafter."

In the perspective of years the verdict on the Zenger case was momentous because it exploded the benighted and iniquitous theory of "the greater the truth the greater the libel," which for centuries had been precious to English autocrats. Zenger struck a most effective blow at the despotism of the government.

The verdict also established the right of newspapers to expose and censure the acts of faithless public officials. It gave the American press a chance to breathe; it gave courage to American newspapers. It marked, in the words of an American Founding Father, "the dawn of that liberty which afterwards revolutionized America". It opened the way for the tons and acres of printed criticism which preceded the American Revolution. They were no longer tame, piffling little weeklies. Men could criticize the government, the English authority, and the English Crown. The Zenger case wrought into the very fibre of the American colonials and their descendants the truth that the freedom of the press is essential to the freedom of the people.



ARE THE BENGALEE HINDUS DECADENT ?—NO

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

SINCE the publication of Lt.-Col. Upendra Nath Mukherjea's *A Dying Race* in the opening years of the present century, an idea has been afloat that the Bengalee Hindus are decadent, and are a decadent race. The late Pundit Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar, whose ancestors came to loot Bengal as the Marhatta *Bargis* under Bhaskar Pandit at the time of Nawab Ali Verdi Khan, and settled in the Jamtara sub-division of the Santhal Parganas, regarded himself to be a Bengalee and wrote a rejoinder in Bengali. He pointed out that both the Bengalee Hindus and the Muhammedans are growing; the rate of growth of the Bengalee Hindus is smaller chiefly because they mostly occupy the malarious and less healthy regions, while the Muhammedans mostly occupy the healthier riverine tracts of Eastern Bengal. The rejoinder had a limited circulation; and the idea that the Bengalee Hindus were decadent and dying persisted. In the decade, 1911-1921, the actual number of Hindus went down from 209·5 lakhs to 208·1 lakhs—a decrease of 0·7 per cent. This fact perhaps helped in the persistence of the idea.

The Muhammedans were in a *minority* in 1881; they were then 49·69 per cent of the population. Now, in 1931, they are 54·44 per cent. They constituted more than half the population only in 1886. During the last sixty years, or to be precise from 1872 to 1931, the Hindus have increased from 171 lakhs to 222 lakhs; while the Mohammedans have increased from 167 lakhs to 278 lakhs. During this period the Hindus have increased by 29·8 per cent while the Muhammedans have increased by 66·4 per cent.

The geographical distribution of the Hindus and the Muhammedans in Bengal is shown in the following table by Divisions.

Divisions		Percentage living in— of Hindus	of Muhammedans
Burdwan	..	33·2	4·4
Presidency	..	24·0	17·3
Rajshahi	..	17·3	24·2
EAST BENGAL	..	(25·5)	(54·0)
Dacca	..	18·3	35·7
Chittagong	..	7·2	18·3
Bengal	..	100·0	100·0

An idea as to how far the peculiar geographical distribution of the Hindus and of the Muhammedans and the fact of the Hindus occupying the malarious regions, while the Muhammedans occupy the healthier riverine tracts of Eastern Bengal have affected their growth may be gathered from the following table showing their respective growths during 1881-1931.

Divisions		Net variation per cent. 1881-1931 of Hindus	of Muhammadans
Burdwan	..	15·4	27·7
Presidency	..	26·7	17·4
Rajshahi	..	13·1	27·1
EAST BENGAL	..	(38·9)	(87·5)
Dacca	..	26·8	77·8
Chittagong	..	75·9	109·3
Bengal	..	22·9	51·2

The present writer has shown that Enforced Widowhood is the *only* cause of the slower growth of the Bengalee Hindus. He is of opinion that "any possible effect due to malaria seems to be of very little importance." [See POPULATION : *Journal of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems*, London, Vol. II, p. 149 *et seq.* (1935)]. Whatever that may be, the question is not whether the Bengalee Hindus grow slowly or fast, but whether they are a decadent race ?

AXEL Gustav Sundbarg, the father of Swedish Statistics and the great demographer (1857-1914) in an address before the International Statistical Institute in 1899, pointed out that in all western countries the number of persons aged "15-50" is uniformly about half the total population, and that any variations which occur in the age constitution take place in the other two main groups "0-15" and "50 and over." Where the population is growing, the number in the former group is much greater than in the latter; but where it is stationary the numbers in the two groups approach equality. The mortality in these two groups, he says, is far greater than in the intermediate one, but it is about the same in both cases. Consequently variations in their relative size do not affect the total mortality, which is thus independent of the age-distribution.

Sundbärg divided populations into *three*

types : Progressive, Stationary and Regressive, if they conformed to the following age-categories :

Type		Proportion per 1,000 of the Population of Different Types in certain Age-Periods	
	0-15	15-50	50 & over
Progressive ..	400	500	100
Stationary ..	330	500	170
Progressive ..	200	500	300

Sundbärg's observation that the age-group "15-50" contains about half the total population holds good in the case of India, taken as a whole, as the following figures taken from the Census Reports will show :

INDIA

	Proportion per 1,000 in each category					
	Males			Females		
Year	0-15	15-50	50 & over	0-15	15-50	50 & over
1881 ..	396	496	107	381	498	121
1891 ..	398	497	105	387	496	117
1901 ..	391	501	108	380	502	118
1911 ..	387	503	109	381	502	116
1921 ..	392	496	113	389	495	116
1931 ..	398	507	95	400	505	95
Average ..	394	500	106	386	500	114

Having regard to the fact that the widows among the Hindus, who form about 68 per cent of the total population, do not re-marry and are thus biologically dead to the community, the Indian population as a whole may be said to be just "Progressive" of Sundbärg's three categories.

Let us now deal more particularly with Bengal, and see whether Sundbärg's observations hold good in the case of Bengal, as it is at present constituted after the re-partition of 1911. In dealing with the question—"are the Bengalee Hindus decadent ?" we should have dealt with the Bengalee speaking population as a whole. And we are aware of the fact that about 12 per cent of the Bengalee speaking population is outside Bengal; and that of the Bengalee Hindus about one-fifth (22 per cent to be more precise according to our estimate) is outside Bengal and of the Bengalee Muhammedans only about one-tenth is outside the present Province; and of the further fact that the healthier regions of Manbhum, Santhal Parganas, etc. inhabited mostly by the Bengalee Hindus are left out of historical and linguistic Bengal. But the relevant statistics are either not available, or can be extracted with great difficulty from a mass of official documents, some of which are contradictory to each other. As we are dealing solely with the Bengal Presidency as it is at present constituted our conclusions are liable to error. But it will be an error *against* the Bengalee Hindus, not in their favour. The relevant figures are given below :

BENGAL

	Proportion per 1,000 in each category					
	Males			Females		
Year	0-15	15-50	50 & over	0-15	15-50	50 & over
1911 ..	406	499	95	406	495	99
1921 ..	400	508	92	400	507	93
1931 ..	404	512	83	411	510	79
Average ..	403	507	90	406	504	90

It will be realized that Sundbärg's observations hold good in the case of Bengal too. The population of Bengal, if anything, is Progressive and not Stationary. To answer our question, let us now analyse the Bengal figures by religions for the two major communities—the Hindus and the Muhammedans. The relevant figures are :

BENGAL MUHAMMEDANS

	Proportion per 1,000 in each category					
	Males			Females		
Year	0-15	15-50	50 & over	0-15	15-50	50 & over
1911 ..	441	472	88	436	479	85
1921 ..	432	482	86	429	491	80
1931 ..	433	490	77	438	496	66
Average ..	435	481	84	434	489	77

BENGAL HINDUS

	Proportion per 1,000 in each category					
	Males			Females		
Year	0-15	15-50	50 & over	0-15	15-50	50 & over
1911 ..	366	530	104	369	513	117
1921 ..	361	540	99	364	527	109
1931 ..	368	541	91	376	529	95
Average ..	365	537	95	370	523	107

From the above figures it will be evident that the Bengal Muhammedans fall into the Progressive category of Sundbärg. With regard to the Bengal Hindus it may seem at the first sight that they fall into the Stationary category. But a closer examination will show that they also fall into the Progressive category.

The proportion of those who are "0-15" is just abve the mid-point between Sundbärg's 330 and 400, *i.e.*, between his Stationary and Progressive categories, for both the males and the females. And the proportion of those who are "50 and over" is very close to the "Progressive" standard of 100, and farther from the "Stationary" standard of 170. Having regard to the social factor of almost compulsory widowhood among the Bengalee Hindus; and

that the widows of the reproductive age-period of "15-40" form 21·0 per cent of all females of the same reproductive age-period, we can safely assert that the Bengalee Hindus too fall into the Progressive category of Sundbärg.

Ordinarily the proportion of children in a given community shows whether it is Progressive or Stationary; while that of old persons is some guide to its longevity. And where the proportion of persons in the prime of life is relatively high, a comparatively rapid growth of population in the immediate future may confidently be anticipated. The proportion of persons in the prime of life, *i.e.*, in the age-category of "15-50" is *higher* amongst the Hindus *by some 9 per cent* over that amongst the Muhammedans. If it is objected that men between "15-20" cannot be regarded as men in the prime of life, especially as by the Sarda Act males below 18 are prevented from marrying, we shall confine ourselves to persons between "20-50". The proportion of such persons amongst the Hindus *exceeds* that amongst the Muhammedans by something well over *11 per cent.* What then are the cause or causes of the uniformly slower growth of the Bengalee Hindus for well over half-a-century ? According to the present writer enforced widowhood amongst them is the *only* cause of their growth being slower than that amongst the Bengalee Muhammedans. It may be something else; but surely not the decadence of the race. For by Sundbärg's age-category test, the Bengalee Hindus are as much Progressive as the Bengali Muhammedans. They are not even Stationary, far less Regressive, in which category they would have been, had they been really a decadent and a dying race.

In another way we shall try to show that the Bengalee Hindus are not decadent. Bio-social Statisticians have devised Vital Index as a measure of the vitality of a given community, or a population. Vital Index=100×birth-rate/death-rate. "There is no other statistical constant", says Professor Raymond Pearl, the leading American Statistician, "which furnishes so adequate a picture as this of the *net biological status* of a population as a whole at any given moment". If the ratio of 100 births to deaths is greater than 100, the population is in a growing and in so far healthy condition. If it is less than 100 the population is biologically unhealthy. If we compare the Vital Index of the Bengali Hindus with that of the Bengalee Muhammedans (who are admitted to be a progressive race, and not a dying community) and find that the Vital Index of the Hindus is either equal to or slightly greater than that of the Muhammedans, we have established our case.

Since the year 1933, both the birth-rate and the death-rates by religions are being published in the Bengal Public Health Reports. Previous to 1933, only the death-rates by religions were published. Calculating the Vital Indexes for the two communities from the published data, we get the following table :

	Hindus			Muhammedans		
Year	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Vital Index	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Vital Index.
1933 ..	29·7	23·1	128	28·5	24·3	117
1934 ..	28·3	22·8	124	29·4	23·7	124
1935 ..	30·9	21·8	142	33·4	22·8	146
1936 ..	32·0	22·9	140	34·0	25·3	134
1937 ..	31·8	22·9	139	35·4	25·6	138
Average	30·6	22·7	135	32·1	24·3	132

It will be seen that the average Vital Index of the Hindus is some 2·2 per cent greater than that of the Muhammedans.

A community with vitality has the power to reproduce itself; while in a decadent community the power of reproduction becomes small. Let us compare the Bengalee Hindus with the Bengalee Muhammedans, and see which of them has got the greater reproduction rate.

In the Bengal Public Health Report for 1933, the actual numbers of births by communities are given (See p. 13 of the Report). No such details are available for earlier years. The figures for 1933 are :

	Births	Birth-rate
Hindus ..	638,777	29·7
Muhammedans ..	783,666	28·5

The respective numbers of married females of the reproductive age-period "15-40", or as some prefer to extend it to "15-45" among the Hindus and the Muhammedans are as follows :

Community	Age-Period	
	15-40	15-45
Hindu ..	35,77,088	38,22,844
Muhammedan ..	49,73,404	52,71,626

The number of births per 1,000 married females of the reproductive age-period, *i.e.*, the reproduction rate works out to be :

Community	Age-Period	
	15-40	15-45
Hindu ..	178	167
Muhammedan ..	157	148
Excess in favour of the Hindus	21	19
Percentage of excess ..	11·8	11·4

In the Bengal Public Health Reports for the subsequent years, the actual numbers of births by communities are not given; but the birth-rates by communities are given. From these birth-rates, we can calculate the respective reproduction rates. The birth-rates are calculated on *total* population; while the reproduction rates are calculated on the number of married females of the reproductive age-period. So if we multiply the birth-rates by the ratio of total population to the number of married females of the reproductive age-period, we get the fecundity-rate. The fecundity-rate obtained by this method is less accurate and smaller; but they are sufficient for comparison. The respective multipliers in the case of Hindus are 6·2 and 5·8; and those in the case of Muhammedans are 5·6 and 5·2. The calculated fecundity-rates are :

Year		Fecundity-rate Hindus 15-40	Hindus 15-45	Muhammedans 15-40	Muhammedans 15-45
1934	..	175	164	165	153
1935	..	192	179	187	174
1936	..	198	186	190	177
1937	..	197	184	198	184
Average	..	190	178	185	172

It will be seen that the Hindu reproduction-rate is greater than the Muhammedan rate by a significant margin, whether we calculate it from the actual number of births recorded, or from the birth-rates recorded and calculated in the Bengal Public Health Reports. Thus the Bengalee Hindus are not a decadent race. It may be asked, why the Hindus with a greater reproduction-rate of at least 4 per cent is lagging behind the Muhammedans, so far as the population growth is concerned. The answer is in the proportion of married females of the reproductive age-period among the two communities. Amongst the Hindus, the proportion of *unmarried spinsters* and *widows* of the reproductive age-period is greater. The following table gives the answer.

Community		Proportion per 1,000 females aged "15-40" in 1931: Unmarried	Married	Widowed
Muhammedans	..	16	871	113
Hindu	..	22	768	210
Excess in favour of the Muhammedans		+6	+103	+97

An enquiry was made at the time of the Census in 1931 as to the fertility of marriages, etc. The following table compiled from Marriage Fertility Table B, appendix to Ch. IV of Vol. V. Pt. I., Census of India, speaks for itself.

Bengal

Class		Percentage of sterile marriages	Average living births per family	Average surviving per family	No. of survivors per 1,000 born alive
Muslim	..	5·5	6·1	3·8	624
Brahmans	..	1·6	6·3	4·6	727
Baidyas	..	***	7·7	5·7	739
Kayasthas	..	2·5	6·1	4·3	697
Other Hindus	..	3·0	5·8	3·7	642
Others	..	2·9	6·0	4·1	684
All Sects	..	3·3	6·0	4·0	657

It will be seen that the proportion of *Sterile marriages* is the highest among the Muhammedans; and the proportion of survivors is the lowest. All these go to show that compared with the Bengalee Muhammedans, the Bengali Hindu is not decadent.

Still-births are regarded by some people as evidence of decadence. In Bengal, the number of still-births is fast increasing. The following table is compiled from the figures in the Bengal Public Health Reports.

Year		No. of Still-births	Proportion of Still-births to total Live-births
1931	..	47,359	3·3
1932	..	46,742	3·4
1933	..	52,481	3·4
1934	..	53,580	3·5
1935	..	72,558	4·4
1936	..	73,399	4·4
1937	..	77,623	4·6

Since 1935, the number of still-births by religious communities are being published. The relevant statistics are given in the table below :

Year		Hindu No. of Still-births	Hindu Ratio per mille	Muhammedan No. of Still-births	Muhammedan Ratio per mille
1935	..	26,561	1·23	44,639	1·62
1936	..	25,258	1·17	46,576	1·69
1937	..	25,502	1·18	50,372	1·83

The number of still-births among the Hindus is steady, if not decreasing; that among the Muhammedans is *increasing*. Further the ratio amongst the Muhammedans is some 44 per cent *higher* than that amongst the Hindus. Thus the Bengalee Hindus cannot be said to be decadent compared with the Bengalee Muhammedans. If the Muhammedans are virile and progressive, so must the Hindus be.

Mr. H. G. W. Meikle, Actuary to the Government of India, ascertained

"the rates of mortality for Hindus and Muhammadans separately in each of these Provinces so as to furnish interesting information with regard to the comparative

vitality of each community." (See *Report on the Age Distribution and Rates of Mortality deduced from the Indian Census Returns of 1921 and previous enumerations, p. 19*).

The following table has been extracted from his table VIII given at pages 20 and 21; and the averages calculated by us by taking the mean between the male and the female mortality rates.

RATES OF MORTALITY—BENGAL

Age	Hindus Male	Hindus Female	Hindus Average	Muhammedans Male	Muhammedans Female	Muhammedans Average
5 ..	2·00	2·81	2·41	2·65	3·43	3·04
10 ..	0·90	1·55	1·23	1·17	1·93	1·55
15 ..	1·04	1·61	1·32	1·48	2·09	1·78
20 ..	1·40	1·78	1·59	1·69	2·31	2·00
25 ..	1·81	1·94	1·87	1·97	2·49	2·23
30 ..	2·36	2·29	2·33	2·38	2·83	2·60
35 ..	3·04	2·74	2·89	2·93	3·26	3·09
40 ..	3·80	3·31	3·56	3·57	3·79	3·68
45 ..	4·48	3·85	4·17	4·15	4·30	4·22
50 ..	5·19	4·42	4·80	4·73	4·81	4·80
55 ..	5·86	5·02	5·44	5·40	5·32	5·36
60 ..	6·58	5·76	6·17	6·11	5·97	6·04
65 ..	8·31	6·87	7·59	7·52	6·98	7·25

"Muhammedans have a heavier death-rate than Hindus at all ages amongst females in Bengal," says Mr. Meikle. Amongst the males upto the age of 30 the Muhammedans have the heavier death-rate. If we compare the two averages the Muhammedans will be found to have a heavier death-rate upto the age of 50.

If we compare the Hindu males as a whole with the Muhammedan males as a whole, the total mortality will be found to be in favour of the Hindus. The method adopted by us is this. From the graduated age-distribution of the Hindus and the Muhammedans in 1921, given in Table D at p. 46 of the *Report*, etc, we get the respective numbers of Hindus and Muhammedans. We multiply them by the corresponding mortality rates given above and compare the two totals. The comparison is in favour of the Hindus.

Sixty-eight per cent of the Hindus are below 30; the corresponding percentage for the Muhammedans is 72. The average of excess Muhammedan male mortality over Hindus is 0·31 up to the age of 30; the average of excess Hindu male mortality over that age is 0·40. The excess in favour of the Hindus is, therefore, 72×31=2232; the corresponding excess in favour of the Muhammedans is (100—68)×40=1280. So the final excess (2232—1280) is in favour of the Hindus.

If mortality is any index to the vitality, then surely the vitality of the Bengalee Hindus is greater than that of the Bengalee Muhammedans. And the Bengalee Hindus cannot be said to be decadent.

IT is often said that the Bengalee Hindus are lazy and averse to hard work; and that they are so is because they are a decadent and dying race. This opinion does not seem to be warranted by certain basic facts. From the Bengal Census Report, 1931, Pt. I, p. 263, we get the occupational distribution of workers by administrative Divisions. We give below the relevant statistics, side by side with the percentage of the Hindus in those Divisions.

Division		Percentage of— Hindus	Workers* on total population	Workers* with any subsidiary occupation
Burdwan	..	82·8	36·8	3·9
Presidency	..	51·2	33·0	2·2
Rajshahi	..	36·4	30·0	2·6
Dacca	..	28·6	23·7	1·6
Chittagong	..	25·1	21·0	1·9
Bengal	..	43·5	28·8	2·4

* Workers=Earners principal occupation *plus* working dependents.

Broadly speaking the proportion of workers of both the categories increases with the increase in the proportion of the Hindus in the total population. This shows that that most of the Hindus are workers; at least there are many more workers amongst the Hindus than amongst the Muhammedans; and thus refutes the charge of his being lazy and averse to work.

IT IS sometimes asserted that the physique of the Hindus is poor, at least *poorer* than that of the Muhammedans. It is said that the dietary of the Muhammedan is richer and more nutritious; hence his body is better built. All this requires careful investigation. It may be true, or it may not be. But we are tempted to think that the physique of the Hindus is poorer is more a dogmatic assertion than a well-established fact.

Let us begin with the weight of the prisoners in the Krishnagore District Jail as given by Lt.-Col. U. N. Mukherjee, I.M.S. (Retd.) in his *A Dying Race* at p. 10. His figures are :

Number and weight on admission according to age
Hindus

		80 lbs.	81-90 lbs.	91-100 lbs.	101-110 lbs.	Above 110	Total
Not exceeding 20 years	..	2	1	3	13	4	23
21 to 30 years	..	2	6	24	52	28	112
31 to 40 years	..	0	0	5	5	20	30
41 to 50 years	..	0	0	5	14	8	27
Above 50	..	0	0	23	2	2	27
Total	..	4	7	60	86	62	219

Number and weight on admission according to age
Muhammedans

		80 lbs.	81-90 lbs.	91-100 lbs.	101-110 lbs.	Above 110	Total
Not exceeding 20 years	..	4	2	7	5	0	18
21 to 30 years	..	6	9	23	54	19	111
31 to 40 years	..	0	3	5	40	14	62
41 to 50 years	..	5	4	3	7	11	30
Above 50	..	4	9	18	17	12	60
Total	..	19	27	56	123	56	281

From the above figures we calculate the average weights of the Hindu and the Muhammedan prisoners; and tabulate them below:

Age		Average weights of— Hindu prisoners	Muhammedan prisoners
Not exceeding 20 years	..	101·5 lbs.	97·7 lbs.
21 to 30 years	..	100·9 „	100·8 „
31 to 40 years	..	106·0 „	104·7 „
41 to 50 years	..	104·6 „	99·0 „
Above 50	..	96·8 „	98·3 „
Average of All Ages	..	102·6 lbs.	100·5 lbs.

It will be seen from the above table that the average weight of the Hindu prisoners is some 2 per cent more than that of the Muhammedans. Further, in every age-category, excepting the last, the weight of the Hindu is greater than that of the Muhammedan.

These figures are some 30 years old and relate to the prisoners of one District Jail. We shall now deal with more recent figures relating to the College students coming from every part of the province.

The Secretary to the Students' Welfare Committee, Calcutta University in his *First Studies on the Health and Growth of the Bengalee Students* observes that

> "The physical development of the students of the different Colleges is of the same standard, save and except the fact that the *Muhammedan student appears to be of a slighter built and less robust* than his fellow students." (Italics ours). (See p. 3).

In another place (See pp. 10-11 of the *First Studies*, etc.) he gives the Ponderal Indexes of the various classes of Bengalee students. Ponderal Index represents the percentage value of the cube root of weight in kilogrammes divided by the stature in centimeters; *i.e.*

$$\text{P. I.} = \frac{\sqrt[3]{\text{weight in kilos}} \times 100.}{\text{height in cm.}}$$

In other words, it gives the weight of a centimeter of height in grammes. The relevant figures are given below:

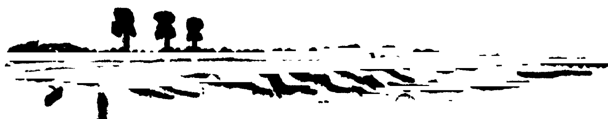
Class of Students		Ponderal Index
Bengalee Muhammedans	..	2·20
Bengalee Lower Castes	..	2·21
Bengalee Vaidya	..	2·22
Bengalee Kayastha	..	2·23
Bengalee Brahmin	..	2·23

It will be apparent that the Muhammedan College students are inferior to the Bengalee Hindu students of all classes; and that compared with the higher caste Hindu students his inferiority in Ponderal Index is some 2 per cent.

Thus the Bengalee Hindu has been shown to be at least equal to the Bengalee Muhammedan in physique.

We have applied to the Bengalee Hindus several recognised tests and shown them to be either equal to, or superior to the Bengalee Muhammedans. Sundbärg's test shows the Bengalee Hindu to be Progressive; bio-statistical test of vital index shows him to be slightly superior to the Muhammedans; his fecundity-rate is greater than that of the Muhammedans; a greater percentage of marriages amongst the Bengalee Hindu is fruitful; a larger proportion of births are live-births; his total mortality and mortality at most ages is less; and he works harder and his physique is certainly not poorer than that of the Bengalee Muhammedans.

With all these undeniable facts in his favour the Bengalee Hindus can never be said to be a dying and decadent race. It is, we think, high time that the popular misconceptions should be removed. We do not suggest for a moment that the Bengalee Hindu has no weak spots in his armour. The several weak spots have been pointed out by Lt.-Col. U. N. Mukherjee some 35 years ago; and it is our lethargy and socio-political weakness not to have been able to remove or remedy them as yet. Whatever that may be, to say that the Bengalee Hindu is decadent is not a correct proposition.



INSIDE THE U. S. S. R.

Fourteen Days Hard

By Prof. SHYAMA CHARAN, M.A., M.SC. (London)

CHAPTER IV

St. Petersburg or Leningrad

(May 28)

We were nearing Leningrad. What a chequered history it has had! Founded by Peter I in 1703 and called St. Petersburg, its name was first changed to Petrograd by Tsar Nicholas II during the Great War, and then Leningrad by the communists after the assassination of the Tsar and his family.

The train reached the place at 10-15 A.M. Rain was falling and it was very cold. Unfortunately, I had not brought my raincoat. The train drew up alongside a wooden platform in the open. Soon the Intourist turned up and escorted me and my luggage to a taxi which in its turn deposited me in the portico of Hotel Europe. No more payments were to be made now.

The temperature as indicated by the huge thermometer in the portico was 48°F—a contrast to the 110°F in the Sind desert only five weeks ago.

My passport was retained in the hotel office and I was registered as a guest for the next four days. Another demand was for three more photographs of mine as I was to spend some time there as a tourist. I told them that I had left the extra copies in my sealed suitcase. However, for three roubles they agreed to have the requisite copies made from the passport photo.

I changed the rials still left with me into roubles at the exchange window of the hotel. For sixty I received 19.77 roubles. Out of these asked the lady-in-charge of the office to remit sixteen roubles for the taxi to the Intourist agent with whom I had dealt at Moscow. She had received no information about this payment but she promised to forward the amount.

I was now taken to the rooms assigned to me. They were for the time being only, as those booked for me would be vacated by noon. They seemed to be a bridal suite. Their drawing room furniture, double-bedded bedroom and bath were superfine.

After the breakfast I was asked to select a sight-seeing trip for the day. I chose the trip to the fortress of Peter-Paul and the museum at the Winter Palace. Mlle. Zoya, a young lady guide speaking English, was deputed to look after me and show me the sights. She was a highly educated and cultured lady.

A taxi was placed at our disposal and we were driven across the city in drizzling rain. It looked prosperous, only the house fronts had rather a dilapidated appearance. I was told that these too would be set right when the State had completed its more important undertakings and recovered from the financial crisis.

The town is built upon the islands formed by the beautiful Neva and its tributeries and intersected by a number of canals. It is truly called the "Venice of the North". Bounded in granite embankments, the river is one of its chief adornments, its waters reflecting the palaces erected on its quays.

We drove along the embankment and could see in the distance, across the river, the gray walls of a fortress, beside which was another with black walls and with a high church spire in the centre.

Leningrad is a city of islands and churches. The way to the former lies along one of the most beautiful avenues of the city, the Krassnye Zory—the Red Dawn—a street formerly known as Kamennoostrovesky Prospekt. Broad and straight, it begins at the Equality Bridge and stretching over four-and-a-half miles traverses all the Petrogradsky side on the right bank of the river.

The gray-granite walls of the Petropavlovsky (Peter-Paul) fortress, the Russian Bastille, where the political enemies of the Tzar were incarcerated, rise on the Neva embankment to the left of the Equality Bridge. This stronghold was constructed in 1703 simultaneously with the city. It was however soon converted into a State prison. One of the first to be confined here was Alexis, the son of Peter I.

During these two centuries many revolutionaries have been confined, under the most cruel conditions, in the damp underground cells of the fortress. Many of them, no longer able to stand their sufferings, either went mad or

died; gallows were prepared for others in the yard. Cast in the prison, the victim lost his name, became a mere number and nothing was known of his fate.

The prison is a double-storied building in the shape of a pentagon. The guide obtained the necessary permission from the sentry walking in front of it and we entered the gates leading to the interview chamber, where the unfortunate prisoners were stripped naked and searched before being sent to their cells. The latter are arranged along the sides with a wide corridor in front. They are closed with steel doors, having small square openings with moveable covers, for the warders to keep an eye on the prisoners and to shove in their food at regular intervals. The floor is stone-flagged and bare. A pot lies in one corner. The furniture of each cell consists of an iron bed, a table and a chair, all chained to the walls so that the prisoners may not drag them under the skylights to obtain a glimpse of the sky. In the winter they are all heated from outside by coal stoves.

In the punishment cell the arrangement is entirely different. There is no skylight or furniture. A bare bed lies in one corner. At will it can be heated to any excruciating degree or allowed to freeze.

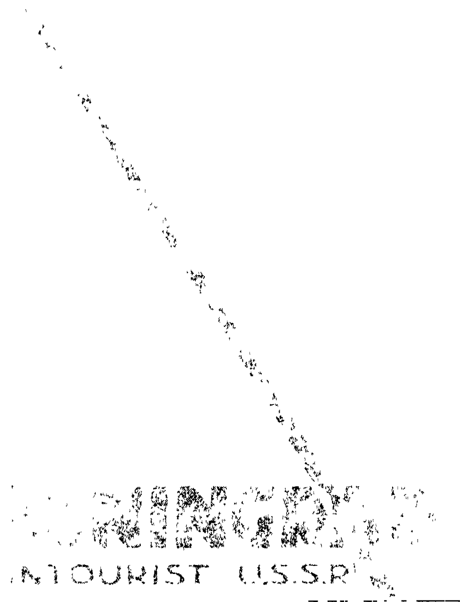
Some cells have been provided with models to illustrate life in the prison in its earlier stages. Even the effigies of the warders peeping in through the spy-holes are to be seen.

Some of the good conduct prisoners were permitted to take a walk in the yard within the prison. There is also a place where some of them used to be allowed to meet their relations or friends as a special favour. Sometimes, however, poison or prison-breaking implements were passed on to them at these interviews. It is related that in spite of a rigorous search of the visitors one of them secreted some poison in a sealed packet inside her mouth, and passed it on to the prisoner's while giving him a parting kiss. Therefore, later the prisoners were separated from the visitors by a barred gallery, three yards broad, so that the latter could not touch, or throw things to the former.

Almost all the Russian revolutionaries from the Decemberists down to Gorky and Lenin's brother, Alexander Ulyanov, had to be confined in the cells of this fortress. The latter was here before his execution for his attempt upon the life of Alexander III.

Most of the cells have the portraits and life histories of the eminent revolutionaries imprisoned in them, posted outside in the corridors. It was a grim sight and I felt happier when we got out of it. The atmosphere was reeking with torture, cruelty and despair. No wonder the people went mad and indiscriminately slaughtered the upper classes who were supposed to be responsible for their sufferings. Cruelty always begets cruelty.

The centre of the fortress is occupied by the Peterpavolvsky Cathedral built in 1733. The graves of all the Russian Tzars from Peter I to the last but one are here under sumptuous sepulchres of polished stone. The golden steeple



Hotel label, Leningrad

of the church, which is in the Gothic style, is one hundred and twenty-two and a half meters high; it is crowned with an angel with wings, which extend to a length of eight-and-a-quarter meters.

The interior looks more like an idolatrous temple than Christian church. It was used for the coronation of the Tzars. A party of sightseers from the interior of Russia had turned up and were going round the church in the company of a guide. A few had taken their hats off in a half-ashamed manner, while others had theirs on. In spite of the written notice to the contrary they were touching the articles exhibited with wonder and awe in their faces.

All the churches and cathedrals are now used as museums and show places. They and their priests formerly used to be supported by the State but after the Revolution the Declaration of Independence

"enforced the principle of separation of both the churches and schools from the State. The maintenance of the clergy became the charge of the congregations themselves. While allowing freedom of all faiths, grants at the same time, freedom for all anti-religious propaganda."

The priests are debarred from voting. Officials are frowned upon if they join any sect and show religious proclivities.

But with the passage of time, as the new regime is feeling surer of its ground and safer from its former political rivals, it is becoming more tolerant. I myself have seen old persons standing before the crosses on the exteriors of the churches, mumbling their prayers and crossing themselves before passing on. The policemen have sauntered by without arresting them or in any way interfering with them.

By an irony of fate one of the well-known churches of Leningrad, St. Isaac's Cathedral—now houses the museum of "Anti-Religion".

From the fortress of Peterpavlovsky we drove on to the Winter Palace. It was still drizzling. The car dropped us in the vast portico of the Palace facing the Neva. Our hats and coats were left in the cloakroom and Mlle. Zoya purchased the tickets, which were included in the sight-seeing trip.

We now wandered about the place seeing the objects displayed. The building, late residence of the Tzars, has one thousand rooms and halls, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five windows and one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six doors. It is in Baroque style and is distinguished by the sumptuousness of its decorations. The costly furnishings of the Tzar's private rooms have been carefully preserved. The Museum of the Revolution is now housed in some of the halls. It contains relics of European and Russian revolutions.

A considerable part of the Winter Palace—the Hermitage—now functions as the largest Russian Museum. An arch suspended above the Winter Canal serves to connect the Hermitage Museum with the Palace. All the rooms were guarded by old women, who sat on stools keeping an eye on the visitors, who might touch the precious exhibits or remove them stealthily for their own collections. Evidently, these women were pensioners enjoying their well-earned rest.

Mlle. Zoya is a graduate of the new regime and a connoisseur of paintings. She took me to the various rooms and explained the differences between the different schools of painting, exhibited there.

Works of art of all epochs and nationalities have been collected in this museum. There are Greek and Roman statues, armours of medieval knights, golden vases and fans, rugs, Gobelin tapestry, oriental idols and Chinese ivory. Raphael, Rubens, Van Dyck, Titian, Leonardo da Vinci and Botticelli are represented by some of their best paintings. There is also the largest collection of the Rembrandts here.

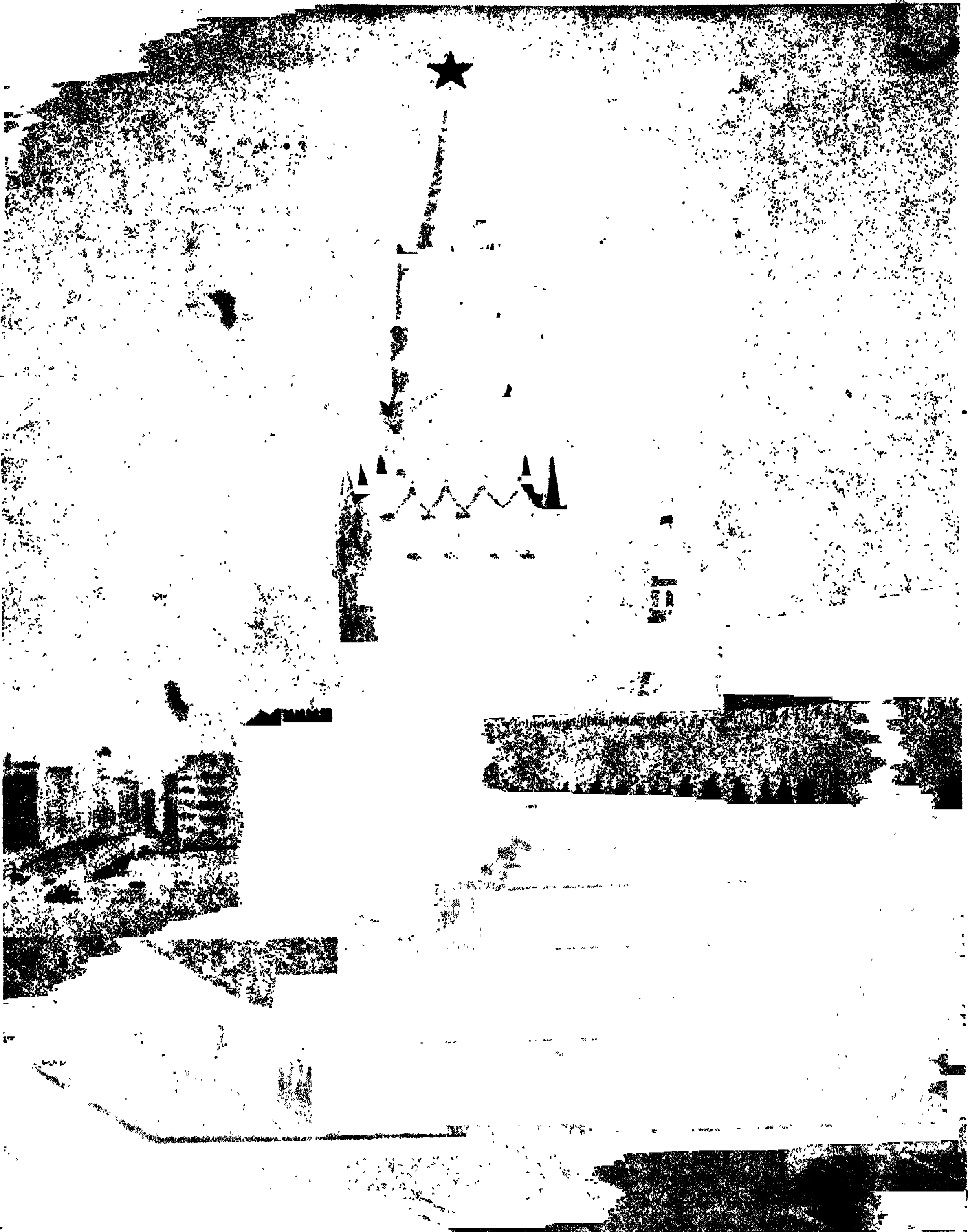
During the famines of the past years the Americans pressed the Russians to part with these works of art for fabulous sums, but they refused to sell them away. It is said, however, that they did dispose off many of the paintings, of which no account has been kept, and also that when the palaces were sacked by the infuriated mobs several precious objects were wantonly destroyed. Beautiful paintings were shot at and bayonetted and later burnt. But the fury of the mob was soon under control and the remaining objects have been carefully preserved.

From the windows of the Winter Palace is visible the immense Uritisky Square, formerly the parade ground of the Guards. It is one of the largest in the world and is surrounded by the enormous horseshoe-shaped edifice of the General Staff.

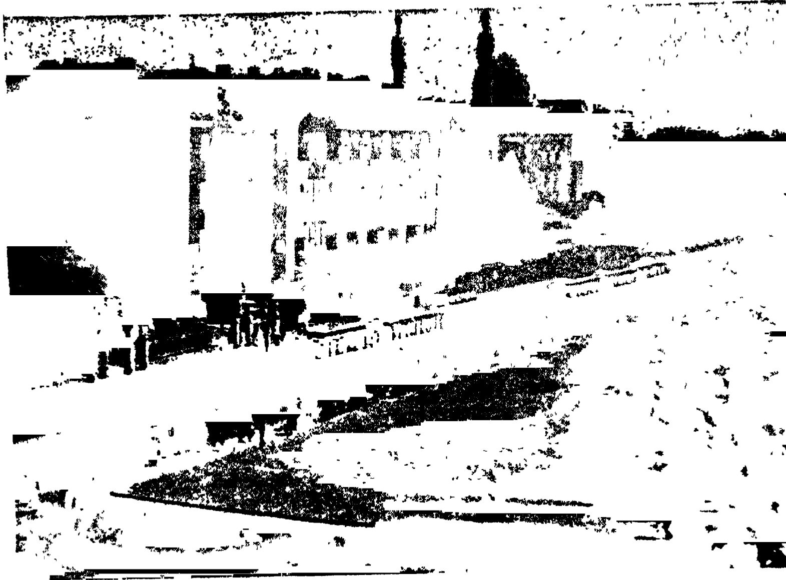
Until Sunday, January 9, 1905, the Winter Palace was the Tzar's residence. On that day the square in front of it was the scene of a bloody massacre; a procession of working people on their way to present a petition of their grievances to the Tzar was fired upon hence the day is called Bloody Sunday. Hereafter Nicholas II no longer felt secure, although in the precincts of the palace and the surrounding buildings connected with it by underground passages, there were quartered nineteen Guard regiments and a personal bodyguard. He finally moved to Tsareskoe Seloe (Tzar's village) a few miles out of Leningrad.

On the 25th of October 1917, the revolutionists took the Winter Palace by storm. It faces the Neva, and the granite quays line the the river banks. In winter the river freezes so hard that even trams are alleged to go over from one side to the other on the ice-crust thus formed.

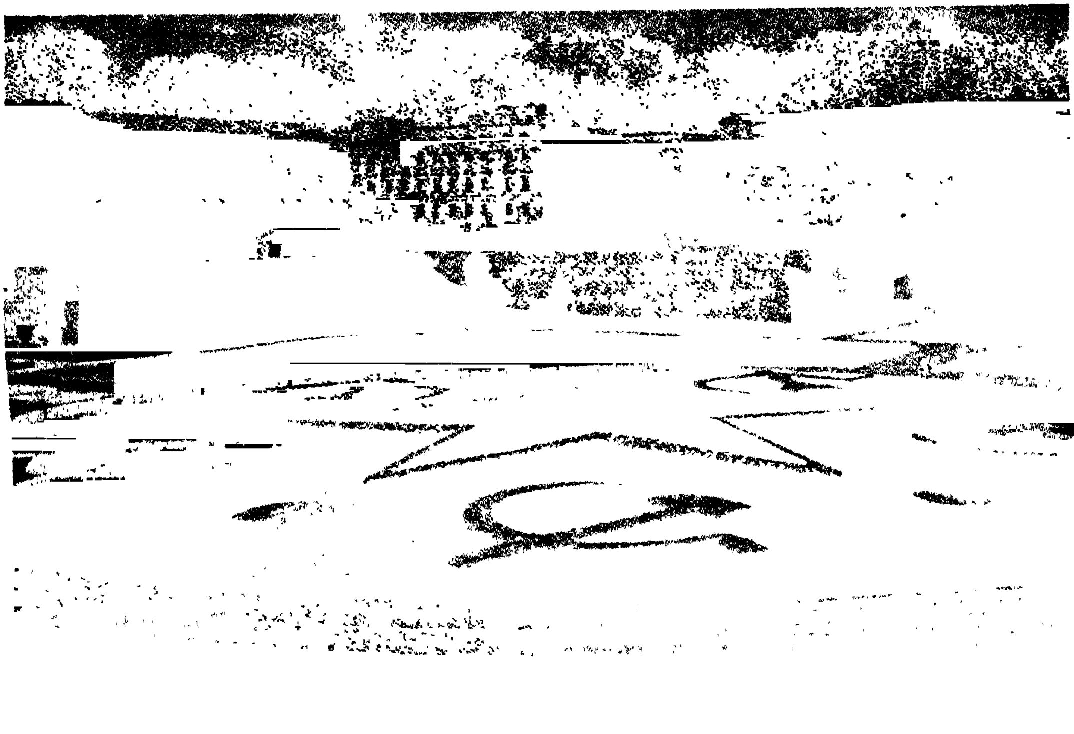
We returned to the hotel. It was still raining. I found that my luggage had been transferred to a smaller set of rooms of the same size and type as in Baku. I went down the hotel



The tomb of Lenin and the Red Star



Leningrad, Mosque



The Square of Revolution, Leningrad

office and asked the clerk—who could understand English—if I could have a hot bath in the afternoon. She said that instructions would be issued to the attendant of the floor on which I had the rooms. I was also asked to ring for this man half an hour before I desired to have the bath. There was no extra charge for it.

I asked Mlle. Zoya to get a seat reserved for me in the Opera House showing Solovok's *Soil Upturned*. She said that the cost would be about twenty-five roubles or more. I asked her to fix one usually patronised by the proletariat and not by the aristocrats. She was very annoyed and said that they had no longer any aristrocrats, all were equal and were proletariats. I immediately apologised and said, "By aristocrats I mean the people of the proletariat who have sufficient money to afford costly seats. I want one of those seats which are used by the poorest."

In the end she managed to obtain a seat for me in the gallery for six roubles. I wanted to invite her to accompany me to the show, as she would have been useful in explaining it and other things there in English. Her command of the language was excellent and she could have passed for an English woman but for a slight accent. But the class of the seat that I had selected was practically the lowest and she would not have felt happy in sitting by my side. To the Russians a rouble is roughly equivalent to about two pence.

On return I met the Swedes and we lunched together. They did not go out sight-seeing as they had already been through this city before. They were leaving that evening for the Finnish border and had several meal tickets left—would I care to use them? I myself had more than sufficient left over from the dining car coupons, so I declined the offer with thanks.

I did not find much difference between the three classes in the hotels, trains, and other places. We were all using the same public rooms, dining halls, etc. The only difference was in the quantity of food and not quality. I discovered that a definite schedule had been laid down by the Intourist for the supply of meals to the foreigners travelling in the U. S. S. R. One could order anything from the menu within the limits prescribed. Mineral waters could also be obtained, but for alcoholic and sweet drinks as well as dishes beyond the value laid down, cash payments in roubles had to be made.

The following is the schedule of the values given to the travellers :—

HOTELS

	I	II	III
Breakfast ..	19·00	13·00	11·00
Lunch ..	42·75	26·00	19·00
Tea ..	9·50	4·00	..
Supper ..	28·75	23·00	16·00
Extra ..	·95	·60	·46
TOTAL ..	100·95	62·60	46·46

TOURIST

	I	II	III
Breakfast ..	15·15	8·80	7·80
Lunch ..	27·00	19·45	15·75
Tea ..	..	..	..
Supper ..	16·05	15·15	11·60
Extra ..	·95	·60	·46
TOTAL ..	63·15	44·00	35·61

TRANSIT

	I	II
Breakfast ..	9·00	8·20
Lunch ..	21·00	18·25
Tea ..	..	..
Supper ..	15·00	11·60
Extra ..	·95	·60
TOTAL ..	45·95	38·65

I could not ascertain for what purpose this extra sum was allowed to each class. As no schedule was provided for III class transit passengers, I was given II class meal coupons. It was curious that I was charged only 45 roubles for them, though the actual value allowed to me was 116 roubles. Similarly, when comparing the rules of the railway tickets issued to me and the native travellers I found that I was allowed a cheaper rate than they. These undercharges have justified my conjecture that the exchange given to the foreigners is at least five times dearer than the actual worth of the roubles.

Knowing the limitations of the dining room now, I could calculate, and select dishes to my liking from the menu.

In the Hotel Europe, there was separate breakfast room. I found that the price of an orange was four roubles. As afternoon tea was not included in the meal coupons, I arranged my meals in such a way that I had breakfast at ten, lunch between three and four and dinner at about midnight after my return from the shows.

In the afternoon I rested for about a couple of hours and then after a refreshing hot bath went down into the lounge. I had the whole of the afternoon at my disposal and so wandered about the town without any guide or escort.

In the neighbourhood I searched for the Nevsky Prospekt so familiar to me from the

novels of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky—but could not find it. I then discovered that its name had been changed to "Twenty fifth October Prospekt" in commemoration of the 1917 Revolution. It is the chief thoroughfare of Leningrad and is three miles long. It is the street of the banks, shops, palaces and other important buildings.

The busiest part of the Prospekt ends in the Ploshchad Vostania—the Insurrection Square, facing the Moscow railway station, which owe its name to one of the episodes of the February Revolution.

The hotel is centrally situated. Not far from here is the Moika River looking like a canal, along which I walked, till I came to a curious looking church, dazzlingly and artistically decorated from outside and with the usual red, green and coloured onion-shaped domes. It imitates the old Russian style of the Cathedral of Vassilli the Blessed near Lenin's tomb in the Red Square at Moscow. It is known as the "the Church of the Blood", and is built over the spot where Alexander II was killed by Grinevitsky, a member of the famous revolutionary organisation known as "People's Will". The Tzar was torn to pieces by a bomb and a fragment of the pavement and railing of the embankment, stained with his blood, was preserved inside the church. It was here that I noticed an old woman standing before the beautiful statue of Christ crucified on the outside of the cathedral. She mumbled her prayers, crossed herself and passed on. The policeman, standing by, did not interfere.

It was now time to go to the theatre. I walked through a neighbouring part, equipped with arrangements for outdoor games and other paraphernalia for the amusement of children, and reached the theatre, where a huge crowd was swarming before the entrance gate. I was directed to the highest storey and shown to my seat. Every seat was occupied and later I learnt that cinemas and theatres are always crowded to capacity; even the highest priced seats are never empty.

I was informed that the various industrial and agricultural enterprises had permanently reserved seats in these theatres and cinemas for their employees. Good and efficient workers were rewarded with passes for shows. Besides the above inducements, they were also given all inclusive tour tickets as a further bonus.

I had already heard the story of the play. It depicted the transition of the old landlord-ridden fields into the new Kolkhozes. The setting, music and scenery were all superb. In spite of my inability to understand the language I enjoyed the show.

It was divided into four Acts with a long interval between each. Refreshments were available in plenty and the comrades used to make a bee-line for places where they were sold after each Act. I, too, ordered a pastry and a glass of lemonade for the equivalent of half a crown.

The show was over at midnight when I walked back to the hotel. One of the most beautiful and eerie sights of Leningrad, which lies in the 60° parallel of latitute, is the so-called "White Nights". In the midsummer months the evening twilight almost imperceptively shades off into dawn. Throughout the night it is so bright out-of-doors that one can read by the twilight only.

I had my supper at 12-15 A.M. The whole hall was crowded with plutocrat proletariats—perhaps many of them had privilege passes for good work—who were out to enjoy themselves. Champagne and vodka were flowing, and most of them looked well-fed and showed that embonpoint was not lacking in them. An orchestra was playing the modern jazz and the citizens and citizenesses were dancing to its tune. Their day had just begun, and they would continue their revels till 3 A.M.

I retired to my bed, tired but well content, at 1 A.M. If I understood Russian I could have had a good time with the tvorisches too, "Tvorische" is the Russian for comrade. When I returned to London I called a Russian acquaintance of mine a tvorische, upon which he lost his temper and began abusing the tvorisches. Once upon a time he was an officer in the Guards in St. Petersburg but now he was an exile.

CHAPTER V

The Legal Life of the Comrades

(May 29)

It was getting warmer now. The rain had ceased and the sun was shining brightly. For my sight-seeing trip I decided upon a drive round the town.

Mlle. Zoya again went with me in the taxi. I noticed that the trams were full, so much so that passengers were even riding on the steps, clinging fast to the railings. The shops were crowded and doing a brisk business. Earlier in the morning I had noticed huge crowds lined up in queues before the large department stores and was told that they were waiting for their opening.

Obviously, the shoppers were not on ration

cards as when the stores opened they went in and made their purchases with roubles and not with vouchers.

In the senate Square is the famous statue of Peter I, the creation of the renowned sculptor, Falconette. It is the finest monument in Leningrad. A whole natural rock was brought there from the Gulf of Finland for the pedestal of the statue. It was so large that trees actually grew in its crevices and it had to be lifted on brass sledges and dragged to the shore of the Gulf by four hundred men who could hardly move it a distance of two hundred meters daily. It took them one whole year to get it down to the shore. On this granite rock, representing an ebbing wave, a steed rears over an abyss and is restrained by the powerful equestrian figure of Peter I.

St. Isaac's Cathedral is very large and has a seating capacity for twelve thousand persons. It is now used as the anti-religious museum. Its enormous height of one hundred and twelve meters enables it to house the long Foucault's pendulum to demonstrate the rotation of the earth.

On the other side of the Neva could be seen the conspicuous blue-tiled domes and minarets of a mosque. We went over there, but could not get in as it seemed to be closed.

The city is now extending to the south. Model houses and institutions are being constructed in the modern style. We passed by a canal and I noticed some poorly dressed people selling vegetables and other farm produce along its banks. When we left the taxi to walk along the streets some boys followed us and asked for something. The guide told them to clear off and said that they were merely curious about me—an obvious foreigner to them. But I suspect they were begging for pennies.

I requested the guide to take me to a bank as I wanted to exchange some money into roubles. She took me to the Head Office of the State Bank. I asked the clerk who was dealing in foreign exchange if he could let me have some English money as well as roubles against my "Letter of Credit" issued by the Llyods Bank of London. He informed me that if I stayed for some time in the country he would have opened a foreign account for me and later on my closing it, would have given me the money in English Bank and Treasury notes. As it was, he could only give me roubles in exchange. So I asked for roubles worth one pound ten. The transaction was only allowed when my passport had been seen and examined by some competent authorities in the bank.

After these preliminaries were over an entry was made in the "Letter of Credit" and I was given a voucher to be exchanged for 39.80 roubles at the cashier's window. In all it took me about half an hour to transact the business. In the meanwhile, I wandered about the bank and noticed that the usual Savings bank was being well patronized. Many people had their account in it and received 3% interest—in a country which condemns capitalism in any form! (*see Appendix*).

At lunch I met Mr. Jesson, a very interesting American tourist. He had got into trouble with the police immediately on landing.

While visiting the picture galleries in New York he was very much impressed by the paintings of Corot. As he had no blank papers or a note-book with him, he utilized the blank visa leaves of his new passport for drawing sketches of the paintings—all nude women with Junoesque busts. On his landing the police examined his passport and could not see the humour of such a use of it. It was detained and experts and an interpreter were sent for. In the beginning perhaps they thought that the sketches might be a new type of picture code to conceal important military secrets. But ultimately they came to the conclusion that they were harmless things and let him go.

He showed them not only to me but to the other people in the hotel as well. They had a look at the pictures and tapped their foreheads —behind his back of course.

Mr. Jesson told me that the interpreter who had been sent for was a very nice gentleman and was now accompanying him everywhere with a view to polish up his English (I don't think!). He had promised to come in the afternoon to go round the city with him. I asked him if he would mind my joining them. He agreed and we promised to meet in the lounge at four.

After a short rest I went to the barber's saloon in the hotel and had my hair cut. It took me some time to explain to the barber that he was not to cut my hair too short. I was afraid he might crop it. I had noticed that the people there were very fond of cropped and even clean shaved heads of hair. I was informed that they found it comfortable to be shorn like sheep during the summer months. However, he understood me perfectly and trimmed my hair nicely for a sum of one rouble and seventy five kopeks.

At the appointed time we met Alexandre, the interpreter. He was a young man with dazzling gold teeth. He spoke English in a rather

clipped manner. He informed me that his ambition was to learn English pronunciation directly from an Englishman, and that was why he was going about with Mr. Jesson. I told him that he would be disappointed as he would only learn the Yankee twang and Americanisms from him.

APPENDIX

Exchange and Customs Regulations

Tourists may exchange foreign currency for roubles at the official rate of exchange only at the exchange offices of the State Bank of U. S. S. R. No more than what is required should be changed, as Soviet money cannot afterwards be re-exchanged into foreign currency.

The import and export of Soviet currency is strictly prohibited by law.

Tourists should obtain a certificate from the Customs House at the entree frontier regarding the currency notes and coins, travellers' cheques, letters of credit, drafts, valuables and objects of precious metals and stones which they are bringing into the country. These articles are then allowed to be taken away at the exit frontier upon the production of this certificate. The imported currency notes may only be taken out if that not more than two months have expired since the date of their import.

If the tourist desires to re-export the currency after a two months' sojourn in the U. S. S. R. he should immediately on arrival, —and in no case later than fifteen days after crossing the frontier,—deposit it to foreign currency account in the State Bank of the U. S. S. R. presenting at the same time the customs certificate of import. This enables the tourist to take the currency out of the country at any time. The export of unregistered currency from U. S. S. R. is not permitted.

A special permit is required for the export of objects of precious metals and stones, antiquarian articles, etc. purchased in U. S. S. R.

Tourists are permitted to bring into, and take out of, the country personal effects in quantities necessary for personal use according to special quotas.

Cameras, both still and cine, typewriters and binoculars are allowed into the country on the condition that later they are taken out of it and that they are registered at the customs on the entree frontier.

The tourist may photograph anything he likes except factories, railway buildings, enterprises, aerodromes, docks and other objects of a strategic nature. (And as anything may be of a stragic nature, it is the safest thing to photograph nothing !!)

Films and plates should be developed in the U. S. S. R. and a permit obtained before they are taken out of the country. The development is carried out by the Intourist Offices in hotels at cheap rate, but there are no arrangements for processing positive cine or colour films. *(To be continued)*

ON CENTRAL BANKING IN THE BRITISH DOMINIONS AND INDIA

By Professor P. C. THOMAS, M.A.

Central banking is a product of the modern age, the result of recent evolution. Prior to the commencement of the 20th century a clearly defined concept of central banking was absent and in countries where this evolution took place the powers had not often been a conscious one, nor was it accompanied by a systematic and clearly formulated theory and technique. The temperament and discretion of individual managements tinged by the specific needs of particular countries played a determining part in the decisions and operations of many a bank.

What is central banking? Different writers have stressed different aspects of it. King O' Malley, the founder of the Australian Government Bank, emphasised dealing in paper money because paper money in the modern world is power.

> "Paper money won the battle of Waterloo for England and the battle of Gettysburg for Lincoln."

Dr. Jauncey went a step further:

> "Paper money can now claim that financially it won—and lost—the world war."

Paper money continues to fight; it fights the present war. This idea of paper money was not completely absent from the mind of Vera Smith when he thought

"that the primary definition of a Central Bank is a banking system in which a single bank has either a complete or a residuary monopoly in the note issue and that it was out of the monopoly of note issue that were derived the secondary functions and characteristics of our modern Central Banks."

Ralph Hawtrey, the British Economist, on the other hand, stresses another aspect. A decade ago, he was speaking at Harvard University on an important occasion and the question was put to him. "What is the function of a central bank?" He answered:

"The function of a central bank is to supply the competitive banks with cash whether in the form of coin, or of paper money or of bank notes, or of deposits available for meeting obligations at the clearing home. This implies the function of lending or of discounting for competitive banks."

If the interlocutor expected a one-word answer he was disappointed for Hawtrey has summed up in the sentence all the major functions of central banking. Evidences, however, are not wanting in his writings to show that he believed that a central bank performs its typical function when it acts as the lender of the last resort, a phrase which has become classical since the days of Bagehot. When a member bank is in trouble, has gone to the end of its ropes, up comes the central bank to relieve the straightened institution. Imaginative writers have compared this function to the services of a fire engine, extinguishing the financial panic whenever such panic develops. But it seems that the comparison is inadequate as well as inapposite. For, it suggests that the central bank need not move before the building is on fire, before the telephone call comes and that the central bank has nothing to do with the prevention of the outbreak of the financial fire as nobody imagines that fire does not break out in this or that street because the fire-brigade rests at the headquarters, no doubt manned and oiled, ready to move. But it is curious that with this comparison even in mind there are instances of central banks not moving even when the phone rings, not to speak of their stirring to prevent the fire. India witnessed one of these callous inertia recently.

Maintenance of the stability of the monetary standard, distribution of bank notes, serving as a clearing house are among the other functions thought of as typical of central banking by different writers. There are some central banks which perform the ordinary commercial functions as well. And in fact, the oldest central banks were developed from existing commercial banks and such was the case with the Bank of England—the first to assume the position of a central bank (1694) and the Riks Bank of Sweden (organised as a state bank in 1668). There were the first joint-stock banks established in their respective countries. The Bank of England is not only the oldest central bank but has retained till this day its place as the premier central bank of the world and the history of the Bank of England is generally accepted as illustrating the evolution of central banking principles and techniques. The Bank of France was established in 1800; the Bank of Netherlands in 1814; the National Bank of Austria in 1817; the National Bank of Copenhagen in 1818; the National Bank of Belgium in 1850; the Bank of Spain in 1856; the Bank of Russia in 1860; the Reichs Bank of Germany in 1875; the Bank of Japan in 1882; the Federal Reserve system of the United States in 1913. The International Financial Conference at Brussels in 1920 passed a resolution that all countries which had not yet established a central bank should proceed to do so as soon as possible with a view to the restoration of stability in their own currencies as well as for contributing to the world stability. And during the years from 1920 there was a spate of central banks, especially in the countries of the New World and the newly-created States of Europe. The South African Reserve Bank was established in 1921; The Reserve Bank of Peru, Bank of Latvia. The Bank of Lithuania in 1922; Bank of Colombia in 1923; the National Bank of Hungary, Bank of Poland, Bank of Danzig, the Commonwealth Bank of Australia in 1924; National Bank of Czechoslovakia,* Central Bank of Chile in 1925; Central Bank of Equador in 1927; The Central Bank of China in 1928; The Central Bank of Turkey in 1931; The Reserve Bank of New Zealand in 1934; The Bank of Canada, The Reserve Bank of India, The Central Bank of Argentina in 1935.

Of the British Dominions and India, South Africa was the first to establish a Central Bank and the South African Reserve Bank came into existence in 1921; Australia followed in 1924; New Zealand in 1934; Canada and India in 1935.

These banks to a very large extent illustrate certain trends in the development of central banking. Firstly, in the diversity of functions assigned to central banking, reserve-keeping is coming to be recognised as the chief function. The very name of 'Reserve' appearing in most of the modern banks suggests this and three out of the five Dominion banks bear that name.

*** Some of the above banks have recently disappeared either by abolition or by amalgamation.**

Secondly, in sharp contrast with the situation which prevailed for a number of years after the Great War, the State has in several countries manifested a strong tendency in recent years to claim a longer extent of participation in the ownership and administration of central banks. The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, in its Monetary Review (1937-38), has drawn attention to the fact that

"in the statutes as drawn up or amended in recent years, the state has generally assumed a more important role both in respect of ownership and management of central banks, and that this tendency stands in contrast with that of the pre-war periods and early post-war years."

In this new conception of central banking the Commonwealth Bank of Australia stands out as an example par excellence. It is the only State-owned Commercial Bank in the British Empire. The commercial aspect of the bank is as prominent as its State-ownership. It conducts all the normal business of a commercial bank and for a period it did even Savings Bank business in competition with the commercial banks—a clause which evoked a storm of protest in the country. It began to earn profits as well in the very first year though it is a fact that the conservative policy adopted by Sir Denison Miller, the first Governor, is responsible for the early appearance of profits.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas while recommending in 1926 the raising of the Imperial Bank of India as the central bank for India had a similar scheme in mind. Had his scheme materialized the Imperial Bank would have become a central bank performing all normal functions of commercial banking as well like a few well-known central banks in the world, such as the Bank of France, The National Bank of Belgium, The Bank of Japan, The Bank of Finland, The Commonwealth Bank of Australia, The Bank of Java and the National Bank of Egypt

The tendency towards increased state participation is in evidence in the other Dominion banks, also though none of them was State-owned at its inception. New Zealand which began in 1934 as a private bank was two years later converted into a State-owned concern as were the Bank of Denmark and the Bank of the Republic of Paraguay. The Government of New Zealand have now the power to appoint all the Directors of the Reserve Bank whereas formerly it was to nominate only three out of the seven Directors (exclusive of the Governor and the Deputy-Governor and the Secretary of the Treasury); and the Secretary of the Treasury is now a member of the Board of Directors with voting power which he did not possess before 1936.

The Canadian Central Bank, a private institution to begin with, was taken over by the Dominion Government in 1936, scarcely a year after its inception, and the process of conversion into a State-owned concern was completed in 1938 when the Government paid out all the private shareholders. The Dominion Government have now the right to appoint all Directors (exclusive of the Governor and the Deputy Governor) as compared with three out of nine under the original statute.

The South African Reserve Bank and the Reserve Bank of India, however, remain much less State-controlled than their counterparts in the other Dominions. But even in these cases there is a large measure of State control and direction possible through the officials appointed by the Government—for instance, the Governor and Deputy Governor appointed by the Governor-General in South Africa.

In India, during the passage of the various Bills through the Legislature and even after. the controversy as to whether the Reserve Bank should be private-owned or State-owned was a lively one which exercised the minds of several experts. At present the measure of State control is limited to the appointment of the Governor and the Deputy-Governor and the nomination of four Directors and a Government official by the Governor-General-in-Council. Of course, this is in addition to the larger measure of control which the Governor-General-in-Council possesses in the matter of amendment to the constitution, enhancement of capital, etc. It is not proposed here to revive the controversy as to ownership which is deservedly dead as dodo, but it might be permitted to state that the question might once again be thrown into the melting pot in view of subsequent political developments.

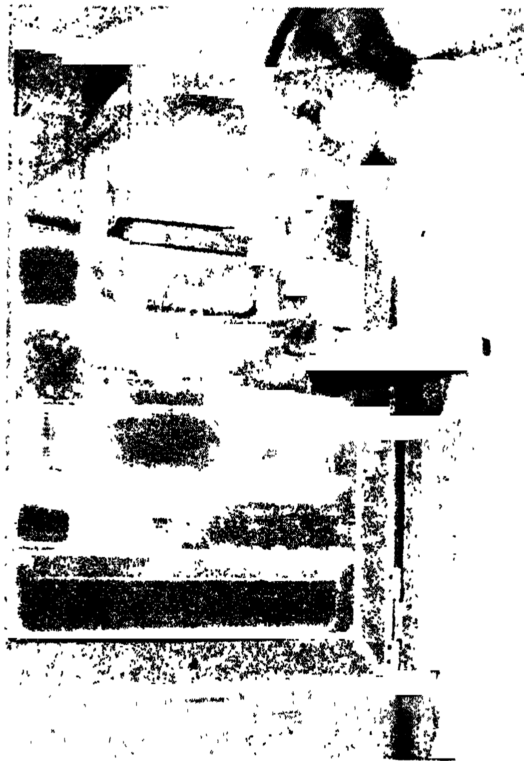
DUST MAGNET AND BACTERICIDAL GUN

Electrostatic Precipitation and Selected Ultra-Violet Radiation Fight Dust and Bacteria

By ANDRÉ LION

AIR-BORNE dust and bacteria are present everywhere, but more disastrously so in the air above cities. Investigation has shown that the average resident of an industrial city inhales at least a teaspoonful of dirt each day. Ninety per cent of all impurities in the air we breathe are smaller than one micron, that is smaller than 1/25,000th of an inch, much below visibility to the naked eye. Over a smoky industrial city, a cubic foot of air contains up to from 200,000 to over 4,000,000 dust particles and microbes.

We see the tiny motes dancing in a ray of sunshine but our eye cannot detect the vast



The new small sterilizing lamp, a plug-in accessory to refrigerators

majority of the impurities in the air: pollens which cause hay fever and asthma, from 15 to 25 microns in size; bacteria, averaging 1 to 2 microns in diameter; smoke particles of 0·3 or tobacco smoke corpuscles of 0·1 microns. Are these particles harmful? Of course, they are. Bacteria spread typhoid, pneumonia, influenza, colds, tetanus, tuberculosis, etc.; mold spores grow on bread, meat, and milk; smoke and dust collect on our walls and furniture;

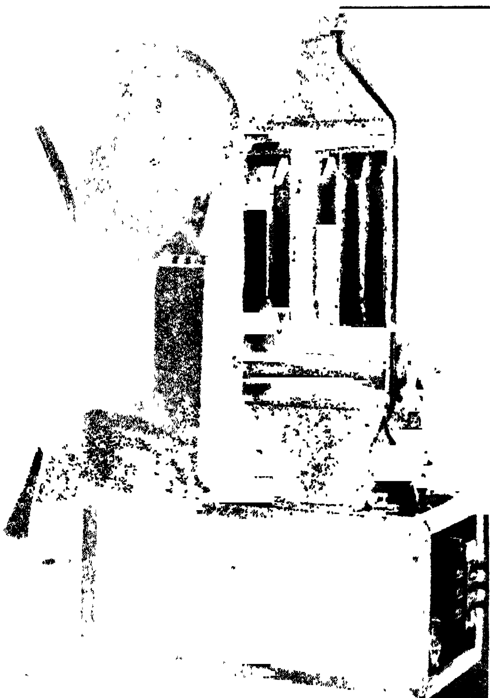


A Precipitron installed in an automatic switch room of a telephone exchange in Pennsylvania to keep the air free of dust which causes poor contacts in switches and impairs the quality of transmission

grime ruins merchandise on display; and all that is but a small excerpt of an extensive record. To purify the air by passing it through screens and filters, which today is accomplished in many thousands of air-conditioning units in homes and offices or exhaust systems in dust-producing plants, is a rather inadequate job. Even the finest screens remove only a small portion of the finer air impurities. Their tiny mesh leaves the door wide open to bacilli which never measure more than 1/100th of the diameter of a human hair and mostly much less.

There is another rather ingenious way of removing diminutive impurities from the air, and that is the electrostatic precipitation. The particles are not filtered out but electrically charged and pulled out of the air by an electri-

cal force, just as a magnet attracts iron filing. The possibility of cleansing gases by an electrical discharge was discovered 115 years ago, but only by the Precipitron, invented in



Model of a Precipitron unit in which, by Electrostatic precipitation, even the finest dust particles may be removed from the air. In this picture, tobacco smoke, the particles of which measure about 1/2.000th of the diameter of a human hair, is blown into the cylinder at left. When passing through the Precipitron cell at right, the air instantly becomes purified and clear

the Westinghouse research laboratories, has this ideal method of air cleaning been so simplified, compacted and practically developed that it now can be used economically for air purifying in homes, stores, offices, restaurants, hotels, and industrial plants. Now tobacco smoke particles measuring about 1/2,000th of the diameter of a human hair may as readily be removed from air as larger impurities such as soot or pollens.

The Precipitron, this novel dust magnet, consists of a number of units, individually installed and assembled, depending on the special job, the volume of air to be handled, and the space available. There are two standard sizes of units, shaped like flat boxes, the smaller cell being rated at 300 to 375 cubic feet of air to be cleaned per minute, the larger one at 600 to 750 cubic feet, resulting in an air purification of 85 to 90 per cent.

In order to remove a dirt particle from the air electrostatically, it must be given an electrical charge and then placed in an electrostatic field with a voltage gradient high enough to attract it out of the air into a plate where it will stick by its own adhesion. Thus each Precipitron cell consists of two parts, the ionizing and the precipitating units.

In the ionizing chambers the air passes small wires placed between grounded cylinders. The wires are supplied with high voltage electricity, thus ionizing the air between the wires and the neighbouring cylinders and creating a kind of electrostatic screen passing through which all dust particles are electrically charged. Next, in the precipitating chambers the air passes a number of closely-spaced parallel plates. Alternate plates are grounded and electrically charged, thus setting up another electrostatic screen between the plate systems. As the air passes through the parallel plates, this screen exerts a force on the charged dust particles, pulling them to the grounded plates where they are deposited, allowing almost completely purified air to be discharged through the outlets. A small power pack supplies direct current of 12,000 volts for the ionizing and of 5,500 volts for the plate section of the Precipitron cell from any electric supply line.

There are many spheres of application of the Precipitron. Industrial dusts which constitute a hazard to the health of employees or interfere with production processes may be removed. Frequently this dust is valuable and justifies collection. For example, a West Virginia pottery has installed ten Precipitrons on its automatic glaze-spraying machines to recover excess glaze in suspension in the exhaust air. Each of these precipitators in a 40 hour week collects 800 lbs. of glaze, valued at from $48 to 1600.

Air may be cleansed to protect delicate apparatus such as automatic telephone switching equipment to which considerable trouble may be caused by dust so fine that it cannot be removed by other than electrostatic means. In a private telephone exchange the average monthly number of service interruptions due to dirt thus has been reduced from 22 to only 9.

The air may be cleaned in stores to reduce damage to merchandise or in homes and offices to diminish cleaning costs of walls, draperies, furniture, and files. By this modern means, the first four floors and lower arcade of the new

Field Building, tallest in Chicago, are supplied with over 16,000,000 cubic feet of dust and germ free air every hour.

Finally, electorstatic air cleaning may result in a real relief to hay fever and asthma sufferers and may, moreover, reduce the bacteria content of the atmosphere in operating rooms and hospital wards, thus lowering the rate of death and contagion following operations. The American Society of Heating and Ventilating Engineers, in cooperation with the Department of Industrial Hygiene of the University of Pittsburgh has just begun a program of investigation on how the bacteria content of the air, especially in operating rooms, may be affected by precipitation and ultra-violet sterilization of dust. The classing together of dust precipitation and ultra-violet sterilization in prominent research plans leads to the other modern means of air purifying. Of course, ultra-violet radiation does not free the air of its mineral or smoke constituents, like, *e.g.*, silica dust or tobacco smoke. It only attacks and kills living matter, such as bacteria, germs, spores and mold.


Performing an operation under a battery of Sterilamps forming a square around the centre light, in the amphitheatre of the Perth Amboy, New Jersey, Hospital

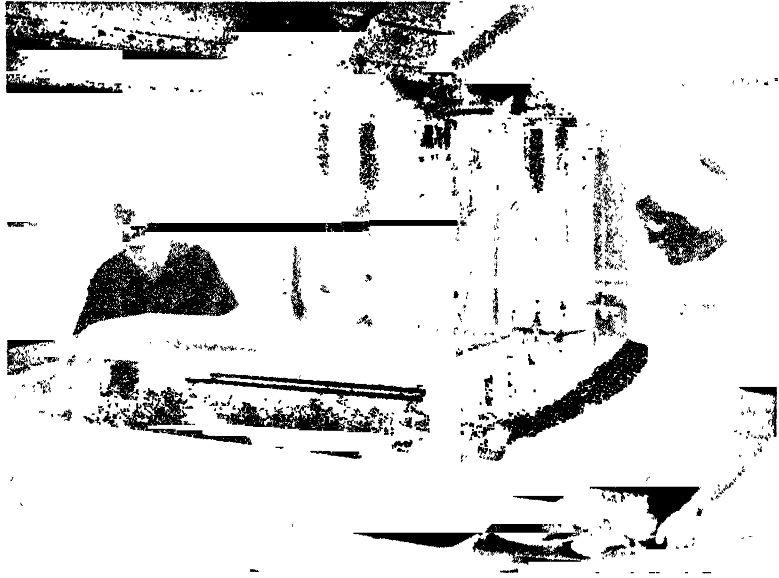
Ordinary sunlight has sterilizing power but its action on bacteria is relatively feeble after penetration of the atmosphere. Even the employment of only the ultra-violet spectrum without its neighbouring visible wavelengths is a senseless and costly means of killing micro-organisms, no better than killing rabbits with an elephant gun. For only a very limited range of the ultra-violet spectrum, that is the radiation of exactly 2,537 Angstrom or about 1/100,000th of an inch wavelength is an effective microbe death-ray, though harmless to humans. In the same Westinghouse research laboratories in which the Precipitron has been achieved, the Sterilamp has been developed, a rod-shaped gas-discharge lamp containing mercury vapor and other emitting gases. The discharge of electricity passing through this tube brings about an almost heatless emission of selected ultra-violet radiation which contains about 80 per cent of 2,537 Angstrom emission. Thus the elephant gun has become a very efficient bactericidal gun. And a very cheap one at that, requiring no more electrical energy than a 10-watt lamp and possessing a useful life of approximately 4,000 hours.

No wonder that this gun, shooting all around, is most effective against post-operation infections in operating rooms. The aseptic technique used by modern surgeons has provided no defence against contamination from the air. Tests in a North Carolina hospital have shown that colonies of the dangerous staphylococcus bacillus were rendered sterile after only one minute's exposure to the radiation of a Sterilamp at a distance of five feet. Operations on patients have been performed under the lamp, and from the first the results were striking. Virtually all the bacteria in the air about the operative wound, the supply and instrument tables were killed and even in the extreme corners of the room the radiation eliminated eighty to ninety per cent of the germs. Without exception, where Sterilamps have been installed in operating rooms—and this has been done in numerous United States hospitals—infections, formerly a constant hazard, practically disappeared.

The great advantage of this bacteria gun is that it may atttack and annihilate any germs not shaded from its invisible rays, whether still floating in the air or already deposited on their prospective prey. That is why this lamp is

ideal for use in electric refrigerators in which a steady flow of air takes place on account of the cooling process. A recently developed small Sterilamp is now available as a plug-in accessory to refrigerators. Not only any kind of mold on bread or milk is killed but also any bacteria floating in the circulating air before settling on meat or fruits.

Wherever sterile air and surfaces are requisite to the preservation of health, these special ultra-violet lamps are expedient and now used in a thousand places. Grocery, meat, dairy, and bakery stores have tried these lamps out and obtained substantial savings in terms of less spoilage, longer life and higher quality of their merchandise. Two large firms of the baking industry have been using the lamps to retard mold growth on fruit cakes, and consequently, spoilage fell from fifteen per cent to a trifling one or two per cent. In many other instances the lamps prevent mold contamination of baked goods in cooling rooms and during the wrapping process.



Rod-shaped Sterilamps sterilizing drinking glasses in a New Jersey restaurant. In thirty seconds all bacteria are killed, but the disinfected glasses remain on the rack to keep them sterile up to the moment of use

On farms, barns and cows may be scrubbed, milking pails and operators' hands may be washed. but heretofore no satisfactory method had been known of preventing air-borne germs of falling into the pail before raw milk is bottled. Today, Sterilamps are being used regularly in a number of farms, not only in connection with the milking operation, but in hen-houses, brooder-houses, and hog-pens. One of the largest poultry farms in the United States has these lamps installed to combat chicken infection.

In restaurants and soda fountains, where common methods of cleaning drinking glasses, dishes. and silverware are ineffective in destroying all bacteria and often constitute a menace to public health, Sterilamps have proved to completely sterilize these easily contaminated utensils and to keep them sterile up to the moment of use. They are the ideal solution for this problem, since they can be installed in series along the inside shelves of bars and soda fountains, in wire glass-holders, etc. They accomplish a sterilization of 99·99 per cent in a few seconds' time, thus effectively controlling the spread of air-borne diseases, such as colds, grip, pneumonia, and many others.

For the same reason a New York bank has a Sterilamp installed over each teller's window, to reduce the hazard of communicating cold germs and other disease-breeders. One of the best known cosmetic factories in the United States is using these lamps to irradiate toothpaste and cleansing creams. Several manufacturers of food products even installed Sterilamps in the air ducts of their ventilating and conditioning systems, and tests indicated that an exposure of a little more than one second killed ninety per cent of the bacteria floating in the air. Thus today, two modern means, electrostatic precipitation and ultra-violet radiation of a selected wavelength, are used to make the air which we breathe and which comes in contact with the necessities of life as pure as that of the highest mountain peaks where the sun itself does that work without need of human help.

New York.

A NEW INDIAN SCULPTOR

By O. C. GANGULY

Though more than one talented sculptor have made their mark in modern Indian art, (Mhatre, Phadke, D. P. Roy Chowdhury, K. C. Roy, A. R. C. A., and a few others), an organized movement to develop a new impulse in the sphere of Indian sculpture, assimilating its old traditions and building up new ones on the lines of its glorious history, is, perhaps, yet to come. Some of our modern sculptors, especially Mhatre and Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury, have put in very distinguished work in the realm of portrait-plastics. The work of Mr. K. C. Roy (that sincere friend of his brother-artists) is full of distinction and great promise. But no serious attempt has yet been made to develop architectural and decorative sculpture, which has left such wonderful masterpieces on the facades of the numerous ancient and medieval temples of India. Two representatives of hereditary sculptors from Orissa, Giridhāri Mahāpātra and his son, Sridhar Mahāpātra under the inspiration and patronage of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, have been responsible for a series of very fine and intriguing statuettes (in wood and stone) demonstrating the peculiar beauties of the great school of Orissan sculpture, and proving, incidentally, that the possibilities of the old tradition have not yet been exhausted. Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterjee, Sthapati-Visārad, has also made some valiant, if desperate, attempts to borrow the aid of sculptural reliefs to accentuate his experiments in reviving the glories of ancient Indian architecture, by bodily transferring (in cement and concrete copies) actual symbolic sculptural motifs from ancient temples, though not always with great success. But no sound or systematic attempt has been made to understand the basic principles of ancient Indian plastic methods or to extract from them lessons and inspiration to build up a vital national school, suited to the needs and psychology of modern life, until Mr. Nanda Lal Bose, Head of the Department of Fine Arts (Kalabhavan) of the Visva-Bhārati, set some of his pupils on the right track, and under Mr. Bose's able guidance, Ram Kinkar Baij, perhaps, laid the foundations for the first beginning of a New Indian School of Sculpture, corresponding to the glorious growth of the New Indian School of Painting under the leadership of Dr. A. N. Tagore.



Lady with Sitar Dance
Size 7 ft. by 2½ ft.
Sculptural designs by Rudra Hanji

It is gratifying to find that Ram Kinkar Baij has been fortunate in his attempt to build up a New School of Sculpture to have the support of a promising young artist, Rudra Hanji (trained in the Visva-Bharati Kalabhavan), and now working in the humble role of a teacher in the Girls' School attached to the Theosophical Society at Benares.

It is impossible to claim that our new interpreter of Indian sculptural art has followed the footsteps of the old masterpieces. His figures, though keeping to certain Indian conventions and *quasi*-romantic types, are, courageously, some will perhaps say, aggressively, modern. Except in borrowing a *makara* here, or a *kīrtimukha* there, he has not drawn on

the rich motives or the spiritual symbolism of ancient Indian models. Perhaps, he is not very familiar with the old masterpieces, or perhaps he has dodged them to escape their influences. For, it is almost impossible to stand before any distinguished example of Indian sculptural masterpiece, and not be overpowered by its mystic grandeur, its mysterious symbolism, and its original and masterly treatment of Form *qua* Form. Yet, our young artist has not despised all the lessons that the Old Masters so plentifully offer. The movements of his figures have a happy grace and the sensitive alertness of dancers. And even in such 'static' studies as the "Toilette", "Lotus-Lady", or "The Conch-blower", there is considerable animation and movement in the related lines, and in the treatment of draperies. One of his characteristic conventions is the use of granulated surfaces for the background—to throw off and accentuate the smooth surface of the figures represented—a convention freely used in the modern European and modern Japanese Sculpture (perhaps first revived by Rodin). But the artist's more characteristic convention is the enormous length of the lower anatomy of his figures, (an artistic necessity for filling up space), which may be disconcerting to his modern Indian critics. And this brings us to the real and fundamental aims of this new sculptural experiment. Our young artist sought permission to decorate the walls and facades of the humble house of the Girls' School, a permission which was readily given by the committee of the Theosophical Society (all honour to them !). In order to make the bare and arid faces of the school building bubble with decorative forms—he had to fill impossibly long and narrow spaces—which were bequeathed by innocent builders unaware of any aesthetic ambitions or of the possibility of sculptural decorations that our young artist has so clearly placed on them,—and which have turned an humble little open space in the school compound surrounded by narrow strips of walls,—into a veritable Sculpture-Gallery,—pulsating with life, and bubbling with beautiful forms. He has made the mean silent walls of the school building, talk and talk gracefully in animated forms of sober and sedate rhythms. It is idle to claim for these sculptural designs, (many of them of respectable originality) any grave and elevating messages. Excepting the "Lamp-Lady" (*Deepa-Lakshmi*) and the "Lotus Lady" (*Padmavati*), they are all humble and unpretentious themes,—characteristically suitable for a happy cheerful atmosphere, —and almost echo the snug domesticity of a boarding school. But their success lies in their appropriateness in symbolizing this simple secular life of a modern boarding school, lending to its walls and pillars the charm and happiness of unpretentious decorations. Incidentally, it opens up a new way of applying sculptural decorations to modern architecture. Architectural sculpture is no new innovation in India, with hundreds of medieval temples, sculptured from head to foot,—with an exuberance of religious ecstasy which rival and sometimes put to shade, the Gothic cathedrals of Europe. The architectural sculptures of the Gupta Chālukya, Pallava, Orissan and the Chandela Schools (to name only a few of the Indian monumental glories) afford outstanding masterpieces which it will be impossible to repeat under modern conditions. Yet sculpture has not outlived its uses with the decay of religious faith, or of royal patronage. Many an humble dwelling or even domestic hut could be made to look happy, elevating and inspiring, by the addition of a few appropriate decorations in low-relief. What a little sand and cement can achieve, Rudra Hanji has skilfully shewn in a series of humble but distinguished decorations on the props and pillars of a simple school building of no architectural pretensions.



SOME SCULPTURAL DESIGNS BY RUDRA HANJI



Workers



Toilet



Lady blowing conch



Lady with the lotcs



One of the thirty-five buildings in the University compound

The University gymnasium
It has swimming pool, tennis and volley ball courts inside

TEACHING JOURNALISM IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

By KAUSIK K. MITRA, M.A., D.S.E. (CAL.), M.S. (N. U. U. S. A.)

ALTHOUGH there are some 3,000 odd newspapers in India there are no facilities for specialised study of journalism in the Indian universities. Journalism is science, and as in all other branches of science, it has to be progressive. In order that the experiences of individual newspapers may be shared by all, thus benefiting journalism as a whole, teaching of the subject by universities is desirable.

The all-round excellence of American newspapers is not attributable to the so-called "craze" of the Americans. It is the result of laborious research conducted in the classrooms of the 200 odd journalism schools in the schools of commerce. The schools (in America colleges are called schools) of journalism have the active support of the various local newspapers and periodicals, which offer their plants for use as laboratories where the students may become familiar with the actual operation of great newspapers. Besides, the journalism graduates are all employed through the support of newspapers, and journalists' associations

Let us take a typical example out of the 200 odd journalism schools in the universities of the U. S. The Medill School of Journalism in the Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, has an approximate registration of 320



Men's dormitories

numerous universities. The journalism schools are organised with the active co-operation of the Arts and Science Departments of the universities, under the direct management of the boys and girls. After these students graduate from high schools at the age of 18, (the calibre of scholarship required being slightly stiffer than the intermediate examination of the



Journalism students at work in one of the class-rooms

Calcutta University), they study journalism for three years. The curriculum for this course includes modern literature, languages, elementray law, economics, social history, elementary national history besides practical work in reporting, news editing, accounting and elements of advertising. Records are kept for weekly examinations, home assignments, library work and practical work. The major part of the third year is spent in actual newspaper office work. The final examination counts 25% towards the degree, and the record of the work done in three years count for the rest. In order to qualify each student has to obtain 80% efficiency minimum in each subject. Attendance is obligatory 100 per cent in all subjects, and each absence has to be made good by extra work arranged specially with the instructors. There are about 20 days of holidays in the year.

After obtaining the Bachelor of Science in journalism degree at the end of the third year, the students enter the professional programme of two more years. Intensive practical training is given in these classes, and the newspaper plants are used extensively. Advanced Advertising Practice, Newspaper Management, Press Photography, Typography and Printing, Illustrations, Copy Desk work, Newspaper Reference Library work, Feature writing, Circulation Management, Seminars on Press and Public Opinion and Press and World Affairs, Interpretative editorials on contemporary affairs, and general knowledge tests are some of the ground covered in these two years. The facilities offered by the newspapers in their up-to-



Two students relaxing in the 250-acre University compound

date plants are unstinted. *The Chicago Tribune*, for instance, with its circulation of 1,000,000, and its Sunday issue of 200 pages,

allow the Medill students to come and learn how to conduct the paper. A piece of original research, covering some phase of journalism in the world, is also in the curriculum. The minimum efficiency for the Master of Science in journalism degree, however, is 90% in each subject, and it is not a rare sight to find students having to do laborious work over again until it is admissible.

Work for 18 hours every day is the rule with students going for the M.S. degree. Considerable time is expended in practical work in the photography, typography, printing and news editing laboratories. The spare time (hardly any) is utilised in visiting various advertising concerns, publishing houses, and the like.

From the day a student enlists in the school, the school takes charge of him. Instruction is mostly practice and seldom through memorising text books. Part time work, fully paid, is found by the University for every student to enable him or her to pay his or her way through college. After graduation, the Dean personally writes to newspapers and people to place each graduate in a suitable job, and the journalists' unions, printers' unions, publishers' unions, and big businessmen all co-operate with the university in this respect. Twice a year at least the university writes to the various emlpoyers to find out how their graduates are faring, and provides them with other jobs in case any one is unemployed.

It is only natural that a person would feel that he is indebted to his *alma mater* when he makes good in his vocation, after all this care ever since his joining the school. It is this feeling which results in big endowments from rich ex-students to the universities. Only recently one gentleman donated 8 million dollars to the Northwstern. It is thus that American universities are growing.

Mutual co-operation, faith, and a determination to grow and improve, are necessary for maintaining the excellence of journalism, and in this respect we Indians had better emulate the Americans, as the Chinese have already started doing since six years.

EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM

By Prof. C. NARAYANA MENON, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

After the discovery of America in 1492 and the rounding of Africa in 1497, the history of Europe is the record of a scramble for markets lying outside Europe. The old imperialism was a simple urge to extend boundaries, it was military and spasmodic; but the imperialism of nation states is varied in its methods and constant in its aims. It is an attitude of mind, a cult. Europe has not had any other religion for these five centuries. For example, the real reason why the Dutch and the English left the Roman church was that they were left out when the Pope partitioned the world.

Most text-books of European history do not even mention this cause. They produce the impression that Henry VIII was deemed fit to establish a church because he decided to marry a married woman of inferior status. Why was not Edward VIII hailed as a prophet? The truth is, in 1536 England needed a symbol which would justify a war to get an empire, but in 1936 she needed a symbol which would help to retain the empire.

European events cannot be grasped if they are wrenched from their wider context. He knows little of Europe who only of Europe knows. The War of Spanish Succession, for example, was not a war of succession. When peace was concluded in 1713, none objected to the succession, but England wanted Gibralter, Minorca, Acadia, Hudson Bay, Newfoundland and trade concessions. The War of Austrian Succession (1740-48) was another attempt to deprive Spain and France of overseas possessions. It failed, and so Pitt subsidised Frederick to ensure better success next time. When the Seven Years' War ended in 1763, European frontiers remained unchanged, but Canada and India changed hands. The imperialistic bias was so pronounced in Europe that even the French Revolution, which began as a cry for human fraternity, degenerated into the old rivalry for empire.

The characteristic tendencies of Imperialism were clarified and intensified by the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the failure

of non-Europeans, excepting Japan, to improve methods of production, or to give up internecine strife. The aim of the new imperialism was not the occupation of land but the exploitation of men. It made no difference whether the first penetration was by traders or moneylenders, missionaries or soldiers; and whether a territory was finally called colony or concession, protectorate or sphere of influence; the blighting effect was everywhere the same. The coloured races groaned under the white man's burden In the prophetic words of J. S. Mill, the backward tracts were used as "a place to make money in, a human cattle farm".

This new slavery was more inhuman than the old. In the September issue of the *Vishal Bharat* (1939) I have given an account of the exploitation of Indians in Ceylon. India became the slave vendor of the empire. It is not only the emigrant who is exploited; the man who remains in India fares no better. He has to toil for paying the interest on European money invested not only on the army, railways, harbours and irrigation works, but also on private undertakings. The annual income from British investments abroad of public or semi-public character is estimated at a hundred million pounds. Of private capital invested abroad in 1914, Britain's was, in dollars, 19,500,000,000, France's, 8,600,000,000, and Germany's, 6,700,000,000. Through the veins of industry and commerce, capital flows out of Europe, and there flow back dividends, premiums and raw resources. There is no refuge from the blood-sucking tentacles of imperialism in any corner of the world.

As aims changed, methods also changed. Some idea of the new technique can be derived from a typical example. England and France gave loans to Egypt, and, to guarantee payment of interest, took control of her finances in 1877. Since the key to India was more vital to England, France withdrew, and Egypt became a British protectorate. Thus the world was peacefully partitioned by the nation states of Europe between 1880 and 1910. Larger empires were built in one generation than in the 380 years of armed rivalry. In 1880, France had only 350,000 square miles, in thirty years she added 3,500,000 more. After the partition of the globe, France, England and Russia became allies.

Germany, having entered late, got only a million square miles, which, she felt, was less than what she deserved. Though the new technique was the substitution of war by diplomacy, the sanction behind diplomacy was always the threat of war; and so it was necessary to evolve some plan by which powers growing in strength could be appeased. Since no portion of the globe remained unclaimed, these finer adjustments could be made possible only through the voluntary sacrifice of some power. But feelings of national prestige ruled out that solution. Between 1904 and 1911 Europe was thrice on the verge of war owing to Franco-German controversy over Morocco. War was nearly inevitable. Power politics and profit politics became indentical. Then followed a scramble for petrol, nitre and other war materials scattered over the ends of the earth.

The League of Nations and the various pacts were attempts to revive the technique of the halcyon days of imperialism. In 1880 European powers renounced mutual war. The League seconded that teaching with the threat of force. But the old problem was still there. At the outset, the League could, under pretext of mandates, give to each according to his strength; but it could not provide for future readjustments.

Outside the framework of the League, occasional efforts were made. When Italy invaded Abyssinia, the League waited for Laval and Hoare to finish their secret talks. When Nazi and Fascist spies and propagandists threatened England's hold on Palestine, Suez, Egypt, India and Africa, England appeased Germany at the expense of a third and minor nation.

But the concession merely strengthened Germany and her claims. England discovered that the empire was at stake, and gave an assurance to Poland in advance. It was not that Hitler categorically refused to accept the policy of peace in Europe to facilitate bargaining for territories abroad. A close examination of his talks with Henderson reveals that his main point was that England did not sufficiently appreciate Germany's might, which was but another way of saying that England was not offering as much of Africa as Germany deserved. Hitler, therefore, decided to demonstrate his might in Poland. Now that it is over, he expects Chamberlain to

Fly, fly, fly again
Till he can concede.



Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

Indians not wanted in Ceylon

The tug in Colombo harbour is taking from the boat in which they have come to the immigration detention sheds a group of Indians who would be free to engage in work of any sort anywhere in the Island. These, rather than Indians on plantations, are the targets of organized Ceylonese labourites and Sinhalese politicians

THE INDO-CEYLON DEADLOCK

By St. NIHAL SINGH

Signs are appearing at long last of activity to resolve the Indo-Ceylon deadlock. These should cheer us. Bitterness between peoples living in such close physical proximity and kin through blood and culture, is to be deprecated; and effort should be made to remove it as quickly and effectually as possible.

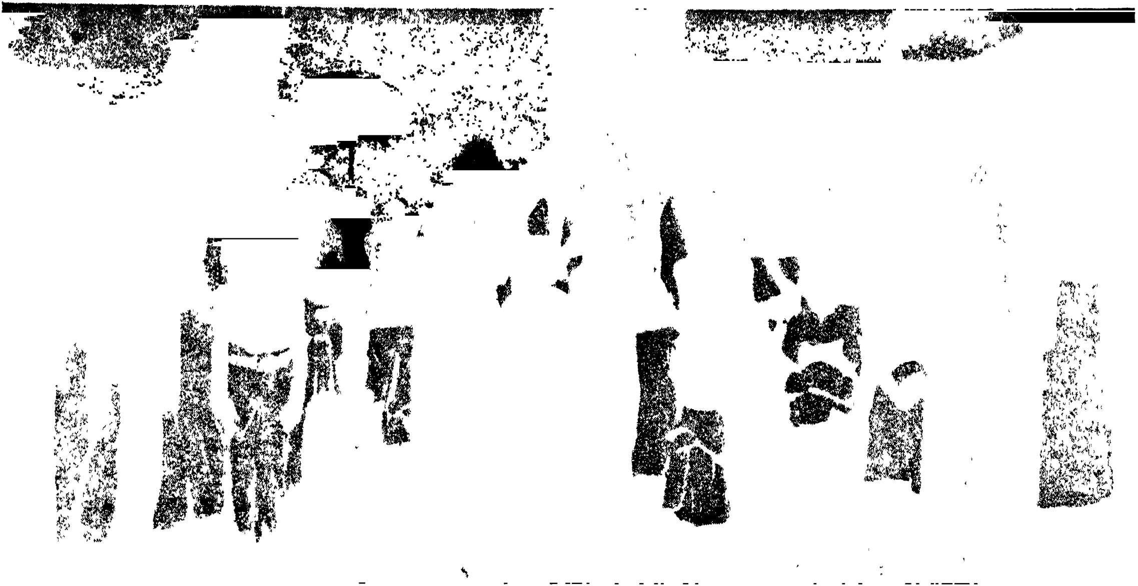
The Governor of Ceylon—His Excellency Sir Andrew Caldecott—was recently at the Government House in Madras. The object of his visit was stated to be deep X-Ray therapy. This treatment he received it was true, at Dr. Rama Rau's Radiological Institute.

It is inconceivable, however, that conversation between him and his host never veered towards the politico-economic difficulties that have led to the present impasse between Ceylon and India. The Madras Presidency, it is to be remembered, is affected by it more than any other part of our Motherland, for from thence issues the stream of Ceylon-ward immigration held up by the Government of India embargo. The deadlock is, moreover, already beginning to react disadvantageously on the supplies flowing from Colombo towards the Empire's war nerve-centre. What wonder, then, that the heads of the two administrations separated only by a ditch—both Britons and both keenly interested in strengthening their hand in prosecuting the struggle against the enemy—may, at odd moments, have informally discussed the difficulties that, unfortunately, exist.

That, however, is a matter of presumption. A surer sign is the news that the Ceylon Government are sending a delegation to New Delhi to negotiate with the Government of India. The men who are to compose it have apparently been chosen. The names, at any rate, have been given in a press despatch that does not seem to lack authority. It would do us no harm to learn what we can about them and also to survey the situation.

II

The Sinhalese dominant in the Island could not, in my opinion, have chosen an abler person to head this delegation than the Minister of Agriculture—Hon'ble Don Stephen C. Senanayake—as they appear to have done. His knowledge of affairs in Ceylon is extensive as well as intimate. His manner is persuasive—suave. He is, nevertheless, a determined and persevering fighter. He will not yield an inch of ground he can possibly hold. A man of



Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

Indians who are wanted in Ceylon

The portion of the incinerator showing at their back indicates the lowly occupation of these Indians employed by the Colombo Conservancy Department

wealth to which he is adding from income derived from plantations, mines and accumulated reserves, and not dependent in any measure upon his salary, which, however, is by no means regulated according to anything like the standard laid down by the Mahatma Gandhi for ministers here, he does not stint money upon entertaining. He is, in fact, lavish in hospitality almost to a fault. His table in his finely appointed mansion is among the most sumptuous in Colombo, and that is saying much.

To my great regret I have to add that "D.S."—as his familiars address him—has been concerned in activities that have worsened the position of Indians—both the free and the "assisted" Indians—in the Island. He was for instance, credited with having had a hand in the resolution of the Anglo-Ceylon deadlock that followed the publication of the report made to the Colonial Office by the Constitutional Comission presided over by the Earl of Donoughmore. The resolution, it may be recalled, was brought about almost wholly by the revision of the Commission's recommendations in respect of the enfranchisement of our people in the Island —a revision that affected them disadvantageously and is, in fact, one of the most important factors in the situation now to be dealt with.

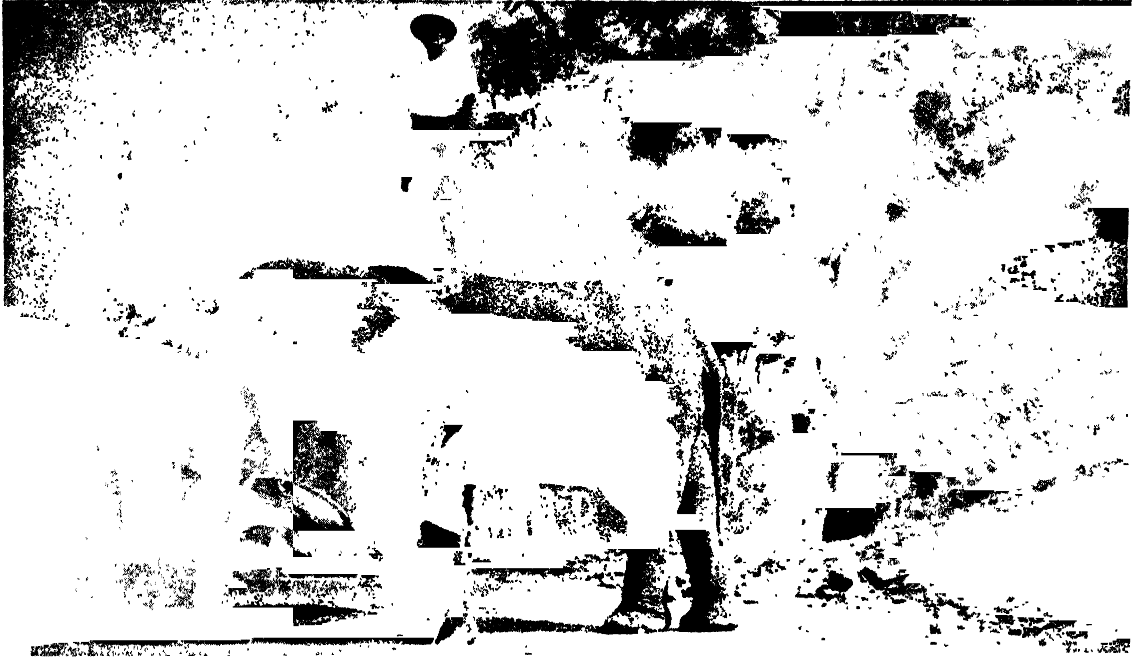
III

With the Hon'ble Don Stephen C. Senanayake is to be associated, according to the above mentioned despatch, a fellow-minister—Hon'ble S. W. R. D. Bandaranayaka. A younger man, he comes from a family that regards itself as the salt of Sinhala-dwipa—the island captured and colonized by Vijaya, prince of Vanga, taken to be Bengal of our day. Unlike many of his near kinsmen, he did not seek service under the Government, but preferred to enter public life, for which he seems to have prepared himself while an "undergrad" at Oxford, by assiduously cultivating his flaire for public speaking.

Shortly after his return from Europe young Bandaranayaka gave his fellow-aristocrats the surprise of their life. He cast aside the suits he had had made by Savile Row tailors in London and took to the robes of the East, made of the simplest (and, for some years at least, I believe, of hand-spun, hand-woven) materials.

"Just a fad," declared his relatives and friends. "He will soon tire of it." Not a few others who, at that time, had similarly been caught by the "craze," as it was described, did : but not he.

Nor was this change his only move towards re-orientalization. He took the trouble—and considerable trouble it must have been for



Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

Hon. Don Stephen Senenanayeke can manage men as easily as he can this elephant on one of his estates. He has hence been selected, no doubt, to head the deputation that his colleagues of the Ceylon Government are sending to confer with the Government of India authorities at New Delhi

from childhood upwards he had been brought up in a highly Anglicised atmosphere—to perfect his speech in Sinhalese, the language of the majority of Ceylon's population, derived almost directly from the Pali current in Magadha during the Mauryan age with a large infusion of Tamil.

People—including some of his kinsmen—cavilled at this. "A political stunt—nothing else," they said. Possibly the real explanation was that Bandaranayaka, uncommonly shrewd as he was, had accurately read the signs of the times—that the day had gone when, merely by dancing attendance in the gubernatorial premises, preferment could be assured—that the era when a person with an eye to the main chance (as the Americans put it) could succeed only through securing popular support had dawned. Nor was he wanting in the energy tightly to grasp the new opportunity.

Unfortunately for the forthcoming negotiations, however, this young minister has been connected with activities that have cast a heavy shadow upon the life and well-being of Indian settlers and migrants in the Island.

Another minister,—Hon'ble G. C. S. Corea —who is to serve on the delegation, was born and brought up in an atmosphere strongly charged with politics. More than one member of the clan Corea had taken to the hustings before he did and had made a name for himself. Following the precedent but having the shrewdness to ally himself with the more virile, younger set, he, too, has got on politically. Deservedly, too. He knows his public—has the gift of winning support—and I fully expect that he will rise much higher.

Mr. Claude Corea's associates, unfortunately, are not, to say the least, well disposed towards the Ceylon Indians. He will come, moreover, after his Burmese visit. To Burma some anti-Indian Sinhalese are openly pinning their faith for the solution of any difficulties that the authorities in India, aggrieved and angered, might make. Suggestions to that effect began even before the movement for Burmese separation succeeded.

IV

Of one more member of the delegation—or is he the Secretary and not a member? (of that I am not clear in my mind)—I must make mention. This is Mr. D. J. Huxham.

I remember his advent into Ceylon. He

took up his abode at the Grand Oriental Hotel in Colombo that served as my home for three and a half years round about that time. He had been brought out there to take on a job that he must have known would expose him to the ire of every one whose pocket he inevitably would touch. An employee of the Inland Board of Revenue in London, his services had been borrowed by the Ceylon Government, bent upon imposing a tax on income, from which, till then, the sons of the soil as well as the outsiders living for gainful purpose among them, had been exempt.

What a storm broke over Mr. Huxham's head! How well I remember its violence—and its virulence. He was attacked openly and behind his back—attacked, in many instances, with sheer malignity. The talk in certain social circles was so sulphurous that a lighted match would have set it ablaze. Doggerals appeared in the press lampooning him.

I admired Mr. Huxham's composure. At least outwardly he did not appear to mind abuse. He behaved as if criticism—vituperation—all were in the day's work.

Through all that obloquy Mr. Huxham came without a smear. Appointed to administer the scheme of Income Tax he had worked out, he, by his prudent and courteous conduct, won the golden opinions of all but cantankerous persons. His rise to the important position that he now holds in Ceylon's permanent officialdom was—and in my opinion is—well merited

V

These, then, are the men who are said to have been selected to negotiate at New Delhi with the representatives of the Government of India. They are far too shrewd to feel that by trying merely to sway sentiment they can achieve their object (of which more later) there.

Not so very long ago their fellows feasted and fêted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he descended from the skies among them, sent by the Indian National Congress to try to remove, by social suasion, the causes embittering Indo-Ceylon relations. He returned with no doubt in his mind as to the issue of the *pourparlers* in which he had courageously engaged.

No more can the Sinhalese delegates—those mentioned above or any others—effect an adjustment of the outstanding issues by pursuing, in New Delhi, tactics similar to those lately employed in Colombo. I credit them with the intelligence to be fully cognisant of the futility of such procedure, prior to their landing at the New Delhi aerodrome—or may be the railway station there.

I nevertheless refuse to be pessimistic. These men and those who are sending them are realists. They will come—if they come at all—fully convinced that Ceylon cannot get along without Indian aid—and that Indian aid can be had only on terms—not for the asking, however pleasant—however tactful.

VI

The outbreak of hostilities in Europe has, I think, done more than all the peace-time agencies combined to make the men in power in Colombo realize the need of standing in well with India. I shall cite two concrete instances to show the effect of this new agency.

(1) The war has provided the powers that be in Ceylon with a visual demonstration of the dependence of some of the most primary industries in the Island upon Indian assistance. The additional cargo space allotted, in this time of shipping stringency, for the export of tea from Ceylon cannot be utilized, it has leaked out because of the inadequacy of supplies of tea for export; and increased tea production is almost wholly conditioned upon increase in the volume of Indian immigration into the country.

It is, of course, possible that the labourers at present working on the estates may be urged to persuade their kinsfolk and co-villagers back in the Motherland to emigrate to Ceylon; and funds may be quietly supplied for this purpose. This has been done before and is possibly being done now. It is, at best, no more than a makeshift, however, and its possibilities are strictly limited.

Some effort is being made to whip up the Sinhalese to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the present crisis. How much of this is sheer stage-management need not be asked. The attempt, even if genuine, is not being made for the first time nor is it likely to be appreciably more successful now than in earlier decades. Any one who knows aught of the Sinhalese temperament and ways and, at the same time, of plantation industries in the Island, does not need to be told that, for the extension of tea production on any scale worth talking about, it will be necessary for the Ceylon Government to arrange with the authorities at New Delhi to lift the embargo imposed upon the Ceylon-ward flow of labour.

(2) The menace of food shortage brought about by the forces generated by the European conflict has, in my view, done even more to make the Sinhalese in power realize their in-



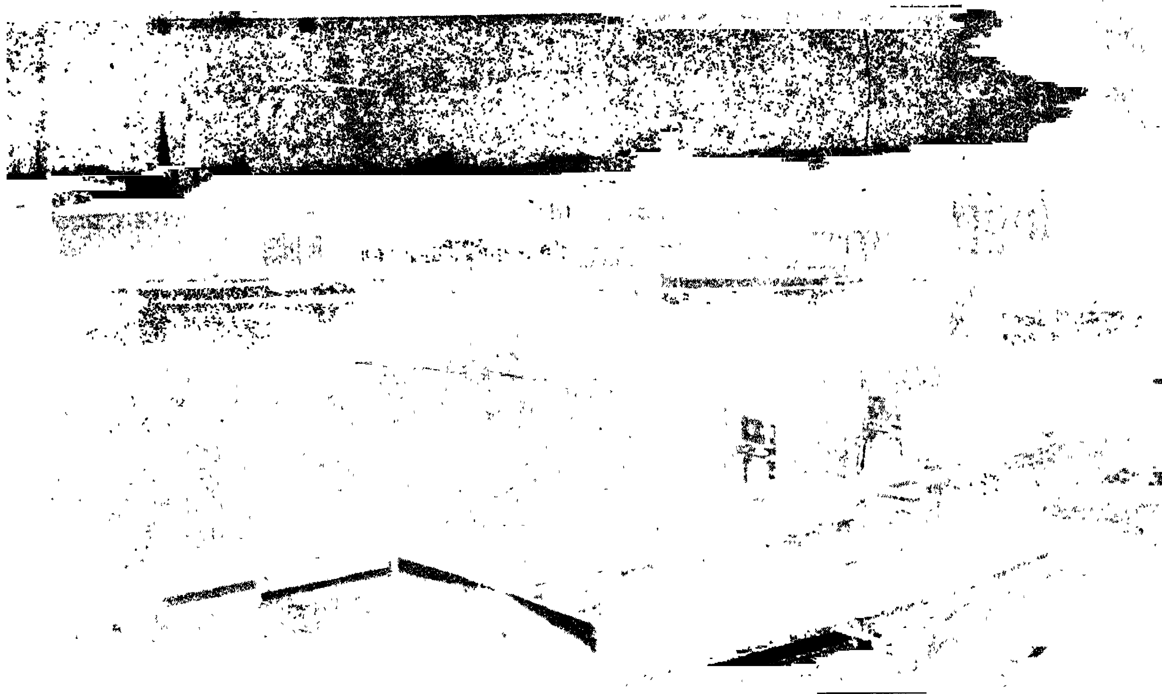
A bid for freedom

A group of dissatisfied Indian labourers running away from a rubber plantation in the low country lying almost immediately at the foot of Ceylon's mountains



While the babe feeds at her mother's breast, the mother anxiously awaits the verdict of the scales as to how much she will get from the tea-leaves she has plucked

[Copyright photographs by St. Nihal Singh]



Panorama of the harbour, Helsinki



Another view of the harbour

ability to carry on without India's goodwill. They do not produce enough rice and other comestibles to be anywhere near self-sufficing. When the exchange of commodities is unfettered this lack in the economic organization of the Island may be of no great consequence. Now, however, it is another matter altogether.

My friend Don Stephen C. Senanayake, as Minister of Agriculture, is no doubt straining every nerve to increase home food production. I wish him well in this endeavour. He may not, I believe, get very far forward in this respect without Indian aid. Even if he could, the remedial measures would not greatly enhance supplies immediately.

Whatever the success of the Corea mission to Rangoon, Ceylon cannot well do without India's good-will, now or for years to come. The Sinhalese and Tamils in the Island would, for one thing, be hard put to it if compelled to find an alternative to the Indian market for more than one product.

VII

Are the issues that are dividing the Sinhalese from their cousins across the narrow Palk Strait unsusceptible of adjustment? To that question my answer is an unhesitating "No."

What are the pre-requisites laid down by the Government of India for lifting the embargo upon "*assisted*" *emigration*? *Those that* matter are :

(1) An upward revision of the rates at which Indian workers on Ceylon plantations are being paid; and

(2) fair treatment of these labourers in respect of certain civic rights.

In addition to these there is:

(3) The case of Indians who are being forced out of work, principally in Colombo and packed back to India; and

(4) the political status of Indian settlers in Ceylon's new polity.

Unless the Senanayake delegation is prepared to accommodate Indian public opinion in respect of these matters, it is useless for it to proceed to New Delhi. It is not at all unlikely that such a conviction may, at the last moment, impel the men in power at Colombo to postpone or even to abandon this visit and to content themselves with continuing negotiations through correspondence. Letters, lacking the personal magnetism that the Sinhalese Minister of Agriculture possesses in abundance, will prove to be even more infructuous, unless of course, there is adjustment to Indian statisfaction of the difficulties I have mentioned.

My own feeling in the matter is that :

(1) India needs an outlet for some of her man-power which, owing to the ineffeciency of our economic organization, cannot be profitably employed at home; and also for her surplus agricultural and other goods.

(2) On the other hand, Ceylon is in need of Indians, not only for plantation industries but also, in my opinion, for her workshops and factories. She can make certain of success in her efforts to increase the production of food-stuffs by working out suitable schemes for the settlement of Indians on some of the areas at present agriculturally un-exploited.

(3) Ceylon also needs the Indian market for some of her products.

Such being the case, why should not the two peoples, akin as they are in blood and civilization, frankly realize their inter-dependability and, on that basis, get together and remove all causes of estrangement and hostility?

At the moment of going to press with this article, it appears that the Sinhalese in power in Colombo do not wish to have it out with the authorities in New Delhi. Possibly the mission to Burma has prospered and India's help in regard to supplementation of Ceylon-grown food is not of over-riding necessity for the time being. Nor can we leave out of consideration the difficulties that the Sinhalese ministers have made for themselves by feeding the populace upon meat with a strong anti-Indian flavour.

Coming to terms with India is, however, a matter of the most vital importance to them and delaying tactics cannot serve their ends but might, on the contrary, easily do them harm by exascerbating a situation already bitter almost to the saturation point. For these reasons I still refuse to give way to pessimism.

December 14, 1939.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

A Reply to Sree Ronendra Protap Singh Deo

Cancellation of Sanads

By HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

Member, All-India Congress Working Committee; Chairman of the Orissa States Enquiry Committee

That the Sanads granted to the so-called Rulers of the Orissa States by the British Government are not sacrosanct and that they can be cancelled without violation of the rights of the parties concerned, has been held by the Orissa States Enquiry Committee, who, in their report have quoted many original papers in their support. The findings of the Committee have been criticised by Sree Ronendra Protap Singh Deo in the November issue of *The Modern Review.* Sree Ronendra has held that the findings of the Committee, so far as the status of the Orissa States is concerned, are fallacious. He has attempted to prove that (1) the Orissa States were originally independent owing only allegiance to the Marhatta Paramount Power, (2) that the transfer of their allegiance to the British Paramount Power was on the latter's undertaking to safeguard the internal independence of the States and (3) that the British Paramount Power has encroached upon the rights of the States at various stages. From these premises, Sree Ronendra asks the public to draw the conclusion that 'two wrongs cannot make a right' and so instead of cancelling the Sanads, all encroachments should be removed and the States should be treated as independent owing only allegiance to the British Paramount Power.

In order to prove his contentions Sree Ronendra has quoted extracts from letters of Officers of the Local Provincial Government, although he does not like the Committee to have done the same thing. The materials that Sree Ronendra has placed before the public were also before the Committee and many other materials also the Committee had to digest and base their conclusions upon. Either Sree Ronendra has not come across those materials or he has not cared to study them as those would disprove what he wants to prove. After going through all the materials, volumes of original correspondence and papers regarding the origin of the Orissa States, the Committee came to the inevitable conclusion that any impartial man can come to.

The contentions of the learned critic of the Committee's Report can be disposed of very easily only by placing his own materials in a logical form and reminding him of some historical truths. First, I would like to describe the circumstances in which the Committee was set up and in which it was necessary to examine the status of the States. The stories of inhuman oppressions existing in most of the Orissa States need not be repeated here. The findings of the Committee on those counts are based upon mostly on documentary evidence and have not yet been challenged by any body, not even by a critic like Sree Ronendra who has taken so much pains to keep intact the status of the States. Many political officers have given similar findings in the past. It is the duty of all humanitarian workers to save millions of human beings from oppression and barbarities and it is also legitimate on the part of those who suffer to rise in revolt against the existing conditions. There were risings in the past in several States, but they were suppressed with the military aid of the British Government. Although the attempt has always been made to show to the world that the States are the uncivilised parts of the country and people living therein are 'little above animals' in the words of a political officer, the truth is that they have been suppressed by the superior military force of the British Government into that state of life; otherwise so far as culture and social life is concerned people in the States are as good or as bad as people on this side of the artificial geographical boundary dividing the 'British India' from the 'Indian India.' This is an intolerable situation which requires urgent solution. Neither the Rulers nor the British Government took upon themselves the responsibility for this hopeless situation. The British Government say, 'We cannot interfere in the internal administration of the States.' The Rulers say, 'We cannot do anything without consulting political officers, for we have actually no power.' The relation between the Rulers and the British Government remains all along mystic—wholly inexplicable while millions of human-beings groan under all sorts of oppressions, some of which are unimaginable.

The latest clarification of the relation between the Rulers and the Paramount Power has been made by the Butler Commission whose opinion on the point is contained in the following paragraphs of their report:

"The duty of the Paramount Power to protect the States against rebellion or insurrection is derived from the Clauses of Treaties and Sanads, from usage and from the promise of the King Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges and rights and dignities of the Princes. This duty imposes on the Paramount Power corelative obligations in cases where its intervention is asked for or has become necessary. The guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it an obligation to enquire into the causes of the insurrection and to demand that Princes should remedy legitimate grievances and an obligation to prescribe the measures necessary to this result."

Not only this report was shelved but no heed was paid to the recommendations of the Report although they had fallen far short of popular demand and expectations. Things gradually went from bad to worse till at last the British Government appeared on the scene with their troops, shooting at random men, women and children in the Orissa States in order to suppress popular risings against forced labour, ruinous exactions, insult to women and various other oppressions, descriptions of which may be found in the Report of the Orissa States Enquiry Committee.

It is in these circumstances that the Committee was set up and it was found necessary to examine the status of these small States in Orissa and it is gratifying to note that the conduct of the British Government has all along been proved to be correct, the finding of the Report that they are the real masters of the States and the so-called Rulers are really inflated Zamindars having no substantial

power in the administration of their States, whatever be the open professions of either party.

Let me now examine one by one the contentions which Sree Ronendra has put forth. The first is that the Orissa States were originally independent, owing only allegiance to the Marhatta Power. But any serious student of any recognised history of Orissa knows that the Marhattas had no established and settled rule in Orissa. Realisation or exaction of money was their only concern. They used to farm out tracts for the purpose of collecting money easily. As a matter of fact, the history of the Zamindari system is based upon that system of farming out tracts for collection of revenue. During the Marhatta rule the Zamindars also were independent paying only the prescribed revenue. Many parts of Orissa were unapproachable and did not pay any revenue to anybody except to their local lords. It is therefore, meaningless to contend that the Orissa States only were independent at that time. Before the British advent, all the Zamindars were independent—the whole province of Orissa was independent in the sense the word has been used by the critic.

Then the second contention is that the States continued or should continue as internally independent after the transfer of their allegiance to the British Paramount Power which guaranteed their Sovereignty. This contention is not supported either by history or by the terms of the Sanads granted to the Rulers and the Kabulyats executed by them to the British Government. Sree Ronendra has attempted to trifle with the findings of the Report by pointing out that it has dealt with only States of the Cuttack group. Evidently he does not know or does not like to say that according to the terms of the Sanads the status of the Cuttack group is much superior to that of other groups. I do not like to enter into that matter here. I would try to reply to the critic in his own words. Historically, the Orissa States are divided into the following groups :—

1. Athgarh group consisting of (1) Athgarh, (2) Baramba, (3) Boud, (4) Athmallik. (5) Daspalla, (6) Dhenkanal, (7) Hindol. (8) Keonjhar, (9) Khandpara, (10) Mayurbhanj, (11) Narsinghpur, (12) Naygarh, (13) Nilgiri, (14) Pal-Lahara, (15) Ranpur, (16) Talcher, (17) Tigiria.
2. Bonai group consisting of (1) Bonai, (2) Gangpur.
3. Bamra group consisting of (1) Bamra, (2) Kalahandi, (3) Patna, (4) Rairhakhol and (5) Sonpur, and
4. Sareikala group consisting of (1) Sareikala and (2) Kharasuan. This division is according to their affiliations to different Provincial Governments till at last they were attached to the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

Old original papers have invariably described these States as Zamindaries. It is impossible to quote volumes of orignal papers in this article. I would refer the readers to *Treaties. Engagements and Sanads* by Aitchison, Vol. II, Part III, where the copies of all Sanads and Kabuliyats from the beginning of the British Rule with periodical revisions will be found and any casual reader of these Sanads and Kabuliyats can easily know how the Zamindars have been Rulers. I quote below the Kabuliyat that the Maharaja of Patna executed on the 17th February, 1827, to the British Government. It may be noted here that Patna is not in the Cuttack Group of Sree Ronendra and on the other hand extracts have been quoted by him to show that Patna was the most powerful of many other States.

"Whereas the whole of Khalsa Patna which is my *Zamindary* has been settled with me for five years from 1236 to 1240 Nagpur year at an annual Jumma of Sicca Rupees 562-8-0 or an aggregate Jumma of Rupees 2,812-8-0 including 'Mel,' 'Abwab Muhomolee,' or other customary duties, excepting unclaimed and intestate property, Khayat Jaghire, 'Bishoonpeereet' endowments, I, Maharaja Bhoopal Deo of Patna, do freely and voluntarily execute this agreement, in which, I promise that I will, according to the prescribed instalments, and without pleading any excuse on the score of diluvion, punctually pay in my revenue at Sambalpur every year. I will conciliate my *Ryots* and adopt such measures as shall tend to the improvement of my *estate*. I will not harbour offenders against public justice such as highwaymen, dacoits, thieves and such like characters and should I detect any such persons within my *estate* I will promptly apprehend and bring them to justice. I will duly report to the authorities all that occurs within my *estate*."

The words 'Zamindary,' 'Ryots,' and 'estate' and the tone and the manner of the agreement will show that the idea of 'an autonomous state' was as remote from the minds of the contracting parties as North Pole from the South. The agreement executed by the forefathers of the present-day rulers of the Orissa States clearly show that the so-called States were all along Zamindaries. The British Government have treated them as such and the fact has been accepted as such that they were the revenue farmers of those days. The fact that many Sanad-holders of the status of the present-day rulers of States are today Zamindars of British India, a fact, which has been admitted by Sree Ronendra cannot be brushed aside simply by calling it 'wrong and unjust.' In any contract the most important factor is how the contract has been accepted by the parties, not only for a year or two but from the beginning of the contract up till now. A study of the Sanads and the Agreements which have been revised from time to time and copies of all of which have been given in the book above referred to will conclusively prove that Zamindars of yesterday have been made 'Rulers' today by the British Government.

It is open to anybody to hold that this policy is based upon altruistic motives but the Committee has held that it is a part of the Imperialist policy to hold India in bondage for all time to come. The fact that the problems of 'princes' is being set up against the nationalist demand for freedom of India does certainly lend weight to the findings of the Committee.

Then the third contention of Sree Ronendra is that the States should rather be treated as independent than their Sanads cancelled. Is it the contention of Sree Ronendra that the relation between the States, whatever be their past history, and the British Government, should be simply formal allegiance and nothing more? If it is contended that the States are free from any interference from British Government and the Rulers and the ruled in the States are free to adjust their relations in any way they like without any interference of the British Government in the process of this adjustment, then I, for one, would support the contention and if the Rulers fight for this sort of independence, I, for one, will stand by them. But I do not think Sree Ronendra wants that independence. It is probably contended that the Rulers should be left free to treat their 'subjects' in any way they like under the unconditional protection of the British Government. The reply to this contention is the demand for cancellation of Sanads and I have no doubt, circumstances as have arisen and will arise in future will make it imperative to cancel the Sanads and bring back the 'Rulers' to their original Status of Zamindars with consequential changes regarding the amount of revenue paid by them.

Cuttack,
Nov. 12, 1939

THE EUROPEAN UPHEAVAL

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

"OF ALL the possible attitudes which can be adopted at the present time, *fatalism is not one*." A well-known commentator on public affairs made this pronouncement the other day and I think it is one which is well worth keeping in mind. Since this war began events have moved so rapidly, have upset so many hopes and preconceptions, that it is difficult at times to feel any confidence in what is happening or to believe in our ability to influence events. But we are not the first to live in an age of transition—there have been Dark Ages too—and men have struggled through them. The important thing is to delve down to your convictions and then stand fast to them. As this same speaker added—and he said he was echoing a saying of the Chinese leader, Sun Yat-sen—"To know is difficult. To know what you want is more difficult still. But to get what you want, when you know what you want, is easy . . ."

Lord Halifax applied to the Soviet Ambassador this week for a clarification of Soviet policy. And well he might! Whenever you go today you find men and women discussing and trying to "clarify" Soviet intentions. Like Italy's Good Friday invasion of Albania, like Germany's invasion of Poland, the Soviet invasion of Finland seems one more example of the deterioration that is spreading over Europe. But perhaps after all—and in spite of the terrible passing experience to these invaded countries—this is a necessary phase in the preparation for the new Europe. For years now "appeasers" in this country have turned a blind eye to the excesses of Fascism because they saw in Fascism a buttress to their own privileges and interest. Similarly progressives, on the other hand, were inclined to believe the best of the Russian regime because they saw in it a government intent mainly on the welfare of the common people. But Hitler and Stalin equally have torn off the mask. And the consequence is that men are waking up to the conviction that there *is* a connection between the means you choose and the goal at which you will eventually arrive—that force does not achieve its end but rather becomes an end in itself—and so, at last, that the only security for all lies in toleration.

So much has happened since I wrote a month ago. The war at sea has taken on a new crescendo. Indiscriminate sowing of mines on the part of Germany has led to Britain adopting the reprisal of putting an embargo on all German exports, thereby making the blockade two-way and, at sea at any rate, complete. France and Britain have set up a Co-ordinating Committee, in which some see a nucleus of after-war federation. A bomb has exploded at Munich in circumstances reminiscent of the Reichstag Fire. Revolt in Czecho-Slovakia has been put down most brutally by the Nazis. There is ferment in the Balkans and Italy is closely watching it. (More than ever now, when Russia has just invaded Finland and may invade Roumania next). Britain has begun on the task of financing the War and has also announced the day for rationing certain commodities. There have been several important speeches on the subject of war aims, in particular those of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Herbert Morrison. The *Rawalpindi* has gone down fighting with all flags flying. All is still quiet on the Western Front. The Great Evacuation continues, though London is still unbombed, and German airmen, when they come, come in single spies. In general the War is setting into its character of a siege.

It is in strange contrast to the Great War. And the question everyone is asking is this: What effect is it having on people's minds and what kind of peace will come out of it? At the end of the last War, it has been said, there was no such thing as an open mind. The days had been too poignant, too heady. All the same a great deal of idealism was generated and found expression in the Peace Treaties. (Self-determination was a good thing though it turned out not to be enough.) Today there is no enthusiasm for war, only a determination to see it through. People seem to have no illusions left. Perhaps that is a good mood in which to wage a war, especially when opposed to the limitless unrealities of Nazi and Communist propaganda. The mind grows so sick of the words, words, words of the Dictators. But when the end of the war is in sight? A great deal more will be needed. And that is one of the reasons why it is important *now* to make up

our minds about peace aims. Peace cannot be made in a hurry—which incidentally was one of the lessons of Versailles. So we should disregard those politicians who tell us not to worry about war aims or peace aims, but to concentrate all our energies on winning the war. As if thinking were an "extra"! Such advice can only come from interested quarters—and it is interested quarters who always stand in the way of progress.

I said at the beginning that toleration was one of the things that seemed to be coming to the surface out of all the welter of events in Europe. It certainly does seem to be a fact that all the nations of Europe are inextricably linked together and can only prosper in company. These thoughts are prompted when we take a look at the map and consider the effect of the Blockade. There have been two blockades in progress: a Franco-British blockade of Germany on the one side, on the other a German blockade of France and Britain *and of every neutral trading with Britain.* It was Germany's object not merely to destroy British shipping, but also to blackmail every neutral into giving up its trade with Britain. To this end her U-boats sank both neutral ships trading to British ports and neutral ships trading to neutral ports. Neutral shipping, in other words, was only to exist on Germany's terms. This of course was a clear breach of international law. It was these same tactics, it will be remembered, that brought the United States into the last War. Then when the French and British Navies began to overcome the U-boat menace, Germany resorted to the haphazard sowing of mines—including the much-publicised magnetic mine, dropped from German aeroplanes in the shallows round our coasts. This was a double breach of international law, which decrees that minefields must be intimated and that mines must be anchored.

Germany's action has meant that no parts of the sea can be accounted safe. (At least two of her own ships have been destroyed by her own mines and her partners in the Axis—Italy and Japan—have been among the chiefest neutral sufferers.) It is in these circumstances that Britain, not very surprisingly, has decided on reprisal and to extend the blockade to all German exports. And in these circumstances the Neutrals, none of whom has ventured to protest to Germany, the originating offender, have all hastened to make their protests to Britain . . . Yet this action need surprise no one and least of all our own Government who, in the days of Non-Intervention and Appeasement, set the fashion of closing an eye to aggression. But, please Heaven, it is one of the fashions that will go out after the present war. It is, of course, a measure of the Neutrals' distrust of Germany.

Seven Neutrals—Holland, Belgium, Japan, Italy, Sweden, Norway and Denmark—had all protested to Britain within a week of the announcement of the two-way Blockade. Holland was the first of all. Holland indeed is one of the nations who has the most reason to dislike her present predicament. She and Belgium, by reason of their coast-line, have been described as Germany's natural window to the world. That same coast-line is also an ideal jumping-off ground for German planes seeking to raid Britain. And, of course, an invasion of Holland is the easiest way into Belgium—and so to the Channel ports. Hitler's attitude towards these two countries, these "ridiculous dwarfs" that stand in his way, has been apparent from the very beginning. He has never ceased to nag at them. They are told that their servility to the British blockade amounts almost to a breach of their neutrality. (Though, as the Dutch point out with bitterness, if Germany cannot do anything about the British blockade, how can little Holland?) Or they are warned not to fire at German planes flying over their territory. Somewhat illogically, since they are not to fire, they are informed of the new German law that the air above a country is only "territorial" to the extent to which it is within range of anti-aircraft guns. Above that, the air is open. This last, it might be added, is typical of the everlasting Nazi technique. They always have an answer for everything they do—and they are completely indifferent as to whether the arguments they use to justify one set of actions are not invalidated by actions which they are indulging in elsewhere. What, for instance, is the use of the Nazis giving any kind of lip-service to "territorial" laws when at the same time, around Sweden, they are sowing mines in territorial waters—regardless of any consideration whatsoever, save that of closing the entrance to the Baltic.

As all the world now knows, it was touch and go whether the Nazis would invade Holland on November 11th (Armistice Day!). Only the prompt and courageous action of King Leopold of the Belgians averted the disaster. The Nazis, who can be very short-sighted, had persuaded themselves that the Belgians would cling to their neutrality as such and not only leave Holland to her fate but resist any attempt

on the part of the Allies equally should they wish to come to Holland's rescue. How stupidly literal a conception of neutrality is possible to those who have no respect for neutrality themselves! But they were disillusioned, and just in time, on the night of November 10th—when Brussels telephoned Berlin that if Holland were attacked she would come in too. This caused the General Staff to pause and point out to Hitler that in their view it would be very bad tactics to go on with such a gamble.

King Leopold has saved the situation for the time being and since then, for what it is worth to the Nazis, Italy, Spain and the United States have all announced their interest in the integrity of the Low Countries. The Nazis have suffered a check—but they have not withdrawn their armies from the Dutch and Belgian frontiers. There are persistent rumours of divided counsels. Indeed after the long succession of successful aggressions the Nazis are easily thrown out of their guard by opposition. It was a shock to them when England declared war, a shock when Belgium and Holland stood together—the greatest shock of all, it seems, now that Russia has come out and attacked Finland. They never seem to have believed in a time when events would no longer fall out to their advantage.

Now they are beginning to realise their plight. The Maginot Line makes war on the Western Front a hopeless proposition. Advance through the Low Countries means exhausting men and material in fighting the Dutch and Belgian Armies as well as the French and British. At sea, they are opposed by the overwhelming superiority of the French and British Fleets. No wonder they have resorted to sowing mines broadcast. It is a policy of desperation.

All through English history our security and prosperity has meant our keeping a sharp eye on the Low Countries. We can never afford to allow a hostile power to establish itself there. It is a matter of great regret therefore that the result of our blockade of Germany is not only to ruin our enemy but to harm the Belgian and Dutch shippers as well. In the first nine months of this year, for example, no less than 10,000,000 tons of German exports passed through Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The only consolation we can offer them is this. Were Germany to win the war, not only would she grab the Dutch coast-line, but the Dutch Empire as well. It is the British Navy which has policed the seas for the Dutch Empire while she was policing them for her own. (We might of course have achieved the general object in a better way, by taking the lead towards collective security. But that is another story.)

The one country that is expecting to make her fortune out of this war is Italy. Italy has been a nuisance ever since the last war when she failed to obtain at the Peace Conference all the pickings she had anticipated—and some of which, alas, she had been promised as the price of her desertion of the Triple Alliance. As a result she set herself at the head of the dissatisfied and revisionist elements in Europe. She was quick to make friends with Germany; she made a royal marriage with Bulgaria; above all, she kept Hungary aggrieved and restless, thereby ensuring that Central Europe would never achieve equilibrium. So recent a Power as she is, with not a hundred years of unity behind her, Italy is still living in the nineteenth century. Economic imperialism is all she understands. And she has two objectives. She wants colonies and she wants hegemony over the Balkans. (The Balkans have no illusions about her. They were quick to notice that no sooner was the Abyssinian adventure over than Italy invaded Albania—a stepping-off ground to Greece and beyond.) Her language may be more picturesque than that of the Nazis. She sees herself as a "mother-hen" to the Balkans. And in the role of defender of the Neutrals—a successor to the role of leader of the dissatisfied—she describes the German and Franco-British blockades as a "Pork-butchers Club" that is going to slay all the little people.

Italy is extremely alive to her opportunities just now. The Fascist Grand Council is to meet this week. This will be its first meeting since the Italians occupied Albania. The German Minister in Hungary has warned Hitler that Italy is about to head a Balkan bloc which may freeze Germany out of her "living room" in South-East Europe. Italy already has the lion's share of traffic on the Danube. And now she is about to start no less than twenty-three new services in the Eastern Mediterranean—linking up Egypt, Turkey, Greece, the Black Sea, the Danube, Jugo-Slavia and the Aegean! Incidentally, she is extremely lucky in that the enigmatic situation of Germany and Russia is playing into her hands. For years Roumania, enlarged (quite rightly) at the expense of Hungary and Bulgaria, and (perhaps wrongly) at the expense of Russia, has found it impossible to come to terms with Hungary and Bulgaria. But now Roumania is in a parlous state. She is menaced by Russia, trading with Germany, and guaranteed by Britain. No wonder she finds her situation

altogether too delicate. No wonder she is already talking of formulas which allow for a measure of territorial revision at the end of the present war. If Italy were to weld the Balkans into a Six-Power Bloc—Turkey, Greece, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary and Bulgaria—the menace from Germany, at any rate, would be gone. Hungary would allow Germany no passage through her territory. And the menace from Russia? Italy, evidently, thinks she can rally a strong enough alliance against her—or perhaps she is confident that time is on her side, Russia being involved in the Baltic.

But of course though Balkan unity is a good thing, Italian leadership of it is not. Ever since Signor Mussolini came to terms with the Papacy he has not scrupled to use Catholic slogans to cover up his imperialism. Think how he darkened counsel during the Civil War in Spain. His object there, as it was and is Germany's object, was on the one side to offset the British lead at Gibralter and on the other to give France another frontier to worry about. But he disguised it all as a war of Catholic values against pagan Bolshevism. And men like Lord Halifax were taken in and talked of Mussolini's "spiritual mission" in Spain. No—and it is another reason for regret that Russian Communism is in the power of Stalin—Italian leadership will rally not the forces of progress but the forces of reaction.

Italy, incidentally, is making it quite clear that her alarm at the aggressions of Germany and Russia in no way inclines to an understanding with France and Britain. Though she affects concern for the great losses which our two-way blockade must inevitably inflict on the Neutrals, she is well aware of the fact that *she* will draw out of it nothing but profit—since trade can be sent by overland routes and shipped on from Genoa. Not only is the Mediterranean free of mines, Italy has ways and means of loosening up the blockade. She remains unimpressed by the gesture which France has made in removing troops from the Italian frontier. Yet France's gesture is the more remarkable in view of the persistent rumours that German troops are massing on the Brenner. She has broadcast to America an attack on her former Allies for "betraying her at Versailles." Great Britain, she complained, "though her population is 3,000,000 less than that of Italy, has a colonial empire ten times greater than Italy's." Finally, that France and Britain may have no doubt of her indifference, Rome announces over the radio that

"The fact that Britain and France agree with Italy's policy of peace in the Balkans represents a point of contact between Rome, London and Paris rather than a bond of union with France and Britain."

Truly Italy has all the traits of adolescence—including its hyper-sensitive rudeness!

Well, the War and the Blockade may give Italy her opportunity. The Balkans, even Turkey, may overlook the true nature of Italian imperialism in face of the formidable menace which may turn on them from Russia—although Turkey has for many years now had a good understanding with Russia. Stalin will not live for ever, and Russia may return to a good neighbour policy. Incidentally, Mussolini will not live for ever either. And the ideal of Balkan solidarity, so often attempted and perhaps at last emerging, may survive both of them.

When Czecho-Slovakia broke up after Munich, and all the vultures—Germany, Hungary, Poland—fell on her, it seemed as if Europe were turning into a jungle. But it is of course the case that Eastern Europe never has attained equilibrium. All through the ages it has been a highway for migrations pouring in from the East—Huns, Bulgars, Magyars, Turks. At the end of the seventeenth century it seemed as if equilibrium might follow when Vienna finally drove back the Turks. But by that time two other Powers, Russia and Prussia, were appearing as rivals to Vienna. Then, in the nineteenth century, the bug of nationalism became general—and caused havoc amongst all these separate peoples along the Danube. Austria defeated the Turks, but nationalism defeated her! As a recent historian has pointed out:

"Austria survived her old enemy (Turkey) by a century or so . . . and the Peace Treaties of 1919 gave her the *coup de grace.*"

The Peace Treaties indeed have proved the hollowness of nationalism as an end in itself. Self-determination has been found to be an unworkable hypothesis. It might work if a nation could exist in a vacuum, but when no nation is separate but each is a neighbour, only a good neighbour policy—a policy of disarmament both in the literal sense and in the field of tariffs—becomes the only policy which can save a nation from ruinous competition and inevitable war. This is one of the convictions that is coming out of the present war. The League idea, the idea of collective security, failed in its first attempt. Perhaps it was too grandiose a conception. A League which embraced the whole world, we see now, was

difficult to bring into action in any special area. Areas far removed were not interested. But today a new approach is in the air. The idea is growing of federating neighbours instead. It is thought that, say, a Scandinavian Federation, a Balkan Federation, a Franco-British Federation—to which other Powers might accede if they agreed to come in on the same terms—would be a more likely way to bring about international co-operation.

Such an idea as this has, of course, been given great impetus by the decision of France and Britain to form a Co-ordinating Committee so that they may together prosecute the war to the best advantage. This Committee has to do with the Air, Munitions and Raw Materials, Oil, Food, Shipping and Economic Warfare. Notable omissions are Currency and Tariffs. If France and Britain could agree to a common currency and to abolish all tariffs, would not their gains far outweigh their losses? It has been pointed out that France and Britain are in exceptionally favourable circumstances to try out an experiment in co-operation. For instance their economies are complementary rather than competitive. Again, as the *Economist* points out, their colonial empires adjoin in every continent. And "would there not be benefits to be derived from a joint assumption of trusteeship by the two mother countries?"

Altogether—and may it not be allowed to dissipate itself when the war is over—the ideal of co-operation, of federation, is rising out of the ferment of the present war. It is to be hoped that the United States, which will play an important part when it comes to making the Peace, will not pour cold water on the scheme. At the end of the last War, when there was a proposal to turn over inter-allied machinery to the task of international reconstruction, the United States vetoed the idea. Mr. Hoover remarked: "The salvation of the world must rest upon individual initiative." Now when there is talk of the Anglo-French co-operation continuing after the War, American newspapers tell us that America has always feared that Europe might "gang-up on her." But why could not Europe gang-up and trade with America to everyone's advantage?

I cannot help feeling that this War is not going to last very much longer. It may be a mistake to give too much weight to the rumours that keep coming of the dissensions among the Nazi leadership. It may be the case that Hitler has not yet lost his mesmeric hold of the people in Germany. But, even supposing them to be united, what can the Nazis do? They might invade Holland—though there cannot be much health in a scheme which the Generals have already turned down. They might try to turn to account their undoubted understanding with Spain. But, so long as the Blockade continues, how can they face such costly ventures? How can they fight on against the constant stream of aeroplanes and munitions which the Allies can obtain from the United States and from their Empires? They may even yet launch the blitzkreig from the air. There have been many prophecies that it will come in the Spring. But England and France will not be napping until the Spring—and, as France has already warned Germany, she may expect blow for blow.

Observers who return from Germany all tell the same tale. Life there is drab and dreary and there is no enthusiasm for the War. On the other hand, the opinion is that Germany can survive the Blockade and put up with it quite well for about another two years. But *can* she? If we stop her exports, as we intend to do now, how can she buy the things she needs? Are the Balkans likely to be content with promises to pay when the war is over? Less than ever, now, will Germany have any gold to pay with. It is estimated that she will lose about £45,000,000 a year as a result of the blockade of exports.

And what about German *morale*? Just as the Nazis came into power with the faked Reichstag Fire Trial, it looks as if another fake trial—the trial of the man who did not put the bomb in the Munich Beer Cellar—will mark their decline. Even if the new trial were a real one, it would be strange to need it so badly as a diversion in war-time. But more serious cankers are eating away at the power of the Nazis. There are ugly rumours abroad as to what they have done in Poland. Their failure in Czecho-Slovakia is utter and complete. They are reduced there to a state in which Secret Police prowl along school room corridors. . . . Moreover, just as Italian excesses in Abyssinnia made the name of Italy stink in Egypt, German excesses in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia have postponed indefinitely the possibility of any of Germany's colonies being returned to her. Not that South Africa would allow them to go back. Germany's colonies never had any value except a strategic value. She needed them neither as a source of raw materials nor as an outlet for population. The percentage of raw materials which came to her from her colonies was only 0.5 of the total. And as for

the population outlet, in thirty years the whole colonial empire of Germany absorbed less than 20,000 Germans. The colonies were only bases for intrigue.)

Above all, Russia's invasion of Finland has let down the Nazis. Their Non-Aggression Pact with Russia was designed by Von Ribbentrop to frighten England out of her guarantee to Poland. Instead it has turned out an unmitigated disaster to Germany.

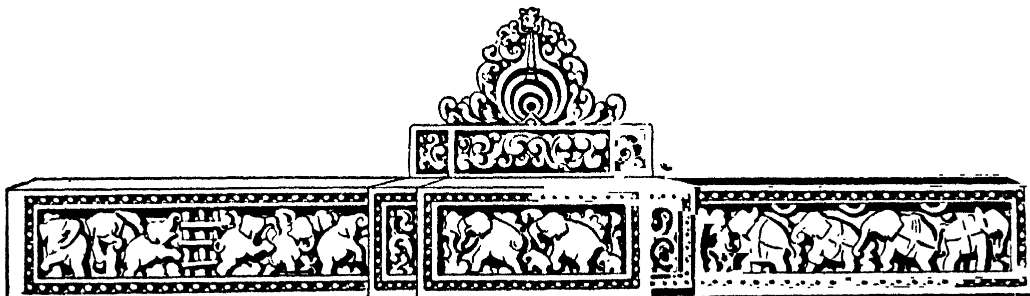
Please Heaven it will not turn out an equal disaster to us all. In attacking Finland, Russia has picked on one of the few genuine democracies. Are there no Russians who will bring home to Stalin, even now, the great set-back this has given to Left opinion and prospects everywhere? Does he really feel so sure that there is no danger of the prophecy of that arch-reactionary, the late Sir Henry Wilson, coming true? At the close of the last war Sir Henry Wilson wrote: "The war against the Bosche is turning into the war against the Bolshevik." Has Stalin never pondered on that?

London,
December 4, 1939.

THE SONG BIRD

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

When the evening steals on western waters,
Thrills the air with wings of homeless shadows,
When the sky is crowned with star-gemmed silence
And the dreams dance on the deep of slumber;
When the lilies lose their faith in morning
And in panic close their hopeless petals,
There's a bird which leaves its nest in secret,—
Seeks its song in trackless paths of heaven.



PROFESSOR MILLIKAN IN CALCUTTA

PROFESSOR ROBERT ANDREWS MILLIKAN, the famous American physicist and the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the California Institute of Technology arrived in Calcutta on 25th November last with two of his fellow workers Drs. Neher and Pickering. Prof. Millikan has come to India to get information about Cosmic rays by sending up number of balloons in specially favourable places. These experiments would be conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation and the British Meteorological Society. The programme of his work at different places in India has been arranged in collaboration with the India Meteorological Department. During his short stay in Calcutta, besides addressing meetings at the University College of Science, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science and at the Bose Research Institute, the latter under the auspices of the Indian Physical Society, he was entertained at a dinner party on the night of the 27th November by the professors of the University College of Science at the Arts Faculty Club, Ashutosh Buildings. The party was representative of Indian current thought, in science, philosophy and arts, and in politics.

On behalf of the Indian scientists and citizens of Calcutta, Professor M. N. Saha welcomed Professor Millikan to the shores of India. In welcoming, he remarked, that Dr. Millikan is known wherever physics is read as the man who has measured accurately the charge on the electron, who had blown out of atoms their shells of electrons and measured their spectra and has done many other fundamental works in physics. Since 1922 Dr. Millikan has been engaged in his work on Cosmic rays in the belief that Supreme Power is still at his workshop creating atoms out of more fundamental particles. He has taken the world for his laboratory and has traversed the earth from almost the North Pole to the South Pole and has sent his investigating balloons almost to the top of the atmospheres. It was work of this type which has brought him to India where he will stay for a month and a half.

Apart from the scientific work, anybody who has visited America has found what a great organiser Dr. Millikan is. He is literally speaking a fisher of men. He has gathered round himself a number of most prominent young workers of America, one of whom Dr. Anderson has been awarded the Nobel Prize for his discovery of the Positron and he has since discovered the heavy electron. There are many others whose names are known wherever physics is taught and cultivated. While visiting California in the year 1936, the present speaker was a guest of the Faculty Club but he unfortunately missed Dr. Millikan who was absent on account of a pan-Pacific Congress. He sat for several days along with other workers under a picture containing the trio, G. E. Hale, the maker of the Mount Wilson Solar Observatory and of the 100″ and 200″ telescopes, of Noyes, the physical chemist and our present guest. It was these three men who, I was told, by their tremendous energy converted an ordinary foreman's engineering college into one of the greatest institutions of America. They have planned to create a new type of scientists and engineers who will act as leaders in science and industry. Millikan was appointed President of the National Research Council during the great world war 25 years ago. Though now in his seventieth year, Dr. Millikan still retains the energy of a youngman.

Besides science, our guest has taken interest in humanities. I have been reading of late his lectures about the place of science in life. He is one who believes that science can not only give us a better standard of life, which is admitted, but also believes that if scientific spirit be properly applied to subjects affecting human life and human passion, it can afford us a better basis for national and international ethics, on which alone we can build the hopes of a future greater and happier world. I believe that he is one of those who believes that for World Peace, it is necessary that all members of the human race should have an equitable share in the amenities of the world.

I find that Dr. Millikan has also given some attention to the current political events, but it will be delicate to touch upon them here. We can only assure him that India is not a land of mystics or of the 15th century men, as is made out by interested propaganda abroad, but intelligent foreigners, like his own countryman Durant, have found what is less well-known, that it is a land also of rational thinkers in science, philosophy, industry and politics, and we have got today in this assembly a col-

lection of such creative thinkers. We can assure him on our behalf that India is as much opposed to this fundamental principles of Nazism and Fascism, which appear to us to consist in the suppression of the human personality. It is known to us that progress in this world, particularly modern science, has not come as a result of the decree of the autocrat but as the result of the devoted work of seekers after truth, many of whom had to be martyrs. We, scientific men in India, also believe that science when applied to national life can rescue us from the morass of medievalism and poverty in which the country is submerged. The amount of our backwardness will be apparent to the thinking mind when I give certain figures, the nucleus of facts—to use our guest's phraseology. The average income of an Indian is 1/30th that of the average American, our literacy does not amount even to 10 per cent. The average expectation of life has decreased in course of 100 years from 30 to 23½. The power developed in this country amounts to only 15 to 20 units per head per year which is barely two per cent of the country's resources. These figures unmistakeably show that India has not taken part in the progress which modern science has rendered possible in other countries. This shows what tremendous amount of work lies ahead of us. The leaders of the country are all alive to this state of affairs, and the first thing which the Provincial National Governments did as soon as they were given power, was to appoint various committees for the organisation and development of the industries of the country and above all Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose when he was President of the Indian National Congress lost no time in appointing a National Planning Committee in which the services of the most eminent scientists, industrialists, engineers and economists were impressed. But it was soon found that without transference of Federal responsibility to popular representatives it was impossible to carry out any programme. This is the crux of the whole political situation and I think in view of the common danger which threatens us all, better sense will prevail among all parties.

Unfortunately science in this country has not received that amount of patronage from private persons and from the state which is its due. It was twenty-five years ago that the creator of the Research and Teaching Departments of the Calcutta University, the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, induced a number of private citizens like Palit, Ghosh and the Kumar of Khaira State to give endowments for scientific Research and enable Calcutta University to start the University College of Science. But in spite of its brilliant record, the College of Science has not received any substantial help either from the State or the public within the last twenty-five years. Today, in view of the great progress in science, the College of Science requires badly funds for its expansion, so that it may be more useful to science, and the Nation.

Dr. Saha hoped that during his stay in India Dr. Millikan would have a pleasant time and will be successful in his experiments, and will carry a very fine impression of India with him as he returns to his native shores. His two days' stay at Calcutta, and his unfailing courtesy in addressing a number of meetings at Calcutta have been a source of great inspiration to research workers in this country.

After Professor Saha has welcomed the guest, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose rose to speak at the request of Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque. He said :

I consider it a great honour to me to be able to participate in this function to-night where we have assembled to accord a most hearty welcome to one of the most distinguished American scientists of our time. But apart from the fact that the United States of America is in the forefront of the comity of nations, there is another reason why we Indians consider it an honour and privilege to have in our midst a citizen of that great country. We all know that the American people have always had a soft corner for the people of this country and many of our distinguished countrymen who have been to their place have the most pleasant memories of their stay in America as well as of the hospitality and cordiality which they received there. I shall not deal with Prof. Millikan as a scientist. That I leave to our distinguished scientists who are present here. Personally I feel exceedingly humble in this respectable gathering, but I think that those of us who are engaged in other pursuits, particularly political pursuits, should welcome such opportunities of meeting representative persons of great countries. We, who are engaged in political pursuits in India, have a two-fold task to perform. We have to carry on this struggle for liberty, and that is no easy task, because we are face to face with the most mighty empire of today, and at the same time we must prepare as best as we can for the day when we shall be responsible for the constitution of our

country. Fifty or hundred years ago, freedom of India might have appeared as a dream to many people, but now we have advanced so far that we feel that the problem before us is not barely the achievement of political independence but also the building up of a new, happy and prosperous India on the eternal principles of justice and liberty. Apart from these two problems, there is now a third problem which the country has to solve and that is the preservation of freedom after we have earned it. The tragedy that Europe is experiencing at the present time has opened our eyes to the fact that even after the achievement of political independence, we shall have to face this problem, namely, how to preserve the dearly won freedom. Now when we consider the task of building up a new, happier and prosperous India, we have to turn to our great thinkers. I am glad that Dr. Saha has referred to the National Planning Committee in his speech. We have of course made a small beginning. But many great things had a small beginning and our work augurs a bright future. The thought that inspired the National Planning Committee was the idea that we have to develop our backward country both industrially and economically. In this task of the industrial and economic development we depend to a very large extent on the voice and wisdom of our scientists and industrialists.

I shall refer to the speech of Dr. Saha in which he has referred to India as the land of *Yogis* and mystics. On the European continent I found that India was regarded as the land of *Yogis*, Maharajas and snakes. But India is rapidly changing and we see a surging spirit in this movement. There are however two points of view underlying this spirit. I may call these the medieval point of view and the modern point of view. My way of thinking of the nationalist movement is based on the modern outlook. We cannot call India a modern country at all. It is not necessary in order to be modern to improve only science and industry, public health and other things important to life, but also to develop the ancient heritage of art and culture. Other countries of Asia that have modernised in the past have greatly imitated from the West and have not retained properly their ancient heritage. Those who have the medieval point of view abhors industrialism, as it would kill the soul of men. Those people with medieval point of view, that is, who regard the fruitful results of science and industry with scorn, have an isolationist point of view as well. They seem to be unaffected by what is going on in the neighbouring countries. We with a modern outlook think that while making the best use of the applications of science to our natural welfare, our problems should always be studied with a background of world movements. We believe times have so changed today that the whole world may be considered as a single economic and cultural unit. Whatever happens in one part of the globe vitally affects every other. The fate of one country is therefore dependent on that of others. Consequently, therefore, in serving humanity, we have to be in intimate touch with all that is going on in the world. Among the many causes of degradation, isolation is perhaps one of the most important. No doubt as regards India's liberation we are all one, but in national reconstruction we find ourselves breaking up into two parties. We do hope that we shall be able to convert our countrymen to our point of view.

I do not know how far Prof. Millikan is interested in our political affairs. If he is, perhaps he will soon find out that here in India when we talk of Italian Fascism and German Nazism; very few unfortunately talk of British Fascism. We, Asiatic Indians, know from our own personal experience that the slogans of freedom and democracy have quite different application east of the Suez Canal. Great champions of freedom and democracy, as soon as they cross the Suez Canal, and as soon as they go out of sight of Europe and America show themselves in a quite different light. We Indians have a different idea of the British Government. So far as the British people are concerned, we have nothing to say. We know they are freedom-loving, and some are as much against their Government as we are, but as matters stand the British Government is naturally an obstacle in the way of developing cordial relations between these two countries. We are told in season and out of season, day in and day out, that Great Britain is fighting for democracy. What has she done for India? And what does she intend to do towards India to give effect to her loud professions for democracy? There she has been keeping 'mum'. It is announced to the world that India is a belligerent country. Along with this declaration, ordinances have been introduced all over the country. What are these ordinances? Here in our own province of Bengal public meetings have been banned. Movement of every kind has been strangled. Every public worker has a bodyguard of six men and he is shadowed always by police. The result is that public life

is practically controlled by the Government. No public meeting can be held in any part of the province. Every bit of news, every article in the press has to pass through the press censors. Fortunately, there has been a slight improvement at present, may be due to the arrival of the present Governor.

In the year 1935 a new constitution was framed which gave a certain measure of power in the provinces but the Central Government remained absolutely unchanged. With the outbreak of the war an amendment to the constitution was passed and after that, though there were popular ministers in the provinces, they were shorn of all authority. Consequently, we find that declaration is being made day after day that England and France are fighting for democracy and at the same time we here in India, are having just the opposite. Consequently, we are practically justified to characterise that what prevails today in India as despotism.

Well I no longer desire to digress into politics. I am here in the midst of scientists, but I am making these remarks to Prof. Millikan as one interested in political affairs as part of the greater problem of maintenance of the civilisation of the world against forces of reaction. We have our own difficulties. We do not expect the world to fight our battles. We shall ourselves fight. Nevertheless, we are deeply grateful for any sympathy we shall receive from any part of the world in our fight against tremendous odds. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention here about a section of the British people from whom we have received sympathy and co-operation. I do hope that India will be free before long. One thing we have learnt from Mahatma Gandhi and that one thing we shall always cherish: that in spite of differences we shall have to carry on this fight as far as possible without bitterness in souls. We know the day will come when India will be free and when there will be no enmity between Indians and the people of Great Britain. I think it will be good for India and for humanity. After all we want to be free not merely to solve the national poverty or disease or illiteracy, but we also want to have freedom because only a free India can serve humanity. I do not know whether it is realised abroad how much we have suffered for our nation. Our propaganda against the British propaganda is exceedingly defective. Propagandists say that the development of India is due to British rule. As a matter of fact the fabulous wealth of India drew adventurers from Europe. Ever since we have lost our freedom, we have been subjected to foreign domination and exploitation and in spite of the lessons of the great war, there have been no Plan for the development of the resources of the country as every country did undertake at the end of the last World War. India is today one of the poorest and most undefended countries of the world. People outside are told that railways and postal communications have been established by the British Government, but we ourselves could have made this progress even if we had not been under British rule. But what has been done in the realm of science and industry, has this been done in the interest of the Indian people or of the British people? What about the dividend of 300 per cent drawn by the big British-owned Jute Mills during the last war while the peasants who produced the jute fibre were almost going naked on account of high price of cloth! It is difficult to conceive of 300 per cent dividend, but this is what actually happened. However all that has been done for the scientific and industrial welfare in this country has served India, but it has served England as well and more. All that I want to point out is this that the fundamental problems of poverty, illiteracy, disease, cannot be solved by foreign rulers. We have waited decade after decade for a solution of these problems. We have been disappointed. These problems can only be solved only by the nation. Freedom of course is our birth-right, but it will be had not only because it is our birth-right, but also because without it we cannot make any improvement in national life nor can we serve humanity. When India is free we shall be able to serve humanity. Indian scientists, philosophers, thinkers have been able to contribute something to the culture and civilisation of the world. We do hope when we are free, we should be able to do much more. That is the reason why India must be free. It is a difficult task we are engaged in. It is a task which we have to fulfill but sympathy and help coming from other quarters will be welcome. I am happy to be associated with a function in honour of our distinguished guest who comes from a country which has shown good sympathy for our people. They have also sent people with money to promote education and public health in this country. Dr. Grant is here and there is the Institute of Hygiene & Public Health.

I, as a nationalist, consider it to be a privilege and honour to be present in the assembly of one of the most distinguished scientists of our time. We shall be able to create this im-

pression to Prof. Millikan that the Indian people have a warm heart and they are grateful to every sympathy and help they receive from outside.

After Sj. Bose's speech, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee spoke. He said :

I do not want to make a long speech. In fact, if you think of an Indian dinner, we need not speak with a heavy stomach. I welcome this opportunity of offering you our most cordial welcome to this city.

Compared with American institutions, we have a very poor university. I do not want to discuss about politics—my friend has dealt with that. We know where our sympathies are. We welcome you to a university which for some reason or other got a good deal of inspiration from American ideal. Our university was started on the model of London University in 1857. It was then a mere examining institution. It took just 46 years, from 1858 to 1904 before it was declared as a policy of the Government that it should be a centre of teaching and research. Since then during the last thirty years we have been trying to develop this university from a purely examining body to a centre of teaching and active research. We had distinguished visiting professors from America and specially in the roll of our Tagore Law Lecturers we had eminent American jurists. We welcome you to a university that has accepted the ideal of development of higher teaching and research, and from that point of view we feel that there is a common bond between you and Calcutta.

I find that 21 universities have given you doctorate in science, philosophy, etc., and I think if we are fortunate to confer you a degree —of course I am not anticipating our Vice-Chancellor, you won't be burdened any more, because one or two over 21 will not make any difference to you.

Address of Professor R. A. Millikan

I am thankful to you all for referring to America as a great country which has contributed something to the development of our modern civilization. The great, distinguishing feature of that civilization, indeed the element that differentiates it sharply from all preceding civilizations, is unquestionably the development of what I am going to call the scientific spirit, or the rational, scientific mode of approach to life and all its problem as distinguished from the superstitious mode of approach which was practically universally used in olden times and is unfortunately still all too common. Of course I cannot at all claim that scientific mode of approach as an American development, though America has shown some willingness to receive it and has profited enormously by so doing. But the foundations of that development were laid not in America but rather in Europe about 300 years ago by Galileo and Newton and their associates and followers. These men represent the strongest influences the world has ever seen in the discovery of the method by which real, dependable, workable knowledge as a guide to human conduct has been obtained, or, I think, can ever be obtained.

I have the best of authority too for the statement that it was the freeing of the mind of man through these scientific influences that stimulated the movement in the 18th and 19th centuries toward political as well as intellectual freedom,—the movement which resulted in the establishment of free parliamentary government in England, the United States, France and a few other countries in place of the tyrannies and despotisms which in all parts of the world had kept mankind in ignorance and bondage throughout practically the whole of recorded history.

As I read history the English people have been the greatest and the sanest and most effective pioneers in this development. They started parliamentary government first and have got their results, in general, by slow peaceful, sane, evolutionary processes instead of by revolutionary and destructive ones. What we in America are today we owe in no small degree to what we have inherited from them. Our civilisation is unquestionably essentially English in its origins and its ideals. I myself come of English and Scotch Irish stock and the history of my own family illustrates well the rate at which we in our part of the world have been changing, for the most part by peaceful, evolutionary processes, *under the impact of modern science.*

The Millikans earned their living from about 1750 to 1825 by farming the very hard and stony soil of Western New England. Then, lured by the more fertile soil of the Mississippi valley they trekked westward in their covered wagons, for this was before railroads were available, to take up and clear, with the aid only of their axes, their ploughs and their human muscles, supplemented by horse-muscle, new lands near the Mississippi river. The conditions of that migration, the motives prompt-

ing it, the mode of travel of the immigrants, the way they met both their physical and biological problems, their superstitions, their conception of religion, their whole outlook upon life—all these were extraordinarily like those that prevailed four thousand years earlier when Abraham trekked westward from Ur of the Chaldees. And this Millikan immigration was only 100 years ago.

I mention these things only to show the rapidity of the changes that are going on in the world now under the impact of modern science. Our ideas about the nature of the universe have changed enormously since then and conduct always changes as ideas change. Indeed ideas are more potent than machines in the determination of the direction of human evolution and in the fate of empires. A few false ideas can ruin a people, and a few correct ones can save it.

To take one important element of change since 1840, the common, unskilled labourer in the United States gets more than four times as much in real wages now per hour of work as he did then, and this primarily for one single reason; namely, *because he produces now more than four times as much with his labour in goods and services as he produced then.* And this is primarily because modern science has given him more and better tools with which to do his work than he then had.

Further, a study of world statistics shows that the common labourer in different civilised countries gets, quite independently of the kind of government under which he lives, a real wage which is just about proportional to his productivity per man-hour, and further that this latter is roughly proportional to the number of units of physical energy that have been put by the development of science and its applications into the average labourer's hands to help him in his production.

How far it is possible to supply power derived from heat or falling water to the whole population of a country like India is another question which I am not in a position to answer. It is of course possible for a population to stand so thick that it cannot use much machine-made power, in which case the solution lies in the field of the biological rather than the physical science, *but the problem is still capable of a scientific solution.* Indeed it is only in the scientific study of the population problem that there is any hope whatever of a remedy. The "lebensraum" argument put forth by the dictator-demagogue has already been demonstrated to represent fundamental fallacy. It is put forth merely to dupe his people and yield him fighting men for his conquests.

But with the history of the past hundred years before us I am not disposed to despair of any country which will go at its problems by the scientific method. We can, I think, safely predict continually improving conditions for mankind the world over, *provided the whole of modern civilisation is not destroyed and the dark ages brought again to earth* through the triumph the world over of the forces of reaction and the spirit of world conquest now so rampant in both Germany and Russia, over the spirit of progress and peaceful change. This is fundamentally the struggle that is now on. The world is facing a crisis such as it has not seen for centuries. It involves the possibility of the loss of all the progress which has been made since the time about 300 years ago, when science first began to let in the light and start the world upward toward intellectual and political freedom and democracy. These alone hold out any hope whatever that man can sometime create a warless world and build his future progress upon rational, peaceful procedures.

Today the fateful struggle is joined between the peoples who in the long climb upward from savagery to civilisation have outgrown the ideology of conquest and those whose ideals are essentially those of Ghengis Khan, Attila and Alexander. I am surprised and disturbed by the blindness of many of my own countrymen to the fundamental implications of this struggle. The issue is simply this: Can democracy and rational procedures survive anywhere? The answer to that question involves two others. First, have the rationally-minded, peace-loving people the world over the intelligence and the short-range unselfishness—the long-range concern for their own good—to join forces to defend themselves when attacked in the jungle by the wild beasts who want the law of the jungle to prevail and propose to make it do so? Do not for a moment think that I am merely putting up straw men to whom I assign the ideology of conquest. I myself, in about the year 1905, sat in an audience addressed by Edouard Meyer, the greatest of German historians of that time and heard him publicly glory in war and conquest. Hitler talks nothing else in *Mein Kampf*. I fear that some of both your countrymen and mine are asleep to the menace that hangs over us. It is of the utmost importance that every man in the world who is capable of reading and thinking at all read and reflect upon at least the *Readers Digest's* (Nov. 1939) ten page summary of the

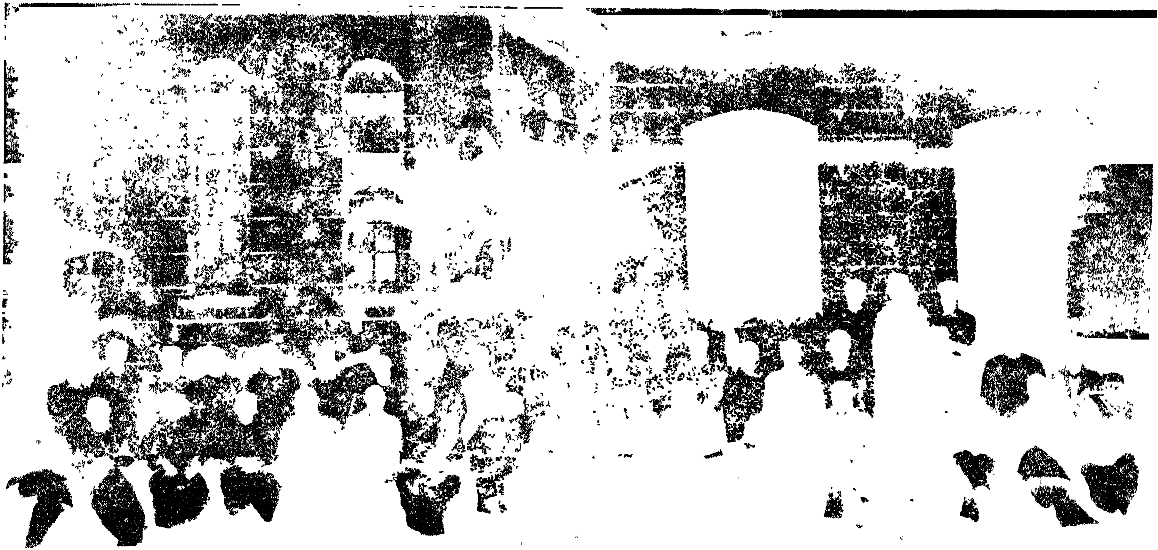
recent book of the real German patriot, Hermann Rauschnig, a one-time President of the Danzig Senate and also member of the Nazi inner councils. He has now seen what this all means for Germany and for all of us, and he warns the world that the new social order which is the Nazi goal "will consist of universal and equal servitude," that "National Socialism is bound to end freedom of initiative and all that in the past has made for creative activity and progress", that "nothing is more intolerable to it than originality, individuality, character, or true public spirit. Whatever it cannot dominate it must destroy". He comments upon the hideous deception and demagoguery which they unblushingly adopt to swindle their people such as deliberately inventing a scapegoat like the Jews on whom to load all the ills they have brought upon themselves. Other nations invent similar scapegoats for their ills in order to escape facing honestly real causes. Thank God that there are great world citizens like Rauschnig of German blood still left.

Between the ideology of conquest and that of rational peaceful change there is no possible compromise. The peace-lovers will and must go down if at a time like this they have not the intelligence and the unselfishness to forget their differences and join their forces for defence. After they have saved their lives and the principle of a rational approach to world problems, they can work out their peaceful procedures. Obviously they cannot do this after they have all been killed. This is no time to talk about our little differences. This is the time for every American and every Indian and every peace-loving man everywhere to exert every ounce of influence he can to prevent the destruction of civilisation and the return of the horrible tyrannies and despotisms that have cursed mankind through all history. It is the spirit of excessive nationalism and the selfish isolationism that it induces that is the cancerous growth which is now threatening to make the democracies so impotent that they cannot survive. My country is just as bad as yours or any other. I heard Hu Shih, the Chinese philosopher, now Ambassador to the United States, say to a Los Angeles audience: "From an International point of view Japan is the world's public enemy No. 1 and the United States is its public enemy No. 2". This because we failed to join in the magnificent effort to create a League of Nations and thus do our part, in peace as well as war, "to make the world safe for democracy."

Out of this present war may yet come some good if through it the essentially peace-loving peoples are forced to form some kind of a real effective defensive union at least among the democracies. To do that each state must learn for its own salvation to be content, not with more, but with less sovereignity; to take more of a world view, less of a national view. The British Commonwealth of Nations is the nearest approach to such a union of essentially independent democracies which the world now knows. I am sure no thinking Indian wants to be detached from it. From my point of view it is your only safety. You want and want properly a fuller and more nearly equal participation in it, and if the whole history of the British people means anything at all you are certain to get it, perhaps even before you have the experience of government and the spread of education that is needed to assure its permanence.

But let us assume the victory in the present crisis has been won, and that the world's present crop of international bandits has been eliminated, what dangers do peace and reason and democracy the world over then face? This we in America know only too well, and it may possibly help if I discuss briefly our own difficulties. They arise primarily from our unintelligent, essentially illiterate and therefore demagogically controllable vote. According to our army tests which we made on all our conscripted recruits for the world war, we have about 20% of our population which cannot be reached by any rational discussion through the printed word. This is where the demagogue and the rabble rouser sees his opportunity. This unintelligent, controllable vote is what makes possible our corrupt city governments—our disgraceful Tammany Halls. The control of this rabble can even swing national elections. It has done it. This is one aspect of what I shall designate more broadly as the political patronage system which is the greatest menace to the permanence of American institutions. Indeed it is this system which will destroy America unless we can destroy it.

In many ways England has succeeded in the development of essential democracy better than we have. She has developed a remarkably clean, honest and effective civil service—a group of public servants in England, and I think here in India too, practically all Indians, who are in office only because of merit and whose tenure of office does not depend in any way upon what party is in power. This group is in a sense the real government of England and it furnishes what I regard as the cleanest,



Professor Millikan at the Calcutta University College of Science

most honest and most effective democratic government that I know of anywhere.

It is our twenty per cent of unintelligent, controllable voters, mainly concentrated in our great cities that has stood in the way of our succeeding governmentally thus far as well as England has done. Theoretically it is obvious that no democratic or republican from of government can permanently succeed unless at least 51% of its voters are capable of casting *intelligent* votes. That is a statement which is worth pondering well. We think we have a larger percentage in America than this of intelligent voters, but in spite of that fact there never was a time in our history, in which in view of recent events, doubts about the permanence of our democracy were as rife as now—never a time, I think, when, through that controllable vote so many corrupt or ignorant or incompetent or demagogic men have been voted into power.

As you are here looking to a larger and larger measure of self-government, such as it is the crowning glory of England that she has been extending without bloodshed or revolution to her dependencies in such amazing fashion for more than a hundred years, you will face in increasing degree the problem that we face of the *controllable electorate*.

Some countries have taken on republican forms of government before they were ready for them and have in consequence gone back to dictatorships instead of on to freedom. From my point of view anything like universal suffrage is completely impossible in a country of over 50% illiteracy. It can lead only to disaster, not to freedom, even if such a country can escape the maw of the modern Ghengis Khans who are out to conquer everything that is conquerable in our modern world.

I should like to conclude my remarks by saying that I and my colleagues, Dr. Neher and Dr. Pickering, appreciate more than we can tell you the kindness you have shown us, and we assure you that we leave your city with very great admiration for the outstanding scientific work which we find in such full flower here, and the delightfully friendly atmosphere which we have been privileged to enjoy.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque concluded the function. He said :

I deem it my duty first to offer my sincere thanks to the staff of the University College of Science for organising the function and giving us an opportunity of meeting one of the most distinguished scientists of our time, whose fame is confined not only within his country, but has spread throughout the world. We take particular pride in welcoming him. On behalf of the University of Calcutta I wish to say that if Prof. Millikan can find some time on his way back to go through Calcutta, we shall be able to show our appreciation in a more

befitting manner. We take credit for the fact that it is this university which has been in the forefront for the development of scientific researches and scientific teaching in the country. I am not at all diffident about the future of civilisation. Taking into consideration the work which this University has done fortunately within 25 years, I am profoundly certain that a day will come when we shall be able to make expansion of our institutions. It is not necessary for me to repeat all those things which have been said by Dr. Saha, Dr. Mookerjee and Mr. Bose. I think Mr. Bose has pointed out the present position of India with reference to the need of scientific men for the future of the country, and I hope some day we will have an opportunity of recording our sincerity in organising this function, when people from all platforms will unite together to create a better India.

BHIL SEVA MANDAL, DOHAD

By LAXMIDAS M. SHREEKANT, B.A., M.L.A.,
Vice-President, Bhil Seva Mandal, Dohad

DOHAD AND Jhalod talukas of the Panch Mahals District of Gujerat, inhabited mostly by the aboriginal tribes of Bhils and Patelias, which number about more than one lac, were in the grip of two severe famines in the year of 1919-20 and 1921-22. Shri A. V. Thakkar, now better known by the beloved name of Thakkar Bapa, came to the rescue of these aborigines, who were forgotten by society, and started relief work among the famine-stricken people of these talukas. Thus exactly two decades ago while doing the relief work he was inspired to found the institution now known as the Bhil Seva Mandal by the moving sight of a famine-stricken aged Bhil woman who had hardly any clothing to cover her body. A very humble beginning was made in the year of 1922 by opening a central office at Dohad in a dilapidated rented house, by taking over the management of Mirakhadi Boarding School, by opening one more boarding school at Jessawada at a distance of eight miles from Dohad in the interior and two day schools for the social and educational uplift of the most down-trodden Bhils and Patelias. Shri Thakkar Bapa was fortunate enough to secure volunteers who were inspired with the spirit of national service and sacrifice generated by the movement of Mahatma Gandhi, and the activities of the Mandal began to spread over both the talukas with good speed. In a short period of eight years nine boarding schools, five day schools, two Ram temples and one dispensary were being run by the Mandal. The various activities of the Mandal are :

(1) Education of Bhil boys and girls through boarding schools,
(2) Spreading literacy through village schools.
(3) Medical relief,
(4) Relief measures in times of famine, scarcity or frost which recur every third year,
(5) Preventive measures against famine or scarcity through the scheme of digging katcha wells in the fields of Bhil agriculturists.
(6) Starting co-operative societies for their economic uplift, and
(7) Social reform in the direction of prohibition, etc. by holding Ram Navami melas and festivals and meetings of village people.

The scheme of village schools for the spread of literacy among the Bhils launched by the Mandal has been taken up in right earnest by the Bhil and Patelia youths who have received training and imbibed the spirit of service in the boarding schools of the Mandal.

There is no subsidiary occupation for the poor Bhil and Patelia agriculturists. On account of absence of cotton crop in this part spinning has not been successful here, though the Bhil boys and girls of the Ashrams spin sufficient yarn for their own clothing. Their income is supplemented by plying carts, which are driven by emaciated bullocks sometimes four to six in number. Many of the Bhils emigrate during the *rabi* season in the neighbouring states for labour in fields.

The education in the Ashrams is imparted with an ideal that the Bhil and Patelia youths who come out of its portals may be inspired with the spirit of service and sacrifice for their own people and the country and that they may turn out to be bold and energetic peasants who may be helpful agents in forming various centres for such work. Thus the curriculum of the Ashrams and schools include compulsory spinning and agricultural training.

One can well imagine the simple food and clothing that is provided in the Ashrams from



One of the Ashrams and the temple for the Bhils



Bhil region

the fact that the monthly expenditure for food charges and clothing come to about Rs. 4-8-0 per head. Morning and evening prayers are daily offered.



Mr. B. G. Kher was presented a guard of honour by the Bhil boys on his visit to the Bhil Seva Mandal

To induce the Bhil and Patelia girls to attend schools and Ashrams monthly scholarships are awarded to them. A Kanyā Ashram (Boarding for Bhil girls) has been started this year, the opening ceremony of which was performed by Mr. B. G. Kher, the Prime Minister to the Government of Bombay, when he in company of Mr. Morarji Desai, the Revenue Minister, visited the Mandal on 12th January, 1939. It is hoped this Ashram will fulfil the long cherished dream of the Mandal to push ahead education among Bhil girls who are very backward and shy.

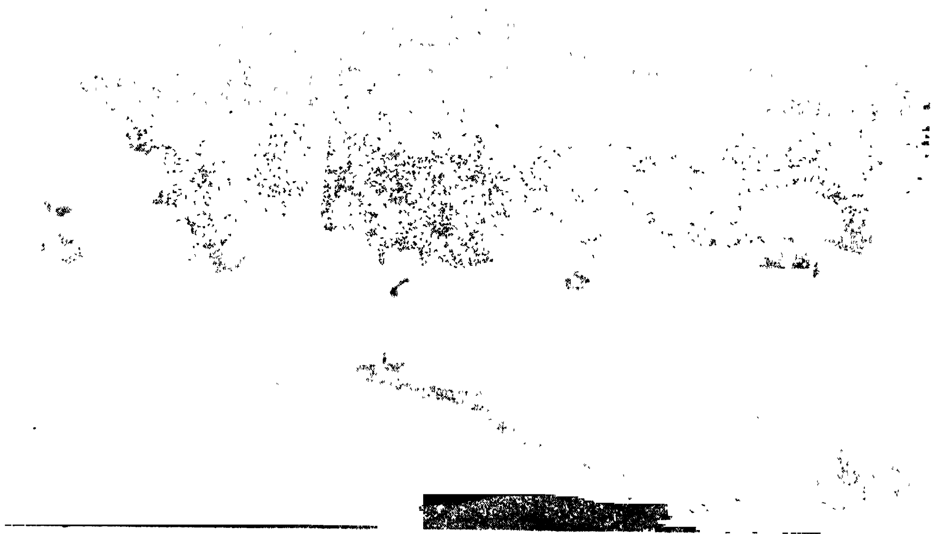
The village schools in both the talukas, measuring about 600 sq. miles, in charge of the Bhil teachers mostly educated in the Mandal's institutions are showing a remarkable increase every year, as will appear from the following table.

	No. of schools	No. of students
1935-36	.. 37	1216
1936-37	.. 37	1278
1937-38	.. 46	1424
1938-39	.. 48	1456 (the number of girls being 77).

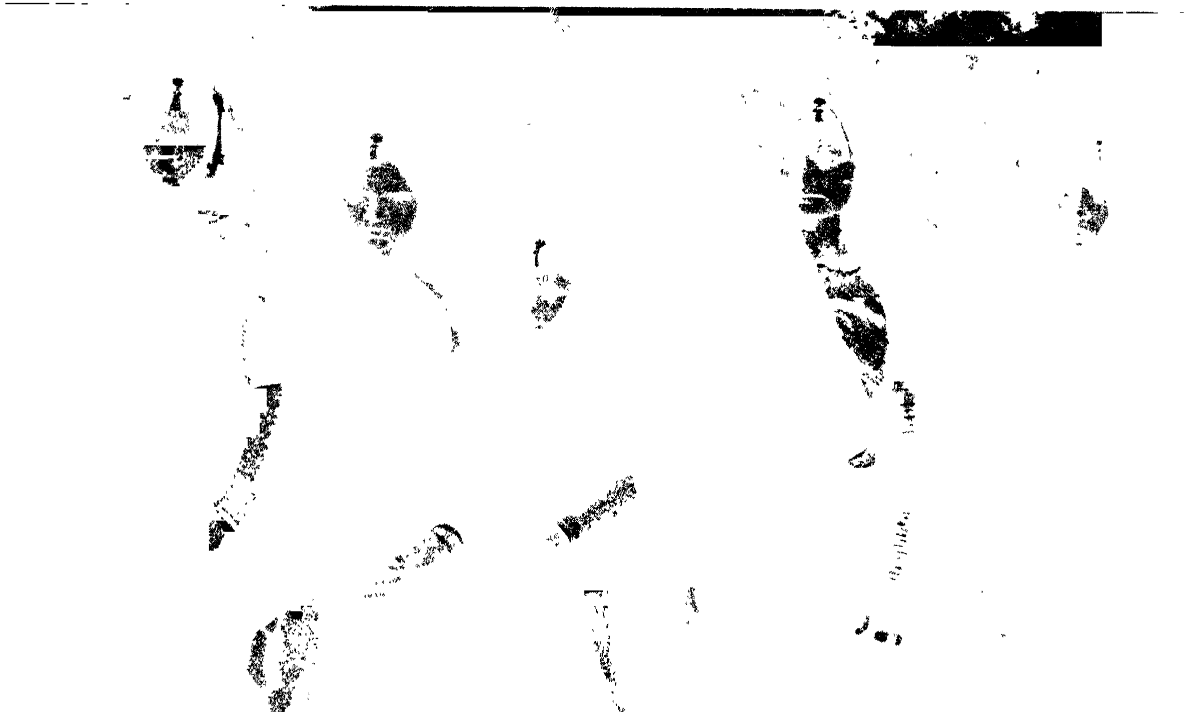
The Government officers have noted in the Settlement report and elsewhere that every third year is a bad year in these two talukas. Insufficient or irregular rain is one of the unfortunate phenomena of this tract. As a result of this and various other causes the economic condition of the Bhil is very bad. A bad year hits them very hard. In order to improve their economic condition and as a preventive measure against famine or scarcity the Bhil Seva Mandal has been trying the scheme of digging kātchā wells in their fields for irrigation of crops and the *bunding* of fields in order to prevent erosion of soil and to fertilise the rocky soil since 1933. The scheme is a very simple one. The Bhil peasant is given monetary help by the Mandal if he shows willingness to dig a well or erect a *bund* in his field by self-help. Only when he finds that the soil is rocky and needs outside labour over and above the labour of his family members monetary help is given. The amount that is given to a single khātedār comes to about Rs. 15 to 25/-, similarly for *bunding* Rs. 8 to 10 are given per single khātedār. The following figures will indicate how far the scheme has succeeded and become popular.



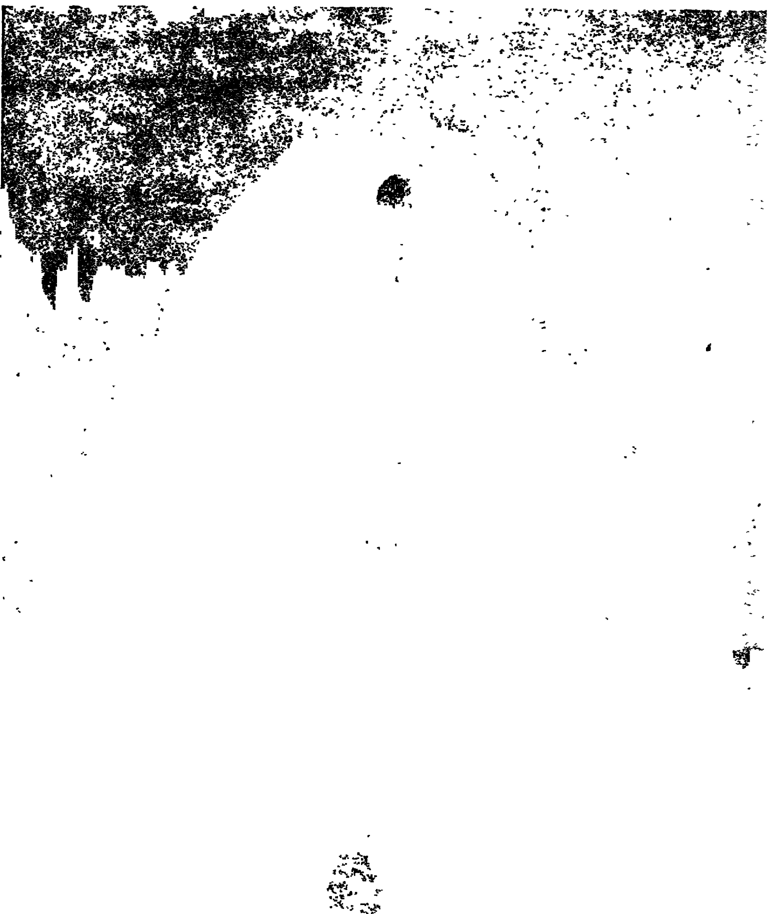
A Bhil labourer



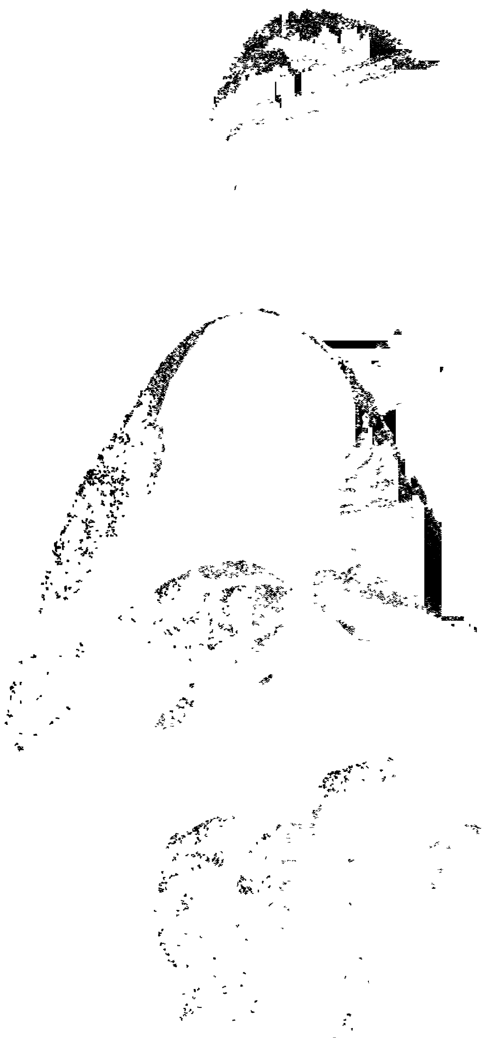
A row of building of the Ashram



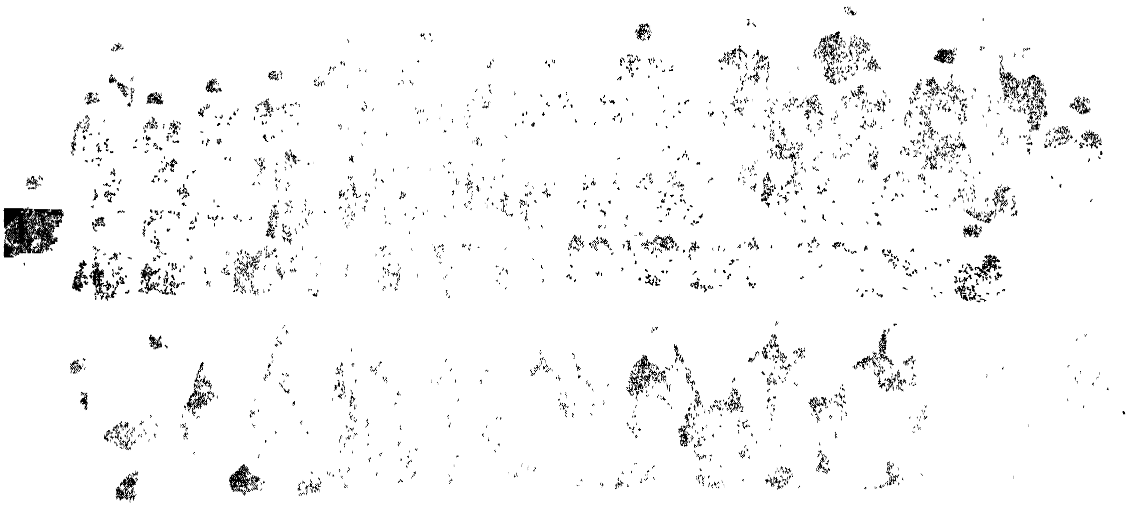
Bhil ladies with their typical ornaments



A Bhil girl



Bhil landlord-agriculturist



Bhil boys and girls at the Ashram



A group of Bhil men

Year	New Wells Dug	Old Wells Excavated	Wells Deepened	Total	Bunds	Acreage Improved
1934	76	26	55	157	26	25
1935	70	39	45	154	91	80
1936	80	19	19	118	71	65
1937	Famine	year	744	744	279	250
1938	92	4	55	151	109	100
Total	318	88	918	1324	576	520

The total amount spent so far is about Rs. 11,000/- (eleven thousand).

During the famine years of 1920 and 1921-22 relief was given by spinning, and by opening cheap grain shops and cattle camps. In the famine of 1932-1933 doles were distributed, free seed was supplied and labour was provided by opening some small works and *bunding* of fields in collaboration with the Bombay Humanitarian League. 7,000 peasants received 3,600 mds. of seed and 40 thousand Bhils received doles for a month and a half. The total amount spent was Rs. 52,000/- (fifty two thousand).

In the last famine year of 1936-37 with the help of Gujerat Provincial Congress Committee and the Bombay Humanitarian League cheap grain shops and cattle camps were opened. 175 thousand mds. of grain was sold at cheap rate at these shops, 13 thousands mds. of seed was sold at cheap rate and 3 thousand mds. of seed was given free. The total expenditure came to about Rs. 36,000/- (thirty-six thousand), while the much-needed relief to cattle by sale of cheap fodder cost about Rs. 16 thousand and 20 cattle camps were run and five thousand cattle were fed free. This cost the Mandal about Rs. 10,000/-. Thus all told, the amount spent was Rs. 62 thousand. Besides provision was made at various places for drinking water for cattle by building pāccā water reservoirs near the side of wells. Bullocks to about 50 Bhil agriculturists whose bullocks died in the famine were given free of cost.

Out of the total population of 15 lacs of the aboriginal tribes in the Bombay Presidency 5 lacs and 36 thousand are Bhils who are found chiefly in the Districts of Panch Mahals, West Khandesh and Nasik. About 2 lacs and 76 thousand are in the native states of Mahikantha and Revakantha agencies. The Bhils of the British territory are divided as follows :

Dohad and Jhalod Talukas of Panch Mahals	..	..	103,513
West Khandesh	..	..	187,664
Nasik	..	..	70,488

The rest are scattered over the districts of East Khandesh and Broach, but their number is very small. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the attention of the Congress and the leaders has been drawn to these aborigines.

The boys studying in the institutions of the Mandal who are clever are sent for secondary and higher education. Six students have passed their matriculation examination and one has passed the B.A. examination. He is the first graduate in his whole community. Two Bhil youths have learnt singing. The Bhil boys can compete with the boys of advanced classes very well.

To improve the economic condition of the Bhils the Mandal has started the movement of Grain golas (Kothas) in these talukas since 1937. Six kothas are being run at various centres with a capital of 2 thousand maunds of maize. This is a small beginning but it is fast gaining ground. The life-members and other volunteers of the Mandal take keen and active interest in the Co-operative movement. It is a matter of pride that in the most backward tract of Dohad and Jhalod 93 societies with a total membership of about 4,000 are being run successfully. Last year a Sale and Purchase Union was started and in the very first year it made a profit of Rs. 3,000/-. A marvellous achievement indeed.

Improvement of cattle and cattle-breeding are also within the various activities of the Mandal. Pedigree bulls have been kept at two centres and the experiment has been remarkably successful. It will be extended to other centres also.

The current expenses of the Mandal come to about Rs. 22,000/- every year which are met from contributions from the public of Gujerat and friends of the Mandal. The Mandal is a registered body.

The following eight are the life members of the Mandal who have pledged themselves to serve the aborigines for a period of twenty years. It should be noted that two are Bhils.

1.	Shri A. V. Thakkar,	President and Founder.
2.	" L. M. Shreekant,	Vice-President.
3.	" S. V. Trivedi,	Secretary.
4.	" D. J. Naik,	Secretary.
5.	" P. G. Vanikar,	Acharya of Jessawada Ashram and organizer of the various activities in that group.
6.	" A. P. Vyas,	Acharya of Jhalod Ashram and organizer of the activities in that group.
7.	" R. B. Parmar, (Bhil)	Acharya of Sarda Ashram.
8.	" L. [illegible] Minama (Bhil)	Asst. in Jessawada Ashram and organizer of the activities in that group.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN CERTAIN RAW MATERIALS AND FOODSTUFFS, 1938. *League of Nations. Pages 178. Price 6/-, $1.50.*

A new volume entitled *International Trade in Certain Raw Materials and Foodstuffs by Countries of Origin and Consumption, 1938,* which is the fourth of its kind, has just been published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations. It gives an account of the movement from one country to another of the commodities dealt with.

This volume contains provisional statistics for 1938 as well as revised and completed statistics for 1936 and 1937 relating to 38 commodities. These commodities include wheat, sugar, rubber, wood in various forms, hides, wool, cotton, silk, iron and steel, copper and motor spirit. The number of importing countries covered by the various tables is 125, as compared with 42 in the first volume. The statistics are thus practically world wide, the 125 countries dealt with representing 98 per cent of the total world trade.

The object of this volume is to show the sources from which countries do in reality obtain their raw materials and foodstuffs. The trade returns published by many countries fail to furnish this information or they indicate some intermediate country from which the goods have been sold or consigned and not the country from which they originated.

About five years ago therefore the Council of the League of Nations decided to request Governments to furnish special returns showing their imports of a selected list of raw materials and foodstuffs by country of ultimate origin. The response to this request has been such that it is now possible to give information about the manner in which these goods are actually distributed which, if not quite complete, covers by far the greater portion of the world's trade in them. The tables show clearly for which statistical areas figures relating to country of consignment only are available.

URBAN AND RURAL HOUSING. *League of Nations. Pages 159. Price 3/6 or $0.80.*

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations has just published a study entitled *Urban and Rural Housing* containing a comprehensive account of the methods employed in a number of countries for improving housing conditions, with special reference to the cost involved and the results obtained. It is of prticular interest at the present time, since it deals largely with housing problems raised after the war of 1914-1918 and the attempts made to solve those problems in various countries up to the outbreak of hostilities in 1939. It should therefore make a wide appeal to all interested in reconstruction schemes at present or in the future.

The countries dealt with are Belgium, the United Kingdom, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United States of America. The author was able to visit most of these countries and to investigate on the spot the practical difficulties encountered by the housing authorities; in addition, he has co-ordinated the material published by or obtained from Governmental and municipal authorities and other sources.

A chapter is devoted to each country and the information arranged in such a way as to permit the reader to compare housing problems and the efforts being made to meet them in different circumstances. That there is urgent need for improving conditions of human habitation is generally admitted. For each country figures are given to show the need for additional accommodation, the lack of modern conveniences in existing dwellings, and the number of exisitng dwellings which ought to be repaired or demolished as unfit for further use.

X.

BHAVASANKRANTI SUTRA AND NAGARJUNA'S BHAVASANKRANTI SASTRA WITH THE COMMENTARY OF MAITREYANATHA (Restored from the Tibetan and Chinese versions and edited with the Tibetan versions and Introduction, etc.): *By Pandit M. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar Library, Madras. 1938.*

In the introduction the author has pointed out that the Sutra has three translations in Chinese and one in Tibetan. The author has dealt with the meaning of *Bhavasankranti*. He ought to have pointed out that *Bhava* or existence is of two kinds: (1) existence as a state of action and (2) existence as a state of origination. As regards the existence as a state of action, we may speak of the confection of merit and demerit, etc. As regards the existence as a state of origination, we may speak of the coming into being of form, formlessness, etc. Then as regards birth, it means the existence of beings and origination of *Khandhas* to which the author has drawn our attention in page xiv of the introduction. His discussions on *Pudgala, Sunyata,* etc., are noteworthy. The introduction is, on the whole, very interesting. The author has ably edited the Sutram with English translations of three Chinese versions and one Tibetan version and the Sastram composed by Nagarjuna along with the *Bhavasankranti Tika*. He has also

given us an English translation of the *Bhavasankranti* and a summary of the Commentary in English. At the end, the author has judiciously supplied the Tibetan versions of the *Sutra, Sastra* and the *Tika*. The foot-notes, though not adequate, will greatly help the reader in understanding the texts. The only demerit of the book is that the author ought to have made a comparison between Hinayana and Mahayana views of some important terms of Buddhist philosophy, wherever necessary. The indexes are quite useful. We congratulate the author on bringing out this excellent edition which will surely be appreciated by those for whom it is intended. A detailed study of the Chinese and Tibetan texts on Buddhism is a long-felt want, and the more we have publications of this kind, the better.

B. C. LAW

STATE BANKS FOR INDIA: *By Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, M.A., M.Sc. Econ. (Lond.), Ph.D. (Dub.). Professor of Economics at the Osmania University.*

This is a study of state banks and land mortgage credit institutions in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the U.S.A. with suggestions for establishing similar banks in India. It deals with the vital problem of rural credit and as such is a most timely publication.

After generally discussing the importance of banks in modern society and the need for State intervention of various degrees the author describes fully the organization and functions of State Banks in Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, Tasmania, Queensland, Western Australia Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and U. S. A. He then strongly advocates the establishment of State Banks for India, particularly for the benefit of the farmers and small industrialists, and although from the purely theoretical point of view it would have, in the opinion of the author, been desirable to establish a Federal State Bank, he recommends State Banks on a Provincial basis. The danger of political interference in the management of the Banks is fully realised by Dr Qureshi and he urges that the internal management of the banks must be entrusted to persons having special training in the field of banking, finance and economics. Certain suggestions for popularising the banks have also been made.

We commend the book to every student of rural finance. It contains valuable collections and useful suggestions, and at a time when the Governments of various Provinces in India are seriously engaged in devising proper means for bringing about the economic rehabilitation of the rural population, the book provides ample material for economic planning in an important field.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

AN OUTLINE OF POLITICS FOR INDIAN READERS: *By R. Ramaiyar. Published by P. Vardachary & Co., Madras, 1939.*

This book is designed to be a text-book on Political Science for the B.A. Pass students of the University of Madras. As such it naturally follows the Madras University syllabus, which emphasises the study of the development of European polity and comparative examination of the governmental institutions of various European countries. At the end of every chapter, the author has appended a small list of questions selected from the B.A. Pass and Honours examinations of the Madras University.

The book is divided into four parts: Introductory; Historical Politics; Comparative Politics; and Ideal Politics. The part on Ideal Politics, which concerns itself with the important ideologies like social democracy, individualism, socialism, etc., covers much less than one-fouth of the volume and congests too much in small space. There are some opinions that are rather hasty and too generalized; but on the whole the author has succeeded in maintaining an 'academic detachment in the evaluation of political ideas and institutions.'

BOOL CHAND

PRO-FASCIST ITALY: *By Margot Hentze, George Allen and Unwin. Pages 400. Price 16s. net.*

The book under review is a careful and well-documented study of the rise and fall of the Parliamentary regime in Italy during the last three decades of the last century and the first two of the present. The first session of the Parliament was held in Rome in 1871 and its history since that date, which is not at all a very encouraging one, has been traced by the author with constant reference to original Italian sources in the nine chapters of the book covering in all 340 pages. The author's attitude in dealing with the subject has been expressed by the motto taken from a famous French critic: Je n'impose rien; je ne propose rien; j'expose. When Italy gained back her independence, respect for democracy and Parliamentary form of government was very high in Europe, and the Italian fighters for freedom, who had little time to plan out a form of government suitable to their national temperament and historical evolution and who were too much enamoured of the newly won liberty of the people, introduced the parliamentary institution into their country as a ready-made instrument, with the pious hope that if it succeeded elsewhere, it would succeed in Italy as well. But the realities of the Italian situation of the time soon began to make themselves felt in the smooth and proper working of the parliamentary machinery. According to the author's analysis, the factors that hindered the successful working of the parliamentary institution were the tendency to factionism and regionalism of the Italian people, want of any previous political organization in the country of sharply differentiated and well-developed parties, looseness of conviction in political life and hence opportunist coalitions between men of flexible opinions, lack of fundamental conceptions regarding the best means of organizing the state. All these factors combined to produce an "instability of government leading to mismanagement of public affairs; mismanagement of public affairs leading to discontent; discontent leading to intolerance of Government policy; intolerance of Government policy leading to instability of Government; and so da capo." But in spite of these vicious tendencies of factionism, opportunism and regional jealousies, it would be wrong to suppose that no genuine effort was made to establish the reputation of parliamentary institutions The effect of this effort, however, was diminished, apart from the weakening internal conflicts, by the immense, almost insuperable difficulties of national reconstruction and the delicate external relations of the country. As soon as the Italians began to experiment with Parliamentary Government, it was discovered that the Risorgimento

had cost more in money than in blood and there was no alternative for Italy but to "pay and pay." Moreover, there was new and heavy expenditure to be made on armaments and national defence. The only means of filling the coffers of the Government was to impose new taxes and increase the already existing ones in the teeth of opposition from Parliament and people. The financial circumstances created such a tension in the life of the people, that it became impossible for any Cabinet to remain in power for long.

The book is not only a good historical document of the time, but also forms an excellent background to the evolution of post-war Italy. Many aspects of present-day Italian politics can be perfectly understood only when viewed in proper historical perspective and the present work supplies this. But the book has a special appeal to the Indian public, because it delineates the working of parliamentary institutions in the midst of circumstances having almost fatalistic similarity with circumstances prevalent in India. I would recommend the book to be attentively read by every Indian who is interested in Parliamentary Government of the country.

P. N. Roy

CARDBOARD MODELLING: *By Lakhsmiswar Sinha. Published by Hindusthani Talimi Sangha, Shegaon, Wardha. Pp. 108. Price Re. 1.*

When the scheme for Basic National Education was first propounded it found very few enthusiastic supporters. Among the orthodox school of educationists there were many who scoffed at the idea; but there were a few who, while they accepted the theoretical basis of the scheme with certain reservations, were doubtful as to whether correlated teaching was a practical possibility, and whether it would be feasible to organise the entire curriculum round a basic craft as had been proposed in the scheme. The idea of integrated teaching seemed, to them, to be unpractical.

It is always difficult to convince the scoffers, but sceptics can generally be brought round by practical demonstration. If they could see the Wardha scheme in action some of their doubts might have been removed. But unfortunately, opportunities for directly watching this new technique of teaching which forms the central idea of the scheme of Basic National Education are not many. For there are only a few centres where it is being experimented with. But here is a book which will go a long way to dispell the doubts of many an unbeliever and convince them of the practicability of the Wardha Scheme of Education.

Cardboard, wood and metal work together form one of the basic crafts suggested by the Zakir Hossain Committee which drew up the complete syllabus of Basic National Education. The book under review is the first of a series intended for teachers who would use the above three forms of activities as one composite basic craft for developing the school curriculum. It contains complete instructions in the technique of cardboard modelling, with a detailed description of the necessary material, tools and equipment and a graded model series. It also contains a chapter on correlated teaching where the author suggests how this basic craft can be used as a medium of education not only for the ordinary school subjects like the mother-tongue, mathematics, social studies and science but also for training pupils in co-operative activities. In fact, the book amply demonstrates how this basic craft can be exploited to give the fullest scope to the children for creative self-expression and for helping them to develop a co-operative community life in the school.

The book is profusely illustrated with diagrams and pictures of models executed by the pupils under the direction of the author. The printing and get-up are excellent.

The special feature of the book is that it is the outcome of practical experiences. It embodies the result of the author's experiments in training teachers for Basic National Education. The reviewer had the opportunity of watching the author at work and he can testify to the fact that there is nothing theoretical in the suggestions offered by the author and with the scheme developed by him in his book.

Mr. Lakshmiswar Sinha, the author is specially fitted for the task he set before himself when he wrote this book. He is in charge of training teachers in this particular basic craft in the Vidyamandir Training College at Wardha. He is perhaps the only teacher in this country who has been trained in the Swedish Sloyd system of education. This system which is really a development of the Froebelian idea of "Occupations," revolutionised the entire system of Swedish school education and transformed the work in the elementary and pre-school stage. Sloyd was introduced not merely as a device for reviving cottage industries in Sweden but as an instrument of popular education. Sloyd has been eminently successful and Mr. Sinha's book will show how the scheme for Basic National Education too may be successful in transforming the entire system of education in this country.

THE EDUCATIONAL YEAR BOOK: *Edited by A. Ghose. Published by The Bengal Pioneers. Price Re. 1-4.*

Besides containing many useful information of general and educational interest, the book contains a teacher's register and diary. It will be of help to those for whom it is intended.

Anathnath Basu

SANKARACHARYA—PHILOSOPHER AND MYSTIC: *By Kasinath Tryambak Telang, Judge, Bombay High Court. Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is a short but informative lecture on Sankaracharya, based mainly on the accounts of his life as given by Ananda-giri and Madhava. The author is well-known for his translation of the Bhagavadgita in the Sacred Books of the East Series and has maintained his reputation in this lecture also.

Biographers of Sankara speak of an incident of his life which modern thought will probably describe as super-natural, if not absurd and incredible. The incident was that Sankara left his own body for sometime and animated the body of another person who had died just then, lived the life of that man for some days in order that he might gain experience of some kind which it was not possible to gain with his own body, and then came away to inhabit his own body again. Justice Telang refers to this incident on page 13 of his lecture, but makes no comment. The editor of the lecture who is none other than Madame Blavatsky of the Theosophical Society makes some observations on this incident which will perhaps startle what is generally regarded as scientific opinion. She says:

"The power of the Yogin to quit his own body and enter and animate that of another person, ...

is discredited by Europeanized young Indians . . . . . We, who have at least some trifling acquaintance with modern science, do not hesitate to affirm our belief that this temporary transmigration of souls is possible. We may even go so far as to say that the phenomenon has been experimentally proved to us—in New York, among other places." And Madame Blavatsky proceeds to aver that every honest enquirer will be satisfied that "Patanjali and Sankaracharya did, and Tyndall, Carpenter and Huxley do not, know the secrets of our being."

U. C. Bhattacharjee

CAUSALITY AND SCIENCE: *By Dr. Nalini Kanto Brahma, M.A., Ph.D. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London. 6s. net.*

Scientists have just now begun to examine some of the fundamental concepts on which the magnificent edifice they have constructed ultimately rests. One such concept which has forced itself on their attention is that of causality. Causation or indeterminism?—that is the from in which the question has appeared to them. Are all things determined or is there room for freedom? And they seem to demand a categorical answer in favour of one or other of the alternatives.

The author has shown that there cannot be either a 'yes' or 'no' answer to the question. Analysing the concept of causality as it is generally maintained by the scientists, he has pointed out wherein its inadequacy lies and has then proceeded to discuss the metaphysics underlying the concept. That freedom can be reconciled with determinism, that both may be integral elements of a true concept of causality has been aply put forth by Dr. Brahma and in this task he has frequently referred to the views of causation held by the Indian philosophers of the olden days.

The book is written in an easy style and by slow steps one is imperceptibly led to the very heart of the problem. Perhaps there is no new material in the book, but the presentation of the old philosophical views as solutions of the modern scientific problems, in the lucid way in which the author has done it certainly deserves great credit. All lovers of philosophy will read the volume with delight.

S. C. Mitra

THE HINDU: Diamond Jubilee Number.

We have received a copy of the Diamond Jubilee Number of *The Hindu* of Madras. We congratulate our contemporary on its past very remarkable record and wish it a continuation of its creditable achievement. This issue contains numerous messages of congratulation and good wishes including many from abroad.

THE TIMES OF INDIA ANNUAL, 1940. *Price Rs. 2.*

This year's issue of the *Times of India Annual* (Bombay) is as sumptuous and interesting as its predecessors. It contains a good many multi-colour illustrations, some printed separately as plates and some with the text, besides other illustrations. Srijut Nanda Lal Bose has contributed four water-colours on the life of Buddha specially drawn for the Annual. There is an article on Power and Love by Rabindranath Tagore. The three articles on Indian Art at the British Museum, Indian Art at the India Office, and the Indian Museum in South Kensington are richly illustrated.

OBSERVATIONS ON "THE MAN BEHIND THE PLOUGH": *By Probhanath Singh Roy and Sachin Sen. Published by the British Indian Association, 18, British Indian Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee One.*

In this brochure, the authors have tried to point out and discuss the extent and nature of what they consider statistical misrepresentation and the historical inaccuracies which in their opinion are to be found in the book, "The Man Behind The Plough," by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizal Huque, C.I.E., Speaker, Bengal Legislative Assembly, and Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta.

It deserves serious attention.

LAWLESS LIMBDI: *Published by the Secretaries, All India States' Conference, 138, Medowes St., Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 2. Profusely illustrated.*

This brochure describes the cruel treatment to which the people of Limbdi have been subjected by that State. In the opinion of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Limbdi has out. Amritsared Amritsar by a continuous programme of unabashed confiscation of property and barefaced atrocities. Similar opinions have been expressed by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is a shame that there should be such States in India.

D.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY NUMBER: *Editor, Amal Home. Price Eight Annas. Calcutta Corporation Office, Calcutta.*

This Annual Number is a splendid eight anna production. It contains many instructive and interesting articles, some profusely illustrated. Among the plates, the Calcutta Zoo Studies by Hemanta Kumar Chatterjee, Parimal Goswami, N. K. Dutt and Shishir Bose are very fine.

X.

THE ORIGINAL GITA: With Copious Comments and Notes: *By Dr. Rudolf Otto. Traslated and edited by Dr. J. E. Turner, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Philosophy in the University of Liverpool and Assistant editor of the 'Library of Philosophy.' Publishers: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, London. Pp. 309 with an Index. Price 15 shillings net.*

The book under review is a learned treatise on the Gita by the distinguished German Indologist, Rudolph Otto.

The book is rightly dedicated to the cherished memory of Richard Garbe, the first translator of the Gita into German, who has left a magnificent survey of the historical comprehension of the Gita and the Bhagavat Religion. Dr. Otto, as his worthy pupil and successor, carries still farther Garbe's researches on the Gita and the results are embodied in the present work, now available to the English-reading people through the kind services of Dr. Turner, a recognised scholar and writer on philosophy and religion.

Dr. Otto rather too boldly asserts that India's most sacred Writ, the Gita is neither a doctrinal Text of any religious system and therefore no 'Upanishad,' nor again a catechism attached to any creed and, least of all, of syncretistic Hinduism in general; but it is purely and entirely a splendid fragment of a primitive epic narrative wherein Krishna reveals to Arjun the meaning of the critical situation in which the latter finds himself and with this, his own inescapable task. Hence the Gita in his opinion may most suitably be

styled 'Krishna-Arjun-Samvad' instead of the popular title.

Dr. Otto further remarks in conclusion that the present-day guise of the Gita is not its original form, as it does not exhibit a compact unity and into its ancient nucleus which was originated in the Bhagavat circles a garland of eight independent seperate doctrinal treatises of differing tendency have been incorporated with the intention of securing for them the authority of Krishna the God, very much later than the third century B.C., through a prolonged process when the Epic became 'Krishnaised.' The original Gita or 'Die Urgita' to use Dr. Otto's own title, which however in his view is a genuine constituent of the great Epic, consists of only one hundred and twenty-eight slokas as follows: I. 1-47; II. 1-13, 20, 22, 29-37; X. 1-8; XI. 1-6, 8-12, 14, 17, 19-36, 41-51; XVIII. 58-61, 66, 72-73.

The *first*, of the eight treatises that are said to be dovetailed into the original Gita, which covers from XI.52-XII.20 of the current Gita is a pure Prapatti Bhakti treatise. The *second* treatise from XIV-XV inculcates Sa-Sankhy Bhakti; the *third* from XVI-XVIII.57 is on moralistic theism; the *fourth* in XIII is on Sa-Iswar Sankhy; the *fifth* in V is on Sankhy and Yoga; the *sixth* from VI-IX is on Sa-Iswara Yoga etc.; the *seventh* from II.39-IV.42 is on untypical Sa-Iswar Yoga and the *eighth* treatise from X. 12-42 is a song of praise to God as optimum in omnibus.

Unlike Dr. Otto, Hill and Lamotte and a host of renowned scholars think it quite possible to maintain the homogeneity and unity of the Gita in spite of its apparent divergencies. We appreciate very much Dr. Otto's researches in tracing the origins of the various spiritual tendencies of the Gita but we sincerely confess we are unable to make out what led the great German scholar to believe the so-called eight inserted portions as separate treatises? The names of such treatises are nowhere found in any important Sanskrit work and he too is unable to find any authoritative proof of their present or past existence. Dr. Otto acknowledges the rich multiplicity of Indian thought and experience and regards the Gita to be more Unitary than 'Moksha-Dharma,' but it is regrettable that he fails to recognize the underlying harmony that characterises the Indian religious thought It may be, we are afraid, due to the analytic and intellectual bent of his European mind. The synthetic nature of Indian religion is not a later development to be dismissed forthwith as an overgrowth but it has been sung as early as the Vedic Rishis when most of the world-religions of our day were not brought into being. History testifies that Indiin spiritual genius endeavours in every age to synthesise the different spiritual currents of the then times. The Gita is such an epochal attempt, of a master mind, the immortal author of the great epic, that has considerably influenced the succeeding religious thought of India. Dr. Otto observes that the Mahabharata might have undergone most diverse transformations, there have been interpolations and perhaps even occasional abbreviations. But we contend that does not go to prove that entire separate treatises have been incorporated into it. At least we are not aware of any such tradition.

The second chapter of this book contains a beautiful translation of the whole of the popular Gita. The third chapter is devoted to a study of the various connotation and denotations of the words, 'Yoga' and 'Yogin.' In a footnote in this chapter it has been sweepingly remarked that the impressive doctrines of the Gita might testify to the fruitful effects of fusion between cultures and races and that the typical Yogin is the original product of pre-Aryan India. It is difficult to verify such a statement for, other scholars on the other hand are of opinion that not only India is the home-land of Yoga with all its luxuriant developments but Yogic mysticism is the soul of Aryan wisdom. Chapter seventh, entitled the 'God of the Gita,' deals elaborately with the origin and evolution of Krishna-legends and their variations. The last chapter concludes with useful notes and important references which are indispensable for a historical understanding of the Gita.

Leaving aside the questionable observations made perhaps in haste by Dr. Otto, the book is a welcome addition to Gita-literature as well as a remarkable research-work of outstanding merit and wide significance in the historical study of the Gita.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

WHITHER RUPEE?: *By Dr. Birendranath Ganguli. Published by S. Chand and Co., Delhi, 1939. Pages 165. Price Rs. 3.*

Writers on Indian currency problems broadly fall into two classes—one group maintaining that the main objective of our currency policy should be the attainment of an internal 'costs-price' equilibrium, and the other group holding that exchange-stability is the only practicable end. Dr. Ganguli belongs to the first group, and in his book he has ably presented his own side of the case. Relevant statistics are so inadequate and imperfect in our country that it is possible to prove almost anything with their help. Consequently, the main determinant in settling one's views regarding monetary stabilisation is his general viewpoint. Dr. Ganguli belongs to the school characterised by the advocacy of monetary remedies for curing non-monetary evils, and undoubtedly he will find support in the writings of a distinguished group of economists in England.

The book begins with two chapters on the course of events in the Indian monetary sphere from April to December in the year 1938. These two chapters provide an admirable analysis of facts; but the most valuable portion of the book is contained in the last two chapters where the case for devaluation is examined and defended. After showing that the Hilton-Young Commission did not give consideration to a number of important questions when they recommended stabilisation at 1*s*. 6*d*. he goes on to examine the effects of the ratio chosen on the barter terms of trade and upon our internal economic structure. On the one side, he points out, "the currency management failed at a crucial moment to restore external equilibrium through a re-adjustment of the trade-balance," and on the other, "the internal economic structure had to go through a grinding processes of price-deflation." He lays special emphasis on the difficulties created by the 18*d*. ratio in the way of attaining a parity between costs and prices, and on the exposure of our economic system to every external maladjustment on account of the 'exchange-stability' objective.

In spite of occasional lapses into the journalistic plane, the treatment on the whole is concrete and synthetic. Devaluationists in India are generally a bit jingoistic in respect of the views they hold; but it will not be possible to accuse Dr. Ganguli of that. He examines, for example, the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, and frankly states that the Com-

mittee did not state the real issues clearly and started with premises which were not supported by facts. And, in respect of gold exports, he is careful to condemn, not the exports *per se*, but the "fundamental cause" that led to these outflows.

Dr. Ganguli suggests in conclusion that the way out of the present situation lies in "a frontal attack at the monetary end of the problem," a reduction in the bank-rate, and a planned policy of public works. In short, as a reformer, he is a follower of Keynes, and this alone perhaps will make him too a Cassandra whom everybody will appreciate, but nobody will listen to.

BHABATOSH DATTA

THE LIGHT OF ASIA : *By Sir Edwin Arnold. Kitabistan. Allahabad and London. Pp. xi+156. Price Annas Twelve only.*

This is a reprint of the celebrated poem by Edwin Arnold dealing with the life of Buddha. The publishers must be congratulated for the excellent printing and get-up of the book.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

GOLDEN JUBILEE SOUVENIR OF ADVOCATE'S ASSOCIATION, MADRAS.

The volume as expected contains the usual historical and biographical notes, and messages of goodwill. Besides these, the lectures on Law & Art, Law & Politics, Law & Religion, Law & Liberty, Law & Letters, and Law & Life by well-known lawyers and public men are an interesting feature; and we are sure they will be eagerly read by lawyers and lay readers alike.

J. M. DATTA

OUTSIDE INDIA (ADVENTURES OF A ROVING REPORTER) : *By Khwaja Ahmad Abbas. With a Preface by Ethel Mannin. Hali Publishing House, Kitabghar, Delhi. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 2-8. Foreign 5sh. or 2 Dollars.*

Mr. Khawaja Ahmad Abbas, a journalist on the staff of the *Bombay Chronicle* made a hurricane tour of 25,000 miles within five months, covering China, Japan, United States of America, France, England, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Turkey, Syria and Iraq. The author, who possesses a keen power of observation and is well informed of political and social cross-currents in the countries of his visit, has produced an interesting and informative book on travel though, being the record of a hurried tour, it is naturally sketchy to some extent, but unlike many other books on travel it is not dry and boring, the author's sense of proportion and lucidity have come to his rescue.

THE INDO-JAPANESE BUSINESS DIRECTORY 1939-40 : *Published by The Indo-Japanese Association, Taihei Building, Uchi-Saiwaicho, Kojimachiku, Tokyo. Pp. 290.*

Beautifully bound, nicely printed on art paper and profusely illustrated this compilation will prove useful to those who want information about various industries and commerce of Japan. Reviews of different Japanese industries, export and import figures between India and Japan, list of exporters and importers in Japan are some of the important features of the publication.

SOUREN DE

HALI'S POETRY : A STUDY : *By M. Tahir Jamil, M.A. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The view that western influences, following in the wake of British Imperialism in the 19th century, were directly responsible for a renaiscence in Indian art and culture has been so long and fervently held by our intellectuals that it has become almost a sacrilege to refute it. To say the least, it is a very peculiar view. To say that political dishonour, supercession of the native languages by a foreign one, and brutal demoralisation in almost every sphere, could produce a renaiscence is to give a new definition to the word.

The poet Hali, according to the author of this, in many ways a very valuable thesis, entered the field of Urdu literature in its most decadent period—the age of Ghalib! We may agree, with some mental reservation. But when he goes on to say that after the Mutiny "the British rule was firmly established, bringing in an era of tranquil prosperity . . . The change began to awaken in the people a deep debt of gratitude to the existing government for evolving order out of chaos and the multifarious boons and blessings it conferred upon the land . . .", we cannot help feeling that he is stretching facts a little too far in order to prove his point.

Furthermore, Mr. Jamil lays an undue emphasis on the theories and the movements which the poet embraced and represented. In the last analysis a poet has to be judged by the loftiness of his creations. A more intimate study of Hali's art, and also his life, would have filled a certain gap in this erudite and instructive monograph

BALRAJ SAHNI

SANSKRIT

SRIVIDYA SAPARYA PADDHATI : *Sri Brahmavidya Vimarsini Sabha Series No. 4. Compiled by Brahmasri N. Subramania Iyer Avl. Published by Sri Brahma Vidya Vimarsini Sabha, Madras.*

SRIMAHATRIPURASUNDARIPUJAKALPA : *V. Ramoswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Madras.*

SRIVIDYAMANTRABHASYA : *By K. Viraraghava Shastri, V. Ramaswamy Shastrulu & Sons, Madras.*

All the three works belong to the Tantric cult of Tripura or Srividya. The first two describe in detail the procedure of the worship of the deity, while the third one gives comprehensive esoteric interpretations of the fifteen-syllable *mantra* used in the worship—a *mantra* that has been made the subject of interpretation in several earlier and famous works. The works will be of use to followers of the cult and of interest to students of Tantra.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

ACHARYER PRARTHANA, PART I.

We are in receipt of a copy of *Acharyer Prarthana*, part I, the first instalment of the recorded extempore prayers of Keshub Chunder Sen. The book has been brought out by the Publication Section of the Keshub Centenary Committee and is to be had for one rupee at the Bharatbharshiya Brahma Mandir, 95, Keshub Chander Sen Street, Calcutta. Three more volumes of prayers are to follow. Considering the bulk of the book and its value, the price is very moderate.

The prayers collected in this part belong to the years from 1837 to 1879. Most of these prayers were recorded by loving pens as they rose, fresh and sweet, from Keshub's lips. To those who did this good work the world will remain indebted. The Rev. Pearymohan Chowdhuri, fittingly called the "Gospel writer" of the New religion, was one of them. It is a pleasure to think that Keshub's eldest daughter-in-law was another. Some were recorded by his eldest son and two of his daughters.

The book contains the well-known and beautiful portrait of Keshub at prayer.

These prayers are among the most wonderful of which the world keeps record. It was Matthew Arnold, we think, who, speaking of the golden simplicity of Wordsworth's poems said that Nature took the pen from his hand and wrote them. We might say of Keshub's prayers that the Spirit took the words out of his mouth and uttered them. They are like morning flowers with the dew on them. They are like strains of heavenly melodies wafted from afar, through which comes floating now and then a note that thrills the soul or makes the hair stand on end. "One might move the Himalayas by pushing with the fingers, but one cannot remove Your Presence by pushing, with the whole breast!" "Thy lovers are getting all the joy! For them the whole sky is filled with one great God flower." "When we worship Thee, spirit worshippeth Spirit. The body rests on a little spot on the earth, but spirit soars away to the heaven of the Spirit!"

Keshub's prayers are fragrant with the spontaneous poetry of the spirit. There is no effort in them, no pose, only a sweet, "Wise passivity." There is no rigidity, they flow from form to form like wind-wafted clouds—from aspiration to asking, from thanksgiving to repentance, from adoration to sweet colloquy.

Almost a century has passed since Keshub was sent to us. Yet how modern these words are, how deeply they are needed today. For today when the nations are "breaking," when man bewildered and led by Mephistopheles the Mocking spirit is wandering restlessly amidst the wreck of old civilizations, seeking the peace which he cannot find, today the timely call of Keshub comes—the call to return to faith, "for seriousness cannot come to one who has not seen Thee."

Therefore, we invite our distracted countrymen to lave their spirit in the cool water of these prayers of Keshub and to look up to his eyes, turned heavenwards in prayer.

LALIT MOHUN CHATTERJEA

SHYAMA: DANCE-DRAMA: *By Rabindranath Tagore. With notations of songs by Sushilkumar Bhanja Chaudhuri. Edited by Sailajaranjan Majumdar. Published by Kishorimohon Santra, Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 92. Price Rupee One and annas eight only. 1346 B.S.*

This is the dramatic version of the author's familiar piece *Parisodh* (in *Katha*, 1306 B.S.). The drama consists entirely of songs, and was staged with great success at Calcutta some time ago by the students of Santiniketan. This made many of the songs immensely popular, and correct notations of them are now made available to the public.

The story of the drama may be briefly recounted thus: Bajrasen, an alien in the city, has in his possession a rare jewel which he would not part with even at the request of the queen of the land. He is later arrested on a false charge of theft, and as he is being taken away by the police, his handsome features attract the attention and admiration of Shyama, the celebrated beauty at the royal court. Enamoured and thoughtless, Shyama allows her young admirer, Uttiya, to pass as the missing thief. Uttiya is hanged, and Bajrasen returns to Shyama. Bajrasen insists on knowing how he could be made free, and as he is told the details, he spurns the love of Shyama, and departs.

PULINBIHARI SEN

GUJARATI

BHIL-SEVA-MANDAL: *Published by the Secretaries, Sukhadev B. Trivedi and D. G. Nayak, of the Bhil-Seva-Mandal, Dahod.*

This is an illustrated booklet descriptive of the work for the Bhils, which was started at the Panchmahals so far back as 1922 by the Mandal, and it records the activities of the organizaton from October 1937 to March 1939. The record is splendid, and it is enlivened by many sketches and photogravures which greatly enhance the value of the booklet as a document of ethnological importance. Dahod is to the north of the Nerbuda and a few miles to the north-east of Baroda. Thakkar 'Bapa' has been carrying on an extensive and at the same time comprehensive campaign of reform: literacy, prohibition, vocational employment, social service, medical help, etc. There have been eight life-members of the mandal so far.

The frontispiece showing the energy of the Bhil fitting the arrow to his bow and the map of the locality are specially worth mention.

PRAYASCITTA: *By "Sopan." Nutan Sahitya Bhandar, Ahmedabad. Re. 1-12 and Rs. 2 for different bindings.*

It is a glimpse into Hindu life, and the Harijan problem has been vividly presented in the form of a novel in two parts. The misery and the agony, the age-long persecution and the inevitable bitterness have been well portrayed.

The dedication of the book to the workers for Harijan uplift and the citation from Rabindranath by way of preface are other features worth pointing out.

LAGNA EK SAMASYA: *By "Sopan." Nutan Sahitya Bhandar, Ahmedabad. 1937. Pp. 1-227. Re. 1-4.*

It discusses the problem of marriage from many angles, but chiefly as a sociological question. Treated in three parts in the epistolary form of discourse, the volume is comprehensive in scope, and it discusses the fundamentals of marriage and society. The incentive to marriage, the marriage of widows, the duty and status of unmarried people in society, are some of the topics raised in the book: altogether a thought-provoking production.

P. R. SEN

DENTISTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA: *By Dr. K. D. Jila. Printed at Mani Printing Press, Navsari. Paper cover. Pp. 67. 1938.*

Dr. Kaikhusru Jila is a specialist in Dentistry and he has published about twenty small books on care of mouth and teeth. By references to old Indian books on dentistry, he has tried to prove, in this book, that the present science of dentistry is but a rebirth of the old Indian science, and that dentures were being supplied to those in need of them five thousand years

ago. It is indeed very creditable for a Parsi to write so clearly and well in Gujarati on such a technical subject.

HIMALAYA NO PRAVAS: *By Dattatreya B. Kalelkar. Fifth Edition. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Pp. 395. Price Re. 1. 1938.*

Before we could notice the Fourth Editon of this delightful book of travels in the Himalayas which was out in June, 1938, we have received its Fifth Edition, out in October 1938. To have a call made by the reading public for a new edition in three months is indeed a unique record in the publishing line in Gujarat and in the great popularity of a book. Every page of this book of travel by Kaka Kalelkar is a monument of realistic information given in the most chatty style and the notes at the end enhance the value of the work. Indeed no reader would like to read it in instalments. He must read it at one sitting from cover to cover, so very arresting the descriptions are.

SMRITI ANE DARSHAN: *By Ratilal Mohanlal Trivedi, B.A. Printed at the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Pp. 193. Price Re. 1-8. 1938.*

Mr. Trivedi has divided this collection of his literary contributions and oral lectures into three sections, description of scenes of Nature, poetry and philosophy, and religion and culture. He has got a special faculty in describing scenes of Nature. He has been travelling with eyes open, and pen ready. The other two sections bear on serious subjects but even these he has treated in such a way as to make his exposition of them easy to follow. He illustrates his opinions with quotations from eastern as well as western writers, thus showing the wide extent of his studies.

BHAVYA JAGAT AND PAKSHI MITRO, *both published by the Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalay, Ahmedabad in the Gurjar Balgranthavali series. By Ramanlal N. Shah and Maganbhai Patel, respectively. Printed at the Ashok Printing, Baroda. Paper Cover. Pp. 103 : 65. Price Re. 1 and Annas Five. 1938.*

Both books are meant for juvenile readers. The first contains description of various countries of the world with pictures. The second describes birds. Both are well written.

KAVYA SAMHITA: *By Anami. Printed at the Narayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cover Pp. 110. Price Re. 1. 1938.*

This is a collection of 72 short poems written by a promising young poet.

K. M. J.

HINDI

SAMAJVAD-KI-ROOPREKHA: *By Amar Narayan Agarwal, M.A. Published by Kitab-Mahal, 63, Zero Road, Allahabad. Price Re. 1-8.*

A book on socialism, written by a man who knows his subject thoroughly. It is written entirely from the intellectual and academic point of view, which, if it makes the pages lukewarm reading, saves them from the other and much greater misfortune—distaste created by over enthusiasm. No doubt the book fills a great need, but its usefulness would have been increased tenfold if it were written in a simpler and more fluent language, and the technical terms were not so plump. One also wishes the author had not avoided giving his own point of view so scrupulously.

GOETHE'S FAUST. PART 1: *Translated from German by Prof. Bhola Nath Sharma, M.A. Published by Vaishya Book Depot, Darzichowk, Bareilly. Price Rs. 2-4 (with binding), Rs. 2 (without binding).*

It is a prose translation of the 1st Part of Goethe's "Faust" from original German. There is a comprehensive preface of about 125 pages containing a short history of German Literature upto the time of Goethe, a short sketch of the poet's life and his works, a background of the play and a comprehensive criticism of the work. The appearance of this book fulfils an urgent need. Mr. Sharma has made a thorough study of the work, and even though a translation cannot claim to have all the merits of the original, it retains the forceful spirit of the original, which is very significant. It is a useful book for students of Literature.

PREM KI GALI MAIN: *By Rajaji Maharaj Gurdas Ram Sahib. Published by Premibhai Saran Adharji, Radhaswami Satsanga, Agra. Price Re. 1.*

This is a book of lessons in the art of worship written by a devotee, in the form of stories.

SHAKUNTALA: *By Durga Datt Tripathi. Published by Govind Datt Tripathi, Govind Ashram, Ghatiya Darwaza, Chandausi. Price Annas Four.*

This is, according to the author, a revolutionized version of Kalidasa's Shakuntala in the epic form. The book is in about 200 stanzas, divided into 8 parts.

BALRAJ SAHNI

BOOKS RECEIVED

CELEBRATIONS TO COMMEMORATE THE 8TH CENTENARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL IN THE NEW WORLD.

CALENDAR PROGRAMME OF THE PORTUGESE CELEBRATIONS IN 1940.

SRIMAD BHAGAVAD GITA—SANSKRIT TEXT AND COMMENTARY: *By Swami Sivananda, "Ananda Kutir." Published by The Divine Life Society, Rikhikesh, (Dt. Dehra Dun). Pp. 100. 1939. For free distribution.*

GOLDEN POLLEN: *By K. C. Chatterjee, M.A. Pp. 42. To be had of the Author, Katchary Road, Gorakpur.*

A book of poems.

HEALTH AND VITALITY *by Modern Methods. Published by Messrs. Hering & Kent, Post Box 323, Reay House, Hornby Road, Bombay.*

For the medical profession only.

FUNDAMENTALS OF NATIONAL PLANNING

By L. M. CHITALE, F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I.

WITH the advent of the Congress Government a new chapter opens in the history of human welfare in this country. Efforts are being made for devising schemes to provide "a reasonable standard of civilized life" to the vast population of India, but if the activities and the proposals of the various Sub-Committees of the National Planning Committee now at work, should help to achieve the objective, it is essential that every member and Committee responsible for shaping the "National Plan" should have the correct perspective of the task before them.

It is no easy matter providing 400 million people with adequate food, sufficient clothing and proper housing, and other suitable comforts and luxuries. For this implies first of all, food planning for four hundred millions; the production of cereals and pulses, vegetables and fruits, oil seeds and fodder crops, milk and milk products, fish and meat, to provide an "optimum" diet; and this involves diversification of crops, rational agriculture, judicious animal husbandry, improved pisiculture, etc. Secondly, this will necessitate vast increase in the quantity of clothing and apparel available to the people. Doubling the textile production of the country will be a modest programme, for the 15 yards per head per annum at present available, falls far short of even Gandhian standards of simplicity. Outside competition, internal complications between the hand and the power loom and other problems arise but the difficulty will have to be faced if the masses should be adequately clothed.

Schemes for equipping with proper houses 70 million families now living 'behind mud walls in India' come next. Housing is a much bigger problem than is generally supposed. It includes the evolution and the enforcement of housing standards; determination of their design, construction and equipment. It also includes the neighbourhood and environment in the interest of health and comfort, and extends to the restriction of the density of population per acre. The method of grouping the habitations together suitable for our country's national economy—whether the garden city, the satellite town, or the suburb—also deserve attention. The limitation of their sizes, number and location is also necessary to help decentralisation and to restore the balance between villages, towns and cities. A wise distribution is necessary to avoid duplication of functions. The housing problem thus extends from the design and equipment of the dwelling to the location and control of cities, seaside resorts, sanitoriums, trading estates, educational centres and industrial towns. A planned solution will revive the building industry with all its beneficial consequences upon employment and National Economy.

Various kinds of services, such as medical aid, education, etc., travel and transport facilities and Insurance, are considered necessary to make life efficient, and suitable provision has to be made to produce these services in adequate quantities. Planning involves the whole study of man and its limits are difficult to define. 'It involves the whole life of man, at work, at rest, or at play.'

The initial difficulties confront us at the outset in planning. How much do we produce of these different items of goods and services, and how much we have got to produce to ensure a satisfactory standard. Reliable statistics of production are not available although conjectures have been made from time to time. A more thorough census than the one recommended by the Bowley Robertson Report as well as extensive surveys like those carried out by Sir John Boyd Orr in England are necessary to give us a fairly reliable idea of the present conditions on which our plans will have to be based. Prolonged research is necessary to establish the standards in diet, dress and dwelling and other necessaries.

These will secure the basis to plan the required increase, but this cannot improve matters if the majority of the people remain powerless to participate in it. As the National Planning Committee hint, the remedy lies "in simplifying, rationalising and reconstructing the system of distributing such aggregate of the new wealth produced in the country every year." Production should be so organised as to help in the process, distribution. This is practicable only by utilizing the labour of the majority of our people who own little else, to establish their claim in the national dividend.

The temptation, to sacrifice 'man' for the 'machine' should be resisted and industry socialised to reach our goal. This will in addition prevent the tragic waste of man power due to lack of employment in the town and country. The consumer should be the pivot of planning production, to avoid 'the burden of plenty' which submerged the industrial nations of the West. An agricultural country like India cannot afford to squander her resources in curative measures as did England on her housing and town planning problems. Prevention should be the basic ideal in co-ordination and construction and the principle gets increased support from the researches of town planners, public health experts and sociologists. A thoughtful housing and health campaign will prevent the need for the various expensive campaigns recently started. Finally, the largeness of our problems, their vast and varied character and the lack of standards compel us to provide sufficient elasticity in planning, in the interest of safety and success.

We cannot achieve our object unless these principles govern our plan but we cannot plan until we visualise the pattern. A correct diagnosis of the root causes which have given rise to the manifold problems like poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, unemployment, etc., that beset our country, reveal that they are largely due to the upsetting of the balance between the three primary elements of society "Man, Occupation and Land" *i.e.*, the organism, function and environment of the sociologist. Researches in American and other Universities have shown that when these three elements of society break their harmonious relationship, there opens the gap between town and country, agriculture and industry, land and labour, work and wealth, health and humanity. The most effective remedy and preventive is obviously to restore and maintain the balance between these three elements.

The creation of a balanced society alone will confer lasting benefit to the people but this is possible only if the units which compose it are as far as possible moulded on the same principle. The results of the researches in public health, housing and town planning, social welfare and nutrition when applied to the social economy of India indicate that solution lies in building up our soceity on basic units as far as possible 'self-sufficient'. We are compelled to conclude that small groups of families (one sociologist recommends 300 families) living on their homesteads, growing their food and making their clothing, exchanging by barter other essentials, each of them as far as possible self-sufficient for their primary requirements, housed in dwellings rendered sanitary by the elements, would successfully solve many of our major problems. Many years ago an eminent medical authority in England demonstrated how such units prevent many problems in sanitation, agriculture and nutrition with which we are now faced. Such groups stand the test of the principles of planning previously stated and seem to constitute the real foundation of India's national prosperity.

The success of National Planning in our country depends upon our ability to discover these units and build our social economy upon them. As the constituent parts of this basic unit—land, labour, livestock, etc.—are influenced by local condition, the task is best entrusted to a body whose activities would be confined to a smaller area than the nation. This Regional Planning Board will deal with vital matters affecting the day-to day life of the community and the optimum utilisation of land and the ideal spacial and functional distribution of population. To carry out these functions, properly, topographical and land utilisation survey as well as a thorough geological survey will be necessary and will form one of the functions of the Board. Its other functions would be to zone *i.e.*, allocate suitable areas for agricultural, industrial, educational, recreational and other purposes. The number of administrative, educational, industrial and marketing centres would then be limited in the interest of social economy. Zoning technic will bring about the desired redistribution of population and industry, agriculture and manufacture, villages and towns. City Planning, redevelopment of built-up areas, village reconstruction will also come under regional planning activity. It should, further, prevent the haphazard growth of cities and ribbon development. The different zones would then be linked by an efficient and economic transport system which will take into consideration, industrial growth, traffic requirements, city development and efficiency. The preservation of amenities is also another function of the Regional Board.

Upon this regional framework prepared by the planning expert of the Regional Planning Board will work the industrialist, the financier, the trader and the administrator. Attached to Regional Planning Boards, Research Bureaus would be established, for survey and research. American advocates of Planned Society would add a separate bureau of Consumer Research.

To co-ordinate and guide the activities of

the several regional planning boards in the interests of the nation as a whole, a central body—the National Planning Commission—should be established. Some planning authorities in the West feel that a National Planning Commission should not precede Regional Planning activity, but India's condition dictates the formation of an All-India Body to start the work of planning. Problems national in scope are assigned to the National Planning Commission. Normally its business would be:

1. To compile and collect all the relevant information bearing on the use, development and planning of land from a national point of view.
2. To provide Planning Authorities with constructive advice and guidance and to watch their planning operations.
3. To advice and co-ordinate Government departments statutory undertakers and railway authorities in their use and development of lands.
4. To keep the general progress of planning under review and to investigate the problems.
5. To formulate as a basis for all its advisory activities and as a background for local and regional planning, a national plan or policy on broad and flexible lines for the allocation and distribution of major land uses and developments.

The formulation of a national policy for communications and transport and schemes for national parks and preservation of amenities making rural districts more attractive, determining the suitable regional areas for the planning of larger public services, such as water supply, drainage, hospitals, etc., are also important functions of the National Planning Committee. In India we would emphasise the task of planning for our defence and its allied problems to ensure safety and protection, and it will be realised that this is a bigger problem than the manufacture of ammunitions. Air-raid problem and other allied questions may also be assigned to the central body. The preservation of historical monuments, associations and traditions in which India abounds, as well as the general policies for aesthetic control is best entrusted to this authority to secure uniformity. Reviving indigenous industries is a nation-wide problem and the policy is best laid by the National Planning Committee.

Work, education and population are interrelated. The population in our country is sure to increase and with the literacy campaign started in India, is bound to grow a desire for higher standard of living and without any means to that end, the results may be discontent. The fundamental thing of importance that should engage the attention of the National Planning Committee should therefore be how this increased population with an increase in education shall subsist. Mere education alone cannot satisfy them. Work—the means of ordered existence—should be found. It would therefore be well to have a comprehensive plan to afford facilities for work to this growing population for at least fifty years ahead. For, an increase in population, with only an increase in education would produce disastrous results as are in evidence in other countries.

Food, clothing and shelter are absolutely essential for human existence. Education—the food for the brain and recreation, to break the monotony of work are essential for efficiency and to keep in harmony with our neighbours. But work is necessary to give man access to these essentials for existence. To make India fit to provide all these for her people a comprehensive plan spread over a period of 25 years with stages of 5 years to gauge progress and improvement, is desirable. Political and other handicaps cannot be ignored but tangible improvement is bound to result if the sub-committees at work keep in mind these fundamental principles of planning a Prosperous India.

October 12, 1939



RUSSIAN ENIGMA

BY S. K. GHATAK

"I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in mystery inside an enigma......"
(Mr. Winston Churchill's speech, October 1, 1939)

RUSSIA is like the Egyptian Sphinx whose words are riddles and actions enigmas. She is following a path that is puzzling the European politicians. When she attacked Poland from the rear she startled the whole of Europe and the whole of Europe condemned her. But immediately afterwards she was admired for her dour diplomacy and as Bernard Shaw declared she was determined to use Berlin as cat's paw. Russia is like a closed book; no one knows her mind and yet she holds the balance in this maddened world. While the bewildered world wonders at her policy she follows her own path—a path with a policy that seems sometimes foul to the Nazis, sometimes foul to the Allies but always fair to herself.

Red Russia was a red rag to the German bull. To Hitler the Soviet was Satan incarnate. Speaking of Russia he says in his *Mein Kamf* (page 538):

> "It must not be forgotten that the present rulers of Russia are bloodstained criminals, that here we have the dregs of humanity which, favoured by the circumstances of a tragic moment, overran a great state, degraded and extirpated millions of educated people out of sheer blood lust and that now for nearly ten years they have ruled with such a savage tyranny as was never known before. It must not be forgotten that these rulers belong to a people in whom the most bestial cruelty is allied with a capacity for artful mendacity and believes itself today more than ever called to impose its sanguinary despotism on the rest of the world........Above all one does not form an alliance with people for whom no treaty is sacred; because they do not move about this earth as men of honour and sincerity but as the representatives of lies and deception, thievery and plunder and robbery."

Hitler's hatred for Bolshevism is as deep-rooted as Stalin's hatred for Hitlerism. An alliance between Bolshevism and Hitlerism seemed an absurdity and yet on the 24th of August, 1939, the Russo-German non-aggression pact was signed, by which both parties guaranteed non-aggression for ten years.

The Russo-German Pact was a great reversal of policy by Russia. The day before Russia and Germany were arch enemies, the day after they became close friends. The Red Star and Swastika once mutually exclusive symbols, came together, and the diplomatic map of Europe was redrawn overnight. It was a great diplomatic triumph for Hitler. Stalin was out and out an anti-Nazi and yet he held his hand in friendship to the Nazis at a time when the Fuehrer would derive the greatest benefit from it. Having won over Russia Hitler declared war on Poland.

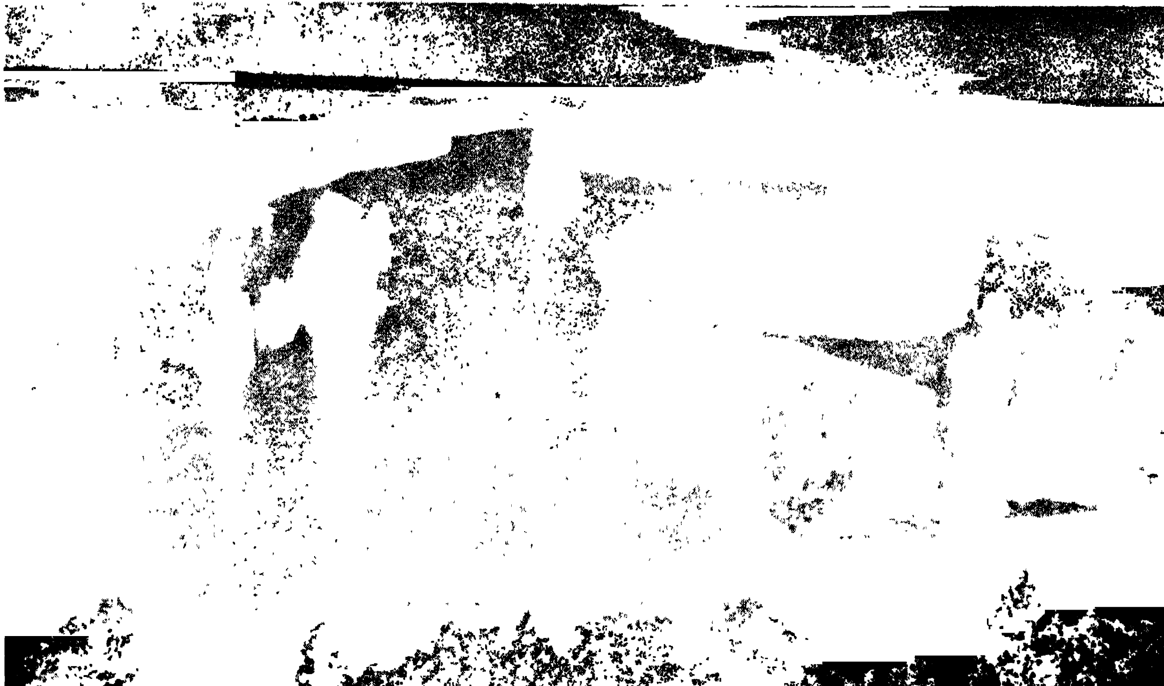
Having startled the whole of Europe by a pact with Germany Stalin further stunned it by an attack on Poland. The Russian attack on Poland was as unexpected as the Russo-German pact. Not long ago in the year 1932 Russia had concluded a non-aggression pact with Poland. Poland was bitter against Russia. In a statement of the 17th September, 1939, the Polish Government condemned the Russian invasion as a flagrant act of direct aggression and complained that the Soviet had thereby flagrantly violated the Polish-Russian pact of non-aggression concluded in Moscow on July 25, 1932, which by the Protocol signed in Moscow on May 5, 1934 was prolonged until December 31, 1945. Besides, by the convention concluded in London Russia and Poland agreed that no consideration of a political, military, economic or any other nature can in any circumstances serve as a pretext or excuse for committing an act of aggression:

> "Therefore, by the act of wanton aggression committed this morning the Soviet stands self-condemned as a violator of international obligations, thus contradicting all moral principles on which Soviet Russia has pretended to base her foreign policy since her admittance to the League of Nations."

thus ended the Polish statement of the 17th September condemning the Soviet aggression.

The Soviet Government, on the other hand, justified her aggression and in a note signed by M. Molotov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, declared that

> "This measure (*viz.*, the Russian aggression does not affect in any way the Soviet neutrality in the present conflict because according to the viewpoint of the Soviet Government former treaties are no longer valid since the Polish State no longer exists and the whereabouts of the Polish Government are unknown. The Soviet is endeavouring to restore order and peace in Eastern Poland which is no longer guaranteed in consequence of defection of the former Polish State and the flight of the Polish Government."



Finland has more than 70.000 lakes exceeding 200 meters in length

Bird's eye view of the city of Helisinki

The Soviet note handed to the Polish Ambassador followed the line of Molotov's note and stated:

"The Polish-German war has revealed the rottenness of the Polish State and its Government. During the ten days of the war, Poland has lost all its industrial districts and cultural centres. Warsaw as capital no longer exists and the Polish Government has broken up. It no longer shows any signs of life and this means that the Polish State and its Government actually no longer exist. In consequence *the agreements signed between the Soviet Union and Poland have become invalid* (Italics ours).

Apart from the question whether Russia was justified in her Polish aggression or not Poland cannot claim an unstinted sympathy from us. When Germany attacked Czechoslovakia Poland had no qualms in demanding territories from that unfortunate country. Her demands were modified only by the Russian intervention. Besides, Russia had warned Poland that the Russo-Polish pact would end if aggression against Czechoslovakia continued. After this, little sting is left in the Polish outcry that Russia has violated the non-aggression pact of 1932. Moreover, if Germany can demand her minorities in the Polish Corridor and Danzig, Russia has every right to claim her minorities in White Russia and Ukraine.

The Russian attack was a death-blow to Poland and she succumbed to it without any resistance. On the 18th September the Polish Government fled to Kuty on the Polish-Rumanian frontier. Now came the time for the division of Poland. Poland was at first provisionally partitioned, the provisional demarcation line following the rivers, Pissa, Narew, Vistula and the San. This partition was revised later on, and by the revised partition also Russia got the lion's share. Russia got 80% of the Polish oilwells in Galicia, and she occupied the whole of the Polish-Ruthenian frontiers. She now not only bars Germany's way to Rumania but also she has secured an important foothold whence she can exert her influence over the Balkans.

Unlike the Russian attack the division of Poland did not evoke much criticism from the Allies. On the other hand, the Allies were rather jubilant on the consideration that the Russian intervention had stopped the German aggression in the east. Besides, the division of Poland had left little oilfields in the hands of Germany who is in sore need of petroleum and without which she cannot carry on the war. The attitude of the Allies was expressed in a speech of Mr. Winston Churchill on the 1st October who while reviewing the war situation said:

"What is the second event of this first month? It is, of course, the assertion of power of Russia. Russia has pursued a policy of self-interest. We could have wished that the Russian armies should be standing on their present line as friends and the Allies of Poland instead of as invaders. But that Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace. At any rate the line is there and an eastern front has been created which Nazi Germany does not dare assail. When Herr Von Ribbentrop was summoned to Moscow last week it was to learn the fact and to accept the fact that Nazi designs upon the Baltic States and upon Ukraine must come to a dead stop."

Although the Russian policy in Poland was accepted by the Allies yet her Baltic policy caused alarm in their minds. Russia concluded a series of treaties with the Baltic States, all of which granted her the right to maintain air and naval bases in their territories. The first Baltic State to fall a victim to the peaceful aggression of Russia was Estonia. The Soviet took advantage of the escape of the Polish submarine *Orzel* from Tallinn and accused the Estonian authorities of negligence and complicity. A serious tension occurred between Estonia and Russia and the Soviet aeroplanes demonstrated over Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. Mr. Selter, the Estonian foreign minister, had to visit Moscow twice. The Soviet demanded the cession of two Estonian naval and air bases in the Baltic islands of Dagoe and Oesel. Estonia had to yield to the demand and a pact of mutual assistance was concluded between the two countries. A supplementary agreement was later on signed which concedes further advantages to the Soviet. It provides for the distribution of the Soviet troops in the islands of Dagoe and Oesel and various other centres including a strip of the west coast. Aerodromes will be built at two sites south of Tallinn.

Latvia's turn came next. The Soviet-Latvian pact, which was signed on the 5th October, consists of five articles:

Firstly, mutual military assistance in case of attack or threatened attack by any European power.

Secondly, the Soviet is to help the Latvian army with arms and war material on the advantageous terms.

Thirdly, Latvia grants to the Soviet the right to establish naval bases at Libau and Windau and to build several aerodromes according to the arrangement. The Soviet is entitled to erect an artillery line along the coast between Windau and Pitrangs. The Soviet is to keep a limited number of troops at the bases and aerodromes but the territory is to remain Latvian.

The remaining clauses provide that the sovereignty of both the parties remains unimpaired. The pact is valid for ten years.

After Latvia came the turn of Lithuania.



Kyosti Kalio. President of the Finnish Republic



Field-Marshall K. G. Mannerheim



Finnish girls at the doorsteps of a mediaeval stone church



Finnish Art
A specimen of pictorial art by Gallen-Kallela

The mutual assistance pact between Russia and Lithuania was signed at Moscow on the 10th October. By it the city of Vilna and the Vilna region (which were taken by Poland from Lithunia in 1920) will be ceded to Lithuania. The pact being a mutual assistance pact it provided for mutual help including military assistance "in the event of aggression or menace of aggression against the U. S. S. R. over Lithuanian territory on the part of any European power." Article 4 declares that the U. S. S. R. and Lithuania undertake jointly to effect the protection of the Lithuanian boundaries. For this purpose the U. S. S. R. is granted the right to maintain at her own expense at certain points in Lithuania, established by mutual agreement, Soviet land and armed forces of a strictly limited strength. Special agreements will fix the positions and strength of the Soviet forces in Lithuania.

Finland was now the only Baltic Republic left, and so it was now Finland's turn. Negotiations proceeded between Finland and Russia, but they failed, for Finland refused to accept all the demands of Russia. This enraged the Soviet, and Molotov on the 31st October threatened that if the Finns continued to fail to meet the Soviet requirements it would be harmful to the cause of peace. This was followed by a violent attack by the Soviet Press against the Finnish Government. The *Pravda* compared Erkko and Cajander, Foreign Minister and Premier of Finland, with Col. Beck and Mosciki and called them buffoons. Hard on the heels of the Press attacks came the reports of frontier incidents. The Soviet accused the Finns of having fired at the Russian troops on the Russo-Finnish frontier, killing and wounding the Soviet soldiers, and demanded the withdrawal of the Finnish troops on the Karelian Isthmus. Finland denying the incident replied that she was ready to withdraw the troops provided Russia also did the same. Events reached a crisis when Molotov denounced the non-aggression pact with Finland and severed the diplomatic relations with her. On the morning of the 30th November Russia attacked Finland by land, sea and air. On the 1st of December the Finnish Cabinet resigned and a new Cabinet was formed with Ryti as Premier and Dr. Tanner as Foreign Minister. The new Premier declared that he was willing to negotiate with the Soviet but he would not consent to barter away the country's independence and its right to decide its own affairs. In the meantime a new Finnish "Government" was formed at Terijoki, a Finnish frontier town, occupied by the Red Army. It was called the "People's Government" and was headed by M. Kussimen, a former Secretary of the Commintern. Although Molotov had refused to negotiate with the Ryti Government yet he recognised the so-called "People's Government" and concluded with it a mutual assistance pact. The treaty granted all the demands of the Soviet.

Thus by a series of 'demarches' Russia has achieved virtual domination of the Middle Baltic. Within two months by rapid strides she has extended her powerful influence over the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. She has concluded mutual assistance pacts with all of them and has established air and naval bases in Lithuania, at Libau and Windau in Latvia, and at Dagoe, Oesel and Paldiski in Estonia. Finland is still outside the zone of Russian influence but she cannot long resist her influence and will one day fall into its orbit.

Since the outbreak of the war Russia has been busily engaged in the Baltic affairs but she has hardly forgotten the Balkans. To Russia the Balkans are as important as the Baltics. She has been negotiating with Turkey as she has been doing with the Baltic States. But unlike her Baltic negotiations the negotiations with Turkey seem to have failed. Mr. Sarajoglu, the Turkish Foreign Minister, went to Moscow to negotiate with the Soviet. But while the negotiations were still going on Turkey concluded a pact with Britain and France. It was a mutual assistance pact. It provided that Britain and France will help Turkey if she is attacked by any European power and Turkey on her part will help Britain and France if aggression by a European power leads to war in the Eastern Mediterranean. But there is also a saving clause that Turkey must not be involved in a war against the Soviet.

With regard to Rumania Russian attitude is not quite clear. Rumania's economic value in war lies in her oilfields far larger than the Polish ones and in her great exportable wheat surplus. She includes within her territories Bessarabia which was formerly Russian, and the Soviet has never recognised the cession of Bessarabia to Rumania. Ambiguity of the Soviet attitude towards the Balkan States has given rise to several rumours. It was rumoured that Turkey, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Greece would form a Balkan union and that Italy and Russia would guarantee the *status quo* in the Eastern Mediterranean. In other words, there would be a

Balkan Union under the patronage of Russia and Italy. This it is stated would be a check to German dominance of South-Eastern Europe.

Speaking generally the Balkan policy of the Soviet has not been so successful as the Baltic. This is due to several reasons. Russia has been busily engaged in the Baltic and so could not give her full attention to the Balkans. Secondly, compared with the Balkan States the Baltic Republics are small and insignificant and so were an easy prey to the Russian aggression. Thirdly, in the Balkans Russia will have to encounter another great power and that is Italy. Italy is as much interested in the Balkans as the Soviet is, and Italy is as much keen on her interest as the Soviet. So any Russian action in the Balkans would also affect the Italian interest and consequently Italy would hardly like a Russian intervention there.

Russia has extended her influence over the Balkans and the Baltic and this has been to a large extent due to the silent acquiescence of Germany. Hitler had allowed Russia a free hand in Eastern Europe and in return he expected assistance from the Soviet. But herein again Russia adopted her enigmatic attitude. Although she showed lip sympathy to Germany yet she was clever enough to declare her neutrality. Molotov, the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, delineated on the 31st October the Russian policy during the present war before the Supreme Soviet Council. He at the very outset reiterated the Russian intention of remaining neutral and said :

"The Soviet-German non-aggression Pact has bound us to maintain neutrality in the case of Germany participating in a war. We have consistently pursued this course which in nowise is contradicted by the entry of our troops into the territory of former Poland."

Speaking on the Soviet-German relations he said that

"The development has proceeded along the line of strengthening our friendly relations, extending our practical co-operation and rendering Germany political support in her efforts for peace. We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe. It is ridiculous to think that Germany could be simply put out of commission and struck off the books. The powers which cherish this foolish and dangerous dream ignore the deplorable experience of Versailles. They do not realise that Germany has increased in might and fail to see that any repetition of Versailles in the present state of international affairs, which radically differs from that of 1914, may end in disaster for them."

Lastly Molotov accused the Allies of continuing the war and declared:

"Britain and France do not want the war to be stopped and peace restored but are seeking new excuses for continuing the war with Germany. British and with them the French supporters of the war have declared something in the nature of ideological war on Germany reminiscent of religious wars of olden times. It is not only senseless but criminal to wage such a war."

Thus Russia is playing a curious game in European politics. She openly sympathises with Germany and denounces the Allies for waging war against her. She declares her neutrality and yet she acquires half of Poland and extends her influence over the Baltic and the Balkans. She is distrusted and still respected by all, for she holds the balance in this maddened world. While the bewildered world wonders at her policy she follows her own path —a path with a policy that seems sometimes foul to the Nazis, some times foul to the Allies but always fair to herself. Mr. Churchill was right when he said that the Russian policy "is a riddle wrapped in mystery inside an enigma but perhaps there is a key. The key is the Russian national interest". In this foggy atmosphere of Europe self-interest seems to be the beacon-light which guides her and she reminds us of the lines of Shakespeare,

"Fair is foul, foul is fair
Hover through the fog and filthy air."

(Macbeth)



ORISSA STATES AND THEIR STATUS

By S. P. SHARMA

THE Orissa States People's Inquiry Committee Report which was published a few months ago is remarkable for the ease with which it has interpreted history and sought support for its own recommendations in highly doubtful quarters. Specifically it has adumbrated the theory that the sanads granted to the Orissa States in 1937 "raised" their status, and in its opinion, this was done in pursuance of imperial policy. As will be shown in the following paragraphs, no more fallacious position could have been taken up. Apparently its mind was more engaged in winning the cheap applause of British India by supplying it with an empty war-cry, "Cancel sanads", than in objectively studying history and thinking on constructive and practical lines. This article will try to prove how, far from there having been any raising of status for the Eastern States Rulers, it is one long story of independent and semi-independent kings having been subjected to innumerable restrictions from time to time by officials who had wrong notions of their duties. The status of the Rulers was never in question as that of persons who had full powers of internal administration vested in them. It was repeatedly affirmed by them and recognised by the British authorities despite the opinions of subordinate officials. Their functions, however, were circumscribed now and then on grounds of administrative convenience according to the recommendations of those officials. What the sanads of 1937 did was to cancel many, not all, of the restrictions and thus in large measure to restore the Rulers to something very much like their old position.

Examination of the problem may begin with a reference to the resolution passed in 1930 by the Chamber of Princes. It clearly stated that the grant of a sanad by the Paramount Power confirming to a State a right which inherently belonged to it does not mean that the right was created for the first time. The resolution also said that no sanads imposed by the Paramount Power can supersede previously existing treaties or engagements between it and a State. This position has been accepted by the British Government and may be borne in mind when the complaint is made that the 1937 sanads "raised the status" of the Orissa Rulers. As a matter of fact, the sanads only related to the powers of the Rulers and no more. On this point it is relevant to note what Aitchison says. Laying down the test of sovereignty he says that the question is one of fact

"whether . . . . any particular native Chief enjoys any remnant of sovereign authority, however small. The question is not how much we have absorbed but whether we have left anything to him; and if we have left him any share, however small, we should decide in his favour."

The basic question now is whether the Orissa States were at all independent at the outset. There is no difficulty in meeting the point. At the beginning of the last century most of them were under the dominion of the Mahrattas, paying irregular tributes to them whenever obliged to but largely independent in their administrations. With the decline of the Mahrattas, they began to accept assurances of protection from the British and to enter into engagements with them. This process had not completed when the treaty of Deogaum was concluded between the British and the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1803. Article 10 of the treaty required the Mahratta Raja to confirm the treaty engagements entered into by the British Government with the Tributary Chiefs and Rajas of the Garjats. He did not do so but the Governor-General decided that all the Orissa States were embraced in Article 10 of the treaty and that the British Government had pledged its faith to protect them, though in all cases written engagements had not been entered into on the date of the treaty. What exactly the relationship was between these States and the British power is made clear in a Government communication which refers to "reciprocal obligations" between the two parties and to the formation of a "contract". On one side the States transferred their allegiance and on the other the British agreed to protect them. But no powers were yielded by the Rulers in return for protection. Nor, on the other hand, was it the intention of the British to exercise any authority over the territory of the Chiefs. The British Government instructed one of its officials at the time "that it is not the intention of the British Government to ...... interfere

in any respect with the internal management of their territories".

This is the general position but the cases of a few of the States may be examined at some length. Mayurbhanj had established political relations with the East India Company long before the British occupation of Orissa. In fact, the State assisted the British in the task of conquest with "great zeal and alacrity", against the Mahrattas. When in 1803 most of the Orissa Chiefs entered into engagements with the British, Mayurbhanj did not. In the cases of the Rulers of Patna and Sambalpur, the Raja of Nagpur as their overlord confirmed their engagements with the British but there could be nothing like that done in the case of Mayurbhanj which, far from being under the Mahrattas, had actively assisted the British in their overthrow. A treaty with the State was delayed for nearly 25 years till 1829.

As for Keonjhar, the Ruler had started negotiations with the British before the treaty of Deogaum and the terms acceptable to them had also been communicated by the British to him prior to December, 1803. Then the treaty came, also the Raja's acceptance of the terms proposed to him. The Government decided under the circumstances that it must be presumed that a formal engagement had been entered into with the Raja and proceeded on that basis. The position of Keonjhar was that the Ruler had rented certain villages in the district of Cuttack and in regard to them, he had of course to pay rent. But as to his own territory, it was categorically laid down "that he was entirely independent of the Government of Berar" and he therefore continued independent ever after he entered into treaty engagements with the British. The treaty with Keonjhar is unique in many respects amongst all the treaties of the Orissa States and deserves some special attention. It is very distinct from, and indeed superior to, those of the other States. In 1804 Marquess Wellesley referred to the Raja "as a powerful Chieftain who has always been independent of the Mahratta power." And this position is accordingly reflected in the treaty with the State entered into in 1804 and in the Kabulnamah. By the first clause, the Raja undertakes to "continue in constant friendship" with East India Company holding himself "in submission in loyalty to it". In contrast with this are the other treaties wherein the Rulers "always maintain myself in submission and loyal obedience" to the East India Company. The additional undertaking about "constant friendship" and about "regarding their enemies as my enemies" indeed takes the Keonjhar treaty to the high level of those with the Rajputana States and others. Clause 5 of the treaty obliges the Ruler "to take measures of precaution and care" within his own territory and prevent the passage through it of any troops who may be enemies of the East India Company. But the other treaties merely refer to affording passage for the British troops, the provision of *rasad* at fair price and guaranteeing safe passage to all subjects of the Company's government through the State boundaries. These definitely strike a note of subordination conspicuously absent in the case of Keonjhar. Again Keonjhar has not had the obligation laid on it of deputing troops to co-operate with the Company's forces in subduing rebellions against it. But the other Orissa States are obliged to do so. As for the Kabulnamah the British Government guarantee in perpetuity the possession of Keonjhar territory by its Rulers and his heirs while in the cases of the other States, the British Government promise to be "gracious to those Rajas who are loyal in obedience" and assures to them impartiality of treatment. Still another point in evidence of the pre-eminent treaty position of Keonjhar may be noted. In regard to the State, it is said "that any just representation" by the Raja will "receive an answer in accord with the amity subsisting with the said Raja." But the other Rajas are promised "a decision in accord with justice". This single instance of Keonjhar alone is enough to show clearly what the original position of the Orissa Rajas was.

To turn now to consider the process by which the authority of the Rulers was at first endangered and then successfully restricted by the powers that be. About the time of the Treaty of Deogaum, the Government of India appointed a Political Officer for the Orissa States under the designation of Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals with the object of ensuring the maintenance of peace amongst the Rajas and the amicable settlement of disputes. Government records conclusively prove that such and none other was the object of the office. They say for instance that the object of Government was not to weaken the influence of the Rajas of the Tributary Mahals over their peasantry, and that interference should be confined to matters of a political nature, to the correction of systematic oppression, cruelty and violence and to contempt of the paramount authority of the British Government. Nevertheless the first two Superintendent began to act

as though there was no difference between British Orissa and the territories of the Orissa Rulers. They were also Judge and Magistrate in British Orissa and naturally were in favour of uniformity of laws and administration throughout. In particular they wanted that the Regulations intended for the British area should operate in the States also, considerably restricting the powers and undermining the authority of the Rajas. The latter were protesting against the encroachments all along and in the end the constant bickerings between them and the Superintendents led the Government of India in 1853 to order an enquiry into the true position. As a result it was laid down that it was the duty of the Superintendents to uphold the authority of the Rajas and protect the people against gross systematic misrule and that the guiding principle of non-interference should be carefully adhered to and not departed from in any instance without special sanction. And yet the Superintendents went on merrily in their own way, now limiting the criminal jurisdiction of the Rulers, and now cutting down, for instance, their rights regarding elephants. The Adoption Sanads, however, were given to the Rulers about 1862 after an elaborate enquiry into the political status of the many Rulers concerned. But still the process of attrition on the powers of the Rajas continued unabated. Indeed it was openly doubted in certain quarters about this time whether it was not expediency alone that prevented the absorption of the States into British India. On this point a very distinguished Political Officer is said to have remarked that the Government of the day did not care or did not dare to annex the Orissa States. But that does not prove anything regarding sovereignty or expediency, for it was just the same reason that prevented the annexation of all the States in India without exception.

The question came up before a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court in 1882 in the *Queen-Empress vs. Keshab Mahajan* and was fully and exhaustively threshed out. Beyond all manner of doubt the Court held that Mayurbhanj was not part of British India but a Tributary State and on the basis of this judgment the Secretary of State in 1888 wrote out that the Orissa States did not form part of British territory but were independent. Accordingly in 1893 the British Indian Legislature passed a law repealing all references to the Orissa Mahals contained in the various Regulations applying to British India and thus in effect made a statutory declaration that the Orissa States form no part of British India.

Despite however emphatic judicial pronouncement and the subsequent orders of the Secretary of State for India, the difficulties of the Orissa States were not at an end. About this time, the Government of India decided to examine how far, in view of the local customs, past legislation and treaties, the States could be "safely" left to exercise authority in their areas. A judicial officer was appointed to go into the matter and he eventually made recommendations for limiting the powers and jurisdiction of the Rajas. No doubt he recognised that "under treaties it is plain there was no limit on the power of the Chiefs in the administration" of civil and criminal justice: but his recommendations seriously curtailed that power. They allowed the Rajas uncontrolled jurisdiction in civil matters and criminal jurisdiction up to and including five years' imprisonment. In the case of heavier sentences however the offenders had to be sent up for trial to an officer appointed by the Government for the purpose. The authorities in acting upon his recommendations went indeed a step further and limited the criminal jurisdiction of the Rajas to two years only in place of five. They also excluded from the criminal jurisdiction of the Raja cases in which heinous offences were involved like murder, or homicide, and when Europeans were parties. But it was left to the Government to exercise its discretion and to extent powers in the case of individual Rulers. Such were the terms of the 1894 Sanads granted to Orissa Rajas in pursuance of the 'safety' policy adopted by the Government of India. From 1881 to 1892 when these changes were being contemplated, Mayurbhanj was under a minor Maharaja, the administration being in the hands of the British. But as soon as he attained powers, the late Maharaja Sri Ram Chandra Bhanj Deo protested against the delimitation of his powers as proposed. Before his case could be disposed of, the Sanads of 1894 were granted to him as indeed to the other Rajas but subsequently he was given the benefit of the discretion vested in the Government and his criminal jurisdiction was extended accordingly.

But matters were not allowed to rest there, for the Rajas continued to protest against the restrictions placed on their powers. They pointed out that the Sanads granted in 1867 to the Sambalpur group of States which were transferred to the Orissa group in 1905 allowed more powers to those Rulers than were given

to the Orissa Rajas in 1894 and that the discrimination was without any justification whatever. Rather it only lay in the fact that different administrations were handling the affairs of the two groups of State. The contentions of the Rulers of Orissa in favour of more powers were supported also by the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Andrew Fraser, who had an examination made of the Sanads and found nothing to justify the differential treatment. At length revised Sanads were granted in 1908 by Lord Minto to the Orissa States, which amended the 1894 Sanads in some particulars. But full and plenary powers of criminal administration were not straightway granted to the Rulers. Only a discretionary authority was left with the Government to grant extended powers as a personal privilege to a Ruler. This was supposed to provide an incentive to administrative improvement. Further the grip of the Political Department has nowise loosened. It exercised appellate jurisdiction in criminal cases and death sentences had to be confirmed by it. In civil suits, the Rulers were supposed to have untrammelled power but the 'advice' of the Department was always there. It was further laid down that in all important matters 'of administration' the Political Officer had to be consulted and the Raja had 'to comply with his wishes', otherwise his powers were liable to be suspended or withdrawn either wholly or in part. As though this was not enough, the Political Officer exercised supervision over all branches of administration and conducted tours of inspection for the purpose. All new measures, finally, required his cognisance and sometimes his approval before being carried out. This plight of the Rulers presents a grim contrast with their position as envisaged earlier when interference was chiefly sought to be confined to matters of a political nature and not to extend so far as to weaken the influence of the Rajas. Even an advanced State like Mayurbhanj which had an up-to-date and efficient machinery of administration was not immune.

The next step in the restoration of their old position to the Orissa States was when the Government of India took from the provincial Government into its own hands affairs relating to them. The reform was a sorely needed one, and if it had come earlier, many of the later troubles would have been avoided. Provincial officials with no special political training could not be expected to have much sympathy and understanding so far as delicate political relations were concerned, especially when they were preoccupied with their own domestic administrative problems some of which, in fact, conflicted with those arising out of their duties in relation to Orissa States. At long last, however, the proper course was adopted by the Government and Orissa States began to deal directly with the Government of India.

In 1931, Mayurbhanj got full powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction and in 1937 the other States also did according to the Sanads of that year. But in their case, the grant was preceded by an elaborate enquiry into the position and privileges of the Orissa Rulers by Mr. A. C. Lothian, I.C.S., of the Political Department and as a result, certain restrictions till then obtaining on the Rulers were removed. Some of the anomalies of the old Sanads were also set right and unjustifiable discrimination between States of similar status abolished. But the point is, the new Sanads only removed the restrictions existing; they did not profess to confer any new powers. In fact the preamble to the Sanads makes the point clear. "Whereas", it says, "the time has come when the existing restrictions on the judicial and administrative powers of the State . . . . may be modified," etc. The first clause refers to the regular payment of the tribute while the second restores full civil and criminal jurisdictions on the one condition however that persons sentenced to death should be allowed to petition the Agent to the Governor-General for mercy. Clauses 3 and 4 refer to suppression of crime and administration of justice while clause 5 enjoins on the Rulers respect for the rights of the people and in particular the need for taking special care of the aboriginal populations. Lastly comes the injunction that the advice of the Agent to the Governor-General should be followed.

It is clear from the foregoing that the history of the political relations of the Orissa States with the Government throughout the the last century was one of constantly increasing interference on the part of the Paramount Power acting through the Superintendents of the Tributary Mahals with headquarters at Cuttack. It is only of late that the Political Department has chosen to head the protests all the time being made by the Rajas. And the recent Sanads have accordingly restored the old position of the Rulers to something like what it was when, in the early part of the last century, they entered into agreements with the East India Company. But even now the hold of the Political Department can be too rigid and inconsistent with the true position of

the Rulers. The recent insistence by the Government on the creation of a joint police force controlled by the Resident but paid for by the Rajas is an instance in point. The Rajas have very strongly protested against it but in vain. They have still to go some distance ahead before they can feel satisfied with their status and position.

The States People's Inquiry Committee Report says that the unity of India cannot come about till the present division between British India and Princely India disappears. It wants the whole of India to be one unit. Accordingly in Orissa it wants the abolition of all the Orissa States and the incorporation of their territory into British Orissa. On a larger scale, it wants by implication all the States in India, big and small, good and bad, to be abolished too, so that there might be brought about the unity of India. But they are unconscious of the irony in their position. If historical and political differences have to be ignored in order to achieve unity, one is afraid that that unity will have no content, for unity means diversity along with it. And logically the diehard European may consider himself right who claims that India can never have unity until religious differences, caste differences and language differences disappear from the country! That would be unity, too. The fact is that the cry for unity is also a war-cry, intended to be propaganda against States and to justify the preconceived notion that the status of the Orissa Rajas is being raised by the Sanads granted to them. But it must be clear from the above that, on the contrary, the Rulers are only regaining their original position of independence after so many vicissitudes of fortune.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

By N. SWAMI, B.A.

SPEAKING of the achievements of local bodies in England, that great economist and international celebrity, Harold Laski in his introduction to *A Century of Municipal Progress* said as follows :

> "Local Government in the past hundred years has halved the death rate and reduced the infant mortality rates by three quarters. It has taught us to think of cholera which used to be a periodical menace as something remote and oriental. One hundred years ago people expected to have the small pox as now they expect their dogs to have distemper; today on the average it is the cause of one in a million deaths. One hundred years ago, the Webbs have told us, nearly every person was either recovering from or sickening for enteric fever; now it causes less than six in a million deaths. The other infectious diseases and such diseases as tuberculosis have been reduced to proportions which would have been regarded a century ago as almost utopian. These are facts which can be proved by statistics. We cannot prove in that way the enormous increase in the comfort and convenience of the people. Nor can we prove in the same way that without the development of the educational and related services modern commerce and industry would be impossible. Yet a moment's reflection shows that it must be so."

Local bodies in India have been in existence in almost their present form and function for the last sixty years or more, but one demurs before waxing eulogical regarding the benefits conferred on us by our local bodies. After going through some amount of literature on the subject, it is clear that everyone including staunch adherents of the cause of democracy in India feels that in the sphere of local self-government Indians are yet to vindicate their capacity for managing their affairs in a manner and at a standard worthy, if not of emulation, at least of comparison with similar institutions elsewhere. In a recent paper read before the First Indian Political Conference held at Benares in 1938, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri started his thesis by saying :

> "The present system of local self-government was introduced in India more than half-a-century ago. Although some of the Western countries have, during the same period, achieved remarkably significant results in this very important sphere of administration, it cannot be claimed that the Indian system has yet been laid on anything of the nature of a stable foundation."

Pandit Dwarkaprasad Misra, Minister of the Central Provinces, and an ardent Congressman, says :

> "Today we have to solve not only the problem of democratization of the system of general administration but also the problem of re-organizing the local bodies which have failed to give a proper account of themselves in spite of the wide autonomous powers given them in

certain respects during the period of the Montford Reforms."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in a scathing article in the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* refers to the evils existing in even the local bodies where Congressmen are in power. Instances like this could be multiplied, all of which go to show that local bodies, in spite of substantial powers given to them, have yet a long leeway to make before they could be declared really efficient and useful bodies.

Several reasons have been adduced to explain this position both by those who plead for more powers to these bodies and those who are against. In the first place it is pointed out that the defect of the existing local bodies is entirely owing to their defective constitution. Sudhir Kumar Lahiri says that

"for all practical purposes local bodies in this country are still in the leading strings of a dominant bureaucracy . . . ."

and undue Government interference in their working is very often put forward as the real cause for their failure so far.

Local self-government, as we know it, was largely the creation of Lord Ripon who in the eighties of the last century saw in them "an instrument of political and popular education", and who realised that at the start "there will be many failures calculated to discourage exaggerated hopes and even in some cases to cast apparent discredit upon the practice of local self-government itself," but it is true that till 1920 or so, that is for nearly forty years, the Government adopted an extra-cautious attitude towards local bodies and, in the words of the Decentralization Commission of 1907, tried "habitually to protect them against themselves" with the result that local self-government existed largely in name and the people got no opportunity to get that training in the art of Government which liberal policy was at the back of the creation of these bodies. But the same cannot be said of the period after 1920, after the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms when, it is accepted on all hands, there was the minimum of Government interference and local bodies were completely left to work their salvation.

The chief ground for complaint in this respect prior to 1920 was the existence in the local bodies of a large number of nominated councillors who permanently formed a bulwark of opposition to any programme that non-official initiative might bring forward and the undue authority in the local boards of the Collector-President who for all practical purposes took the administration on his own shoulders and left very little that was worth while for the elected element to do. As against this, statistics indicate that since 1920, the number of nominated officials has been progressively going down as may be seen from the following figures :

	Elected	Nominated
1926-27	.. 11,684	982
1935-36	.. 12,461	728

In fact, some of the Provinces have advanced to such extent that the entire system of nomination has been discarded as in the Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards while in Bombay the percentage of nominated to elected members is extremely small.

The control of the Collector-President which was justly resented was completely removed from local bodies since 1920 by the substitution of elected presidents to local boards in whom the entire executive authority was vested, while the chairmen of municipalities also came to be appointed by election. The grievances that existed prior to the Montagu Reforms may, therefore, be said to be completely absent at the present day.

On the other hand, as one goes through the details of the constitution of local bodies one is struck with the rapidity with which democratization of these local bodies has been going on. The franchise qualification in the case of municipalities and local boards has been very considerably lowered and the tendency has been to lower it still. In Madras, for example, there is now only one electoral roll for the local bodies and the provincial Legislature which means a considerable advance as the franchise qualifications for the Legislature under the scheme of Provincial autonomy are extremely nominal. Figures of actual expansion of the electorate for Madras are not available, but as an example one may refer to the Central Provinces where it was estimated by an Enquiry Committee working in 1935 that as against 2,46,000 urban and 4,31,000 rural voters, adoption of the provincial franchise would enlarge the electorate to 2,71,000 urban and 12,65,000 rural voters. The Bombay City Corporation has advanced even farther and by 1942 the elections to the Corporation are to be conducted on the basis of adult franchise, which probably represents the summit of the Indian democrat's ambition. Women who for a very long period had practically no representation or voting rights in the local bodies have been now enfranchised

and it is estimated that their number in the Bombay City is about 17,000. All this goes to show that if there is still any complaint about the undemocratic character of our local bodies, there is hardly any basis for it.

So far as the functions of our local bodies are concerned, the successive municipal and local boards Acts have seen expansion in the subjects entrusted to local bodies for administration. From purely municipal functions like conservancy, road watering and water supply, local bodies are now obliged to attend to items like medical relief, including provisions for anti-rabic treatment and lunatic asylums, poor relief, prevention of epidemics, etc., while they are free to attend to matters like maternity and child welfare, housing and even exhibitions, industrial fairs, etc.

From the point of view of powers of local bodies in which sphere the largest amount of Government interference was complained of, there should now be no room for complaint. Excepting certain reservations including taxation, local bodies now enjoy complete freedom in regard to their budget, the appointment and dismissal of their employees, contracts, etc.

Although local self-government in India is comparatively a recent creation, the freedom it enjoys under the law is in marked contrast with the position of similar bodies in advanced countries like Italy, Germany and Japan where local bodies are dominated by a powerful Central Government. It is rather surprising that even in a highly democratic country like France, centralization should be the essence of the local bodies. As Prof. Munro says, "All authority converges inward and upward. It is a system that can be chartered in the form of a perfect pyramid", the apex of the pyramid being the all-powerful minister of the Interior. All this has been mentioned to prove that so far as the actual constitution is concerned, local bodies in India have very little to complain.

The second reason put forward to explain the rather indifferent working of local bodies in India is the apathy of permanent officials of the Provincial Governments stationed in the districts who, according to Mr. Dwarkaprasad Misra,

"under the dyarchic structure, did not deem it a part of their duties and responsibilities to see that local bodies were run on efficient lines."

That at present there are dual agencies working in the districts, one of the Provincial Government and the other of the local bodies, on rather an uneconomical basis at the expense of the general taxpayer, is clear. But it does not seem reasonable to attribute all the blame to the Government and the wilful apathy of their officials, the clear reason being that any initiative for active assistance on their part, as is stated in so many words in the U. P. Government's memorandum before the Simon Commission, being liable to be misconstrued by local bodies in their present state of jealous isolation as interference by an adverse bureaucracy. The persistent demand for complete local autonomy on the one hand and of complaint of official apathy on the other, is an obvious contradiction and tends to create an impasse which in the present circumstances hardly appears capable of being gulfed, but one fails to see why the local bodies should wait for favours from the Provincial Government instead of appointing their own expert staff adequate for their requirements. In fact, Mr. Dwarkaprasad Misra's reasoning, if boiled down, would result in a confession of the inadequacy and inefficiency of the staff of our local bodies which is clearly a very important reason for the failure of local self-government so far in India. The best of constitutions and the maximum of powers are liable to prove useless unless there are competent men to work. On the other hand, it is complained by impartial critics that the present practice of vesting all executive authority in a president who is neither experienced nor has the time to acquire the necessary experience for executive work, affects the working of local boards adversely. This cannot be a serious handicap as the success of our Provincial Governments manned by inexperienced elected ministers would show. The secret of this success in the one case and the failure in the other lies in the fact that whereas our Provincial Governments are founded on the firm bedrock of a permanent cadre of highly paid officials unaffected by the constant vicissitudes of the ministry, the staff of the local boards are subjected to the influence of the party and personnel of the president. The creation of a strong and independent executive for District Boards and Municipalities would go a long way to make for the success of these institutions. For the same reason an official Secretary for the Village Panchayats as is contemplated in the recent legislation in Bombay should be considered to be a welcome measure. The system of providing a cadre of highly trained officers exclusively for local board work has probably not been tried anywhere in India and may be difficult on account of the prohibitive cost involved, but a partial attempt

at this made in Madras where the Health Officers, Municipal Commissioners, etc., are appointed by Government from the provincial cadre of officers has proved to be a success and there is no reason why it should not be tried with advantage in other provinces. Recruitment of the clerical staff also from hands selected by the Provincial Service Commission has been recommended and this should prove a factor making for the immediate raising of the tone of the local administration in India if it is accepted.

Yet another reason for the failure of Local Self-government in India, due to an inherent defect in the system, is the unwieldy nature of our districts. As the Simon Commission pointed out :

"The size of the average district which is normally the unit for Rural Self-Government is in Madras about 6,000 square miles, in Bombay about 5,000, in the U. P. about 2,500 and in Bengal about 2,700 square miles. Compared with the average area of an English administrative county which is about 970 square miles, these are units so unwieldy as to add greatly to the difficulties of the administration while the average population of a district is also far higher than that of an English County."

The recent abolition of the Taluk Boards in the Madras Presidency and the tendency in other provinces to abolish the sub-divisions show that the authorities in power do not attach sufficient importance to this factor which requires careful consideration.

Yet another and obvious reason for the failure of our local administration is the creeping in of the communal canker which in certain places assumes such proportions as to occupy the attention of the members to the exclusion of all other considerations. In spite of advancement in education, the existence of this element in our national institutions has been justly considered to be a calamity which should be wiped out as early as possible. This is, however, a matter with which everyone, familiar with local self-government administration in India, is too familiar to require detailed mention.

The real and primary reason for the defective working of our local bodies seems to lie not so much in all the factors mentioned above as in the inadequacy of their finance. As the Congress itself has realised, no reform of any sort can be really effected as would make a substantial difference in the standard of life of our masses unless and until the financial structure of the Government is put on an even keel. This lies at the root of the fact that the Congress during the three years they have been in power have been powerless to carry out their election pledges in their entirety. If this applies to the provinces with their large resources, it applies with even greater force to our local bodies with their limited resources. It has been recognised universally that every unit of Government should have a minimum revenue for the normal discharge of its functions, but this is of far more importance in regard to municipalities, local boards and panchayats which are entrusted with some of the most important of our nation-building activities, such as education, sanitation, medical relief, etc. Municipal finances are bad enough, but they have, at least, been expanding, but the finances of district boards are appallingly meagre. It is rather a matter for regret that the district boards in India with an aggregate population of 242 millions should only have an income of Rs. 16½ crores. In his *Planned Economy for India*, Sir Visvesvarayya has estimated that as against a per capita expenditure of local bodies of Rs. 36/- of Japan and Rs. 150/- of the U. S. A., the per capita expenditure in India is only Rs. 2/-, a fact which is extremely disheartening. On the other hand, the demands on the revenues of these bodies are vast and constantly increasing. That great economist, Findlay Shirras, traces the appalling mortality and waste of life, poverty and the low earning power of the people of India to illiteracy and ill-health and according to him, education and improved public health are the necessary preludes to a general rise in the standard of life of our masses. The total expenditure of British India on education is about Rs. 28 crores per year which means an expenditure of Rs. 22.3 per head of the school-going population as against Rs. 172 in Britain, Rs. 199/- in Canada and Rs. 275/- in the United States. The very first requirement of our people is, therefore, an increase in the grant for this purpose and the local funds which are at present contributing 16.1% of this expenditure may have to contribute in a larger measure in future. In this connection one may note that though the Primary Education Acts empowering the local bodies to introduce compulsion in elementary education have been on the statute book for well over fifteen years the local bodies have not been over-enthusiastic in their enforcement for financial reasons.

Similarly, in regard to public health, the local bodies will have to make better provision than heretofore if they have to undertake their full measure of responsibility in this regard. In this connection it has to be pointed out that while larger municipalities like Calcutta,

Madras, Bombay, Allahabad and Cawnpore have solved their water supply and drainage and conservancy problems, in regard to these most fundamental duties associated with municipalities and local boards, the majority of them have yet to show concrete achievements in spite of Government's liberal policy in regard to financing of major schemes in this regard and inspite of abundant borrowing powers enjoyed by the local bodies. If this is the case with municipalities with their comparatively larger means, probably not one of our seven lakhs of villages has yet satisfactorily solved its problems in this regard and the large majority of our citizens have yet to enjoy the barest minimum of civic amenities. It is true that the Congress Governments in the various provinces have made a commendable beginning in the provision of rural water supply, but quite conceivably another quarter of a century may elapse before any real headway is made in this regard throughout the whole of India.

Another important item for which more and more funds have to be found by local bodies consists of anti-malarial and anti-tuberculosis measures. Plague has, it is true, become practically extinct and cholera and small-pox take probably less toll now than before, but malaria and tuberculosis have become dreadful scourges in urban and rural parts and account for a heavy mortality annually. While the larger municipalities like Bombay and Karachi where they have what they call a Mosquito Brigade have taken up the problem in earnest, even the fringe of the problem has not been touched by the majority of local bodies in India.

By far the most important item in the interest of public health, responsibility for which has devolved on local bodies, is in regard to proper housing. Housing conditions in India are miserable and in the big industrial cities appalling and have come in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of the Royal Commission on Labour and various committees of enquiry since 1928. The urgent necessity for proper housing and the difference proper housing makes in public health cannot be better illustrated than by a reference to the strong contrast in the mortality rates of Cawnpore somewhere about 50 per 1000 of population and the remarkable drop in the mortality rates in the City Improvement Chawls in Bombay where in 1923 it was 9.06 per 1000 population. The remarkable strides in regard to housing made by local bodies in England may be evident from the fact that between 1920 and 1934, London County Council and London Boroughs and Local Authorities round about London erected 1,20,244 houses with and without State assistance.

"The majority of these houses have 3 to 5 rooms and the capital expenditure on these dwellings upto 31st March, 1934, is approximately 40 million pounds (about Rs. 54 crores). Birmingham Corporation in 1919 built 3,282 houses, let 3,271 and sold 55. In 1923-24 erected 37,055 houses, let 33,518, sold 3,252. In 1930, built 781, let 740. During the muinicipal activities of Joseph Chamberlain, the Corporation acquired under the powers of the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act 1875 about 93 acres of unhealthy land at a cost of £1,700,000 and erected 500 model houses in a central thoroughfare. The actual income is about £74,800." (Mr. Roy Chowdhury).

Housing in India is a dire necessity but is a matter calling for abundant finance.

There are several other matters none the less vital to the health of the citizens, such as prevention of epidemics, maternity homes, child welfare centres, etc., all of which form an essential part of the responsibility of our local bodies which they are either not capable of even inadequately discharging or have not been taken up in earnest.

The chief means of increasing the revenues of our local bodies consists of increase in taxation, enhanced grants from the Government and the development of non-tax resources. Although the public everywhere are averse to increased taxation, it is by no means established that the limit of taxability in municipal and local board taxation has been reached. The incidence of taxation varies widely in the provinces, the variation ranging between Re. 1/14/7 in Bihar and Orissa and Rs. 6/-/2 in Bombay Presidency in the case of Municipalities and between -/3/ per head in Ajmer-Merwara and Re. 1/2/2 in Bombay Presidency in the case of local boards. In the same Province itself there is a wide variation in the incidence of taxation in the various local bodies, as for example, in U. P., Bareilly has an incidence of Rs. 3/5/4 while Cawnpore shows an incidence of Rs. 7.87 per capita. Allowing for wide differences in local conditions, it is still not clear that several of our municipalities and local boards cannot increase their taxation.

Governments, especially after the accession of the Congress to power, have been making substantially increased grants to District Boards and Municipalities besides the existing grants for primary education, as for instance, in Bombay, where 4/5 of the cost of the new scheme of subsidised rural medical relief is to be borne by the Government and only 1/5 by the District Board. There is, however, a limit

to such gifts especially when one takes into consideration the considerable grants made directly by the Provincial Government for rural water supply, cottage industries, village uplift, etc., and also taking into account the considerably enhanced provincial expenditure after the inauguration of the new scheme of Provincial autonomy. The income from motor vehicle taxation has been also partially ear-marked for the municipalities and the only new suggestion made by enquiry committees like the C. P. Enquiry Committee is the transfer of the entertainment Tax to municipalities. Even this has already been done in Madras. Another fair suggestion that can be made is the allotment for road purposes of the proceeds from petrol cess of 2 annas per gallon collected by the Government of India for road development. This is not similar to the extravagant demands made by certain persons who claim a portion of receipts from registration and stamps collected within the limits of the Municipality. The petrol duty is a cess for a specified object and if this is granted, the municipalities will benefit to some extent in the matter of financing road schemes which now have to starve on account of financial difficulties.

The development of non-tax resources and especially what is called municipal trading is being recommended by people like Prof. K. T. Shaw and Sir Ghulam Hidyatullah. By the term "Municipal trading" is meant that the Municipality should run its own industrial ventures such as banks, gas companies, water-supply, electric supply, tramways, etc. The success of the Birmingham Municipal Bank, the creation of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, is being constantly held up as an example of municipal enterprise worthy of emulation. There is no doubt that such ventures may be a good source of augmenting revenue in principle but the practical possibility of their adoption in the present condition of local bodies in India is a matter of grave doubt for the simple reason that if these ventures may be a good source of revenue, they may, in inexperienced hands, be a source of considerable loss of public funds. Socialisation of public utility concerns is no doubt very desirable in principle, but socialisation, much less municipalisation, of such services in the present conditions of India is almost impossible.

In regard to the future of our local bodies, Mr. Dwarkaprasad Misra has put forward a scheme the essence of which is the creation of strong and centralised District Boards with powers and duties of the Provincial Government in important respects delegated to them, having as their subordinate self-governing units the municipalities on the one hand and the village panchayats supervised by what he calls circle boards on the other. The executive officers of the Provincial Government are to form the secretariat of the new District Boards whose administrative and technical experience will be placed at the disposal of these bodies, while the elected members will have power only in regard to framing of broad policies. The obvious benefits of this scheme are improvement in efficiency and economy of expenditure. This scheme is no doubt as bold as it is novel, but whether in the first place it will meet with enthusiastic response from the public and in the second, furnish scope for training in the art of Government which is the *raison d'etre* of our local bodies are very doubtful. The effect of the scheme will be to convert what now are executive bodies into almost advisory bodies and the elected element are bound to put up a stout opposition to any scheme which involves a curtailment of their power.

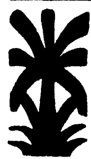
On the other hand, Mr. Ramdas Pantulu has put forward a scheme the essence of which is simplicity, but which none the less seems to be as unworkable as Mr. Misra's scheme summarised above. Mr. Pantulu's scheme has as its nucleus the village panchayat, the most primary unit of self-government, which, in his opinion, should be made a live body with complete autonomy in administrative matters pertaining to the village. This would involve entrusting to them not only items such as village roads, sanitation, water supply, street lighting, conservancy, etc., at present entrusted to them but also transfer of some of the functions at present discharged by the District Boards such as education, medical relief, etc. The District Boards, in his opinion, in that case may be either completely scrapped or retained as advisory bodies to advise the Government in matters common to a number of villages which, he thinks, should be looked after directly by the Provincial Government. Thus according to Mr. Pantulu, there should only be village panchayats and Municipalities as our units of self-government. If Pandit Misra's scheme of centralised district boards is unworkable, Mr. Pantulu's scheme is as unrealistic for the simple reason that the panchayat system of administration, although prevalent in ancient India down almost to the eighteenth century, is now a lost art which needs revival and it will be unwise even at the outset to entrust to an altogether new body a number of functions

without seriously risking the failure of the system altogether. In the second place, Mr. Pantulu's scheme contemplates the creation of panchayats not of the old quasi-judicious pattern with which our citizens are familiar but as an entirely administrative organisation. How far this is possible is again a matter of grave doubt. The prejudice against the judicious character of the panchayats is based on the experience of factions and feuds in certain panchayats but this ought not to blind one to the fact that this system of administration is successful in several places, as for instance, the Holkar State.

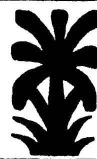
For the immediate future what is needed seems to be not so much a complete reorientation in the constitution of our local bodies as taking measures for their satisfactory running on the present basis. It is no doubt true that the panchayats have remained largely inoperative and several villages have no panchayats altogether. The compulsory formation of panchayats in all villages with a population of 500 and above on the basis of adult franchise, already initiated by the Congress Governments, in place of the voluntary formation of such bodies, provision of adequate financial resources for these bodies to function, (as for example, that suggested by the C. P. Enquiry Committee, *viz*, allotment of 10% of the income of the District Boards) provision of trained Government officials as secretaries and some amount of Government supervision and check seem all that is called for at the present. So far as our District Boards and Municipalities are concerned, extinction or enlargement of the one or the subordination of the latter to the District Boards both do not appear desirable. What is necessary is the provision of an efficient machinery for these bodies capable of carrying on the day-to-day administration. The suggestion for an inspectorate for Local Boards has not found favour with anyone and apart from the usual Government machinery, nothing more seems possible unless it be the creation of a cadre of officers with special training. The case for the creation of such an executive service is clear as has been mentioned in detail earlier in this article.

An attempt has been made in the foregoing to judge the existing position of local self-government in India, to analyse the causes for their defective working and to suggest remedies wherever possible. Two or three suggestions have been made for future development, namely, the creation of an executive service and adequate finance. It has also been pointed out that sufficient importance has to be attached to our village panchayat organisation which has hitherto gone by default and to put it on a sound footing. The last word may not have been said regarding the efficiency of our local bodies and there may be room for improvement in several directions. But if mistakes commited could only be made the basis for future betterment, as Lord Ripon intended, and one proceeds with the knowledge that local self-government has practically nowhere in the world reached a stage of absolute perfection, there is no reason why we in India should not, in course of time, be in a position to say with Prof. Graham Wallas that "the possibility of health, of happiness, of progress towards the old Greek ideal of 'beautiful goodness' depends on our local self-government more than any other factor in our environment."





INDIAN PERIODICALS



Rationale of Power Worship

The course of the history of man's ideals and achievements has never run smooth. It reveals many currents and cross-currents in his feelings and failings. In the union of the world's democracies and in the satisfaction of the legitimate ambitions of the nations and particularly of the aspirations of the subject races lies the salvation of mankind. G. A. Chandavarkar observes in *The Aryan Path* :

At one time and another, man has striven after beauty, and truth and knowledge, after wealth, and often after Deity. But in all his struggles his love for Power—be it physical or moral—has been inordinate. From time immemorial this love of Power has made or marred his or his nation's history. The Vedic bards prayed for *Aujas* or *Tejus*—Power and Glory. The Suras and the Asuras in their own time sought it, one against the other. The Shaktas in their worship of Shaktee symbolised it. The Greeks and the Romans glorified it in their arts and even in their laws. The Emperors like Charlemagne, Louis XIV and Napoleon were its ardent votaries. Their modern counterparts sing the pæans of Power. Dictators vehemently declare that "the relations between states are the relations of force." The dominant theme in the past and today is force. What all the self-glorification, self-aggrandisement and repression on the part of dictators will ultimately lead to, none can prophesy with precision. That far-seeing statesman General Smuts has rightly declared, "A state of lawlessness is abroad."

What are the main-springs of this age-long urge for power ? How did the ancient Aryans combat its evils and what ideals did they suggest for taming aggressive power ?

The ancient Aryans held that the possession of Power was not in itself an evil. Everything depended on the way in which it was used. If used for "the acquisition of knowledge, charity and the protection of the weak," it was commendable. *"Danaya, Jnanaya* and *Rakshnaya*" were its only legitimate uses. When Daityas like Ravana and Kansa misused it, Rama and Krishna exercised their influence to check them. Beebheeshana warned Ravana, and Krishna cautioned the Kauravas against its misuse. When kings like Janaka and Asoka made benevolent use of their power, peace and harmony prevailed in the land. But if power be considered as an end and not as a means, disasters follow. Taming the urge to power is a difficult process, requiring a tremendous amount of energy. Of old power was supposed to be centred in the king. But he was to be a Raja—one who would 'please' the subjects. The root meaning of that charming word was *Ranj*—to please. Even God's designation was *"Deena-vatsal"* or *"Deenanath"*—Lover of the meek and the humble. Kalidas says that "even the taxes were to be collected from the people with the sole object of doing them good, after the manner of the sun drawing moisture from the earth only to give it back in the form of rain." The antidote prescribed for lust for power was a sincere desire to do good to others. *Paropakaraya Satam Vibhutayah* was the ideal. The wielders of power were subject also to the restraining influence of institutions like the *Ashtapradhanas*—a circle of ministers.

Greatness of Asoka's Conquest

Asoka was not called upon to conquer an empire. He had it as a gift from his father In one of his inscriptions (Rock Edict X), he is anxious to point out that the true glory or fame of a king depends upon that of his people in achieving moral and spiritual progress. Writes Prof. Radhakumud Mookerjee in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

In one of his Edicts (Minor R. E. I.), he states how 'the people of Jambudvipa, *i.e.*, India, were disunited, along with their gods,' pointing to the strife of gods and their worshippers, the battle of creeds and sects. The various hints and suggestions thrown out by Asoka in the Inscription under notice, if analysed, will form themselves into the following *scheme for achieving communal harmony* :

(1) There is a core or kernel of truth in every religion, a body of essential doctrines on which all religions agree and which must be separated from the non-essential elements.

A recognition of the unity of all religions in their central truths is the foundation of religious harmony.

(2) A respect for the common truths of all religions should naturally lead to 'restraint of speech' (*vachagupti*) in dealing with the doctrines of different religions. This does not shut out freedom of religious discussions which characterized the religious life of ancient India, as evidenced, for instance, in the Upanishads. Only, the discussion must not be thoughtless or malicious, but should be inspired by a genuine thirst for knowledge.

(3) Discussions should be organized in regular religious Conferences (called *samavaya*) where the followers of different sects should expound their respective doctrines which they must learn to appreciate.

(4) Sectarianism will be conquered by a width of learning by which the follower of each sect will acquaint himself with the doctrines of other sects and become a *bahu-sruta, i.e.*, a master of many Srutis, of the scriptures of different religions. Sectarianism is produced where a sect confines its studies exclusively to its own scriptures, and cultivates ignorance of the

scriptures of other sects. This ignorance is the fruitful source of religious intolerance and sectarian strife. The best antidote to religious fanaticism is a comparative study of different religions, in which Asoka was a pioneer and far in advance of his age.

(5) Lastly, out of this 'breadth of knowledge' will naturally spring a 'breadth of outlook,' a wide-hearted charity and toleration, a spirit of catholicity and cosmopolitanism (*bahuka*), which alone can solve the problem of communalism in this country.

Science and Life

Although science does not profess to minister to the spiritual and moral needs of man, the setting up of an antithesis between science and spirituality appears to me to be wholly fallacious,—says Dr. S. C. Law in his presidential address at the Fourth Annual General Meeting of the Indian Science News Association held in October last at the University College of Science, Calcutta. The following is an excerpt from the address as published in *Science and Culture* :

The educated elements of our upper and middle-classes seem to be singularly dead to science as a disinterested and elevating pursuit and study. This insensitiveness to the highest values in science becomes all the more inexplicable when placed against the alacrity with which our people are turning to modern mechanical contrivances of various kinds. They do not find the slightest intellectual or moral difficulty in adopting electricity, or the internal combustion engine, or steam power, and are submitting willy nilly to the revolution in their day-to-day existence which the adoption of these mechanical contrivances entails.

India neither will nor can resist the machine technique of the West. But an altogether different picture faces us when we consider the cultural aspect of science—its ethos as I would say, which just like philosophy or religion, concerns life as a whole and touches it at its deepest as well as broadest.

Submission to the externals of science and rebellion against its soul is thus the great paradox of the intellectual outlook of modern India.

One of the most eminent men of India is reported to have said that he did not believe in broadcasting through the radio as a means of spiritual or moral persuasion. On another occasion, replying to a scientific agnostic, he is also reported to have said that there was more humbug in science than in religion. Yet the same personage does not hesitate to make use of scientific means of locomotion and communication. If moral teaching contrives to lose its value when transmitted through ether, it is not likely, one should imagine, to retain all its pristine effectiveness when multiplied by the electrically driven printing press.

About three years ago in a very striking speech, Mr. H. G. Wells, a believer in science if ever there was one, regretted the ineffectiveness of modern knowledge by which he meant scientific knowledge. In it he stressed that we were living in a world of unused and misapplied knowledge. To use his vivid language, "the human species regarded as a whole is extraordinarily like a man of the highest order of brain, who through some lesions or defects or insufficiencies of his lower centres, suffers from the wildest un-co-ordinations (St. Vitus's dance, agraphia, aphonia) and suffers dreadfully (knowing better all the time) from the silly and disastrous gestures he makes and the foolish things he says and does."

Our attitude to the highest aspects of science is not simply negative, it has an element of positive antagonism in it. What is at the bottom of the insensibility and antagonism of our educated classes to science ?

That this is partially due to mere ignorance of what science is and does is beyond doubt. This kind of ignorance may be removed and counteracted by more and more energetic dissemination of scientific information. But it is also evident that part of our attitude has deeper and stronger foundations. I am inclined to see these foundations in the basic idea on which the entire culture of modern India has been built up by all the great Indians from Ram Mohun Roy downwards. They have all worked on the hypothesis that a synthesis of the East and the West is the spiritual mission of modern India. A peculiar feature of this notion of synthesis is that it has tended more and more to relegate western ideas to the control and shaping of our temporal affairs and to retain our moral and intellectual activities as a preserve of the older Indian traditions.

In this connecton, I would recall to you how Bankim Chandra posed the contrast.

In *Ananda Math* Bankim Chandra makes the physician console Satyananda in these words :

"Satyananda, be not crestfallen. Whatever is, is for the best. It is so written that the English should first rule over the country before there could be a revival of the Aryan faith. Harken unto the counsels of Providence. True Hinduism is grounded on knowledge and not on works. Knowledge is of two kinds—external and internal. The internal knowledge constitutes the chief parts of Hinduism. But internal knowledge cannot grow unless there is a development of the external knowledge. The spiritual cannot be known unless you know the material. External knowledge has for a long time disappeared from the country and with it has vanished the Arya faith. To bring about a revival, we should first of all disseminate physical or external knowledge. English education will give our men a knowledge of physical science, and this will enable them to grapple with the problems of their inner nature. Thus the chief obstacles of the dissemination of Arya faith will be removed, and true religion will sparkle into life spontaneously and of its own accord."

World Forces Analysed

We have come to a turning point in history. Whether it will mean progress or deterioration depends, according to Dr. A. J. Saunders, upon the results of the present struggle. He writes in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*:

Pundit Nehru has said recently that he felt the present war would create a new order in the world. Yes, but shall it be order or continued dis-order ? That is the first set of world forces which are at work in our

time : it is the conflict of the ideal and religious forces such as economic justice, political freedom, brotherhood, as over against materialistic well-being.

Another set of world forces are to be found in the political realm.

We speak of them as democracy and dictatorship or totalitarianism. The ideas contained in the term democracy come from the old Greek words: *demos*—the people, and *kratein*—to rule : that is, the people ruling themselves.

Dictators are not new to our modern times; they have existed since the begining of government. The old Greeks used to call them Tyrants, despots; in the middle ages, they were known as absolute monarchs. Today we call them dictators, but it is the very same system of Government. They are all tyrants, despots, absolute lords over the life and destiny of entire peoples.

Akin to the political forces are the economic forces.

Self-interest and the idea of economic sufficiency are powerful forces operating in our times. Karl Marx believed that the key to the understanding of the historical process was economics. President Roosevelt has said only recently that economic nationalism is the most prolific breeder of wars. Liberal trade principles and practices would be essential to a truly just and enduring peace settlement when the present conflict is ended.

How manifold are the offspring of economic forces; exploitation, territorial expansion, conflict of capital versus labour, the demand for raw materials, colonies, markets, disputes regarding salaries and wages, contrasts of wealth and poverty, in a word—economic justice confronted by selfish grasping.

The world forces that we see around us are resolving themselves into a fierce struggle between nationalism and a world community or internationalism. Nationalism is narrow, provincial; it does not yet realise that the world has moved on from the limited and self-centred ideas of the middle ages.

Do not be deceived, the future belongs to world unity. Our narrow nationalism makes for war, and all the while we are crying out—Peace, Peace, when there is no peace. The war mentality is a contagious disease, an obsession—an intoxication. And yet we must not forget that war, like bodily pain and fever, is the danger signal; it tells us that there is something wrong, and before we can cure the pain we must isolate and then remove the cause. There are serious wrongs—political and economic, in our national and international life; we cannot expect peace and co-operation until those wrongs are righted.

The Writer and the War

We give below the following excerpt from an editorial in *The Indian P. E. N.* :

Miss Storm Jameson, the clear-thinking and coufageous President of the P. E. N., English Centre, Contributes to *The Times Literary Supplement* for 7th October an article so challenging as to call forth a long leader in the same issue of that important organ of constructive thought. Her article, "Fighting the Foes of Civilization," bears the subtitle "The Writer's Place in the Defence Line" and so is of immediate interest to all of our members.

Miss Jameson's statement of the issues involved is forthright and powerful and the course which she demands of the writer is a most positive and virile one.

While making clear her conviction that the victory of Germany would set back civilization, she protests against the assumption that "the defeat in war of the Third Reich will, without any other effort from us, give civilization in Europe room to live." For what is civilization but a word for the conviction that man "needs as much freedom as he can use without injuring his neighbours"? Racial intolerance and ruthless oppression have been open foes of European civilization; but

"there were always subtler threats. Authority changes its habits and methods but not its nature. It is natural for authority to regard obedience and docility as very useful social virtues. So they are useful, in making authority's work easy and simple. Why should its work be made easy? Why should it be spared the trouble of justifying itself to the reason of independent-minded men"?

"The panic suppression of free speech," to which authority nervous under the strain of war may resort, mistaking criticism for insolence, constitutes a danger to civilization. In time of war there is only too likely to be a "hurried piling up of regulations, some necessary for the immediate safety of the State, other superfluous." The writer has to try to save the individual from "choking in the officially induced fog"; "by a modest insistence on using his intelligence he may keep alive a healthy scepticism in the readers of newspapers and listeners to broadcasts"

The need is urgent to defend "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties," for on that basic liberty civilization rests, and "victory at the cost of killing our civilization would be defeat."

The responsibility for defence of that independence of mind and liberty of speech rests largely on the writer, as Miss Jameson brings out.

"He must run the risks, in war time, of defending liberty of opinion and criticism. He must not surrender his claim to ground he has had to give up to the censor. Even if he cannot publish the truth as he sees it, he cannot—unless his conscience is no longer worth anything to him—say, 'Since expediency is the fashion, I should be a fool to try to sell anything else.'"

"No age can be called dark in which thoughts and opinions can be carried—if only by the *ordo vagorum*—from country to country," declares Miss Jameson, and she adds that civilization is sinking in Europe because the communications have broken down. On the writer rests the responsibility of doing whatever he can to restore them and to help the international movement of ideas.

The ideals with which the last war was entered were forgotten before its close, as witness the vindictive folly of Versailles. Miss Jameson pleads that this shall not happen again; that the writer must

"think in terms....saving the Europe of which England is a part, of imagining for Europe a future from which the poison of nationalism has been drawn. He must not, in conscience, be turned from pursuing his imagination of this Europe to its confines, and from anxiously thrusting it on people's notice."

Miss Jameson closes her article on the hopeful re-

minder that "no Dark Age has outlasted, or can outlast, the unquenchable energy of the mind."

That these noble views can be thus openly and boldly declared, in all the stress and confusion of war, in itself augurs well for the civilization of Miss Jameson's vision. She has sounded the clarion for writers everywhere.

The Development of India's Key Industries

One section of the Indian National Congress is laying all the emphasis on the revival of cottage industries the utility of which no one can deny. Another section composed of men of large vision and alive to the realities of the modern age, is engaged in the task of national industrial planning which again is the need of the hour. Considered dispassionately, both are necessary. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee observes in *The Hindustan Review*:

The industries which we have to develop were classified years ago by the Royal Commission on Industries under three categories. These are cottage, small and medium and large scale or key industries. An industry which is carried on by the worker in his own home and with the help of the members of his family may generally be called a cottage industry. Probably Mahatma Gandhi has done more than anyone else to give an impetus to industries of this type. He has preached the gospel of the spinning wheel and the handloom for years and his labours have borne fruit. Recently, with the assistance of the All-India Village Industries Association he has turned his attention to the rice pounder, the chakki, the village sugar cane crusher and the small oil presser with remarkable success.

While cottage industries which provide work for the cultivators during periods of enforced leisure are undoubtedly useful, and must be developed as far as possible, it is also equally true that the organisation of small and medium scale industries is also desirable. These are industries where the capital invested is small, where the proprietors or managers are in direct contact with both the work of manufacture and distribution, where in many cases the raw materails are procured locally and where the aim is to meet the local demand. Such industries may be started either with the capital of the organisers themselves or as limited liability companies. These have hitherto been organised and carried on by private enterprise and are useful in the sense that they have afforded opportunities for the small capitalist. These small factories will enable the middle classes to not only earn their own living but also to employ large numbers of labourers specially if these are started all over the country. Organised properly on the manufacturing as well as the selling side, they should be able to compete with articles imported from outside India.

But such small and medium scale industries can neither solve the problem of unemployment satisfactorily, make India economically self-sufficient, nor stop the large financial drain to which we are subjected today on account of our being compelled to import plant, machinery, etc., with which to carry on the manufacture of industrial products. This is why the Congress has taken steps to do what lies in its power, to encourage the starting of what we call "heavy" or Key Industries.

The starting of either small and medium scale or even of large scale industries with the help of machinery imported from abroad can never offer any satisfactory solution of the problem either of unemployment or industrial self-sufficiency because this implies not only the purchase of the machinery but also constant replacement of worn-out parts.

Very often, the whole plant has to be changed at an immense expenditure when it grows out of date and when therefore the cost of production of articles manufactured with its help is so high that it becomes impossible to compete with articles manufactured with the help of improved up-to-date machinery. The unemployment of imported machinery under such circumstances implies two things first, the sending away of Indian money outside our country continuously to purchase machinery and its parts and secondly, the imposition of untold hardships on Indian labour which is thrown out of employment in increasing numbers, with every improvement that is made in machinery with a view to making it more efficient and thus to reduce the cost of manufacture.

Every one is aware that coal, iron, steel, manganese, chrominun, aluminium, copper, lead and similar other things are essential for starting and carrying on the key industries.

India has every one of these raw materials and yet she exports her pig iron, her steel and the other metals and buys them back in the shape of machinery. It has been pointed out that in the five years ended 31st March, 1928, India spent approximately 30 crores for buying steel beams, rivets, brass, angles, channels only. If to this we add the cost of such finished products as railway plant, rolling stock, machinery of all types and for all purposes, automobiles, cutlery and hardware, then only shall we be able to realise to what extent we, as a nation, are losers. In fact, the absence of key industries is compelling us to not only give away as it were our raw materials, but also in addition, to pay fabulously huge sums for articles manufactured out of them and imported by us. It is therefore, that an eminent Indian industrialist observed, "What we have been saving on textiles and sugar, we have been spending on machinery." It is thus that the loss of Manchester, the centre of cotton mills, due to the starting of cotton mills in India has been the gain of Bolton and Oldham where machinery of various types is manufactured. Britain as a nation is not a loser for so far as India as a whole is concerned, she is losing as much money today as she was doing before we started these sugar and cotton mills.

The benefits of the introduction of the key industries in our motherland will be greater economic independence, the growth of economic self-sufficiency, and the prevention of the economic drain due to our purchase of foreign manufactured articles which we can produce ourselves. With more purchasing power in circulation inside India and an increase in the national income, there will be growth of economic prosperity and a gradual reduction in the grinding poverty of the masses.

Indians in South Africa

The evil racial prejudice which ends in the Colour Bar is, perhaps, the most sinister phenomenon of our time. It affects not only the whole of Asia and Africa with its malign influence, but has also spread its poison over the new world of America. C. F. Andrews observes in *The Indian Review* :

The different races in South Africa are now about to be compelled by law to live more and more apart. That is the purpose of all the legislation, against which India has already fought so many battles. The same principle of segregation underlay the 'Class Areas' Bills which were brought forward time after time soon after the European War. I was asked by the Congress to go out, again and again, to South Africa in order to fight against their menace. On similar occasions I had to go to East Africa for what was virtually the same issue.

This new anti-Asiatic measure recently brought forward by Mr. Stuttaford is only a slight variation of the old subject. In the new Bill which he has proposed, not only are Indians to be prevented from living side by side with the Europeans, but also of trading side by side with them ! Even the shops are to be segregated !

It is, then, against this whole racial system, with its evil heritage of the Colour Bar, that the new struggle has to be fought and won. The Hon. J. Hofmeyr has rightly pointed out that the object of Mr Stuttaford's Bill is to drive the Indians into 'ghettoes.' It is the old 'untouchable' system of ancient India over again applied to the modern civilization of South Africa. The whole of India has rightly protested against this in quite unmistakable terms and will continue to protest until the menace is removed.

The Government of India has also echoed the same protest, and has been trying to postpone the matter by entering into negotiations. They have suggested that another Round Table Conference should be held at Capetown, where the whole issue might be discussed. This request has been curtly rejected by Mr. Stuttaford, the late Minister of the Interior, and there the subject was left at the time when Nazi troops invaded Poland, and thus brought about a European War. Such is the chronicle of events for the current year.

A change has come over the South African situation since the outbreak of war.

We are able to surmise on all accounts that have reached us, that owing to the war with Poland breaking out in Europe, and Britain and France challenging Germany, the Indian situation, which had before looked so dark, has unexpectedly become lighter in South Africa.

Yet, at the same time, there is no cause for elation. For it is equally certain that constant vigilance will still be needed. The bare majority, by which General Smuts came back into office, is very precarious. Even a slight turn-over, from one side to the other, might bring him defeat. Though, in this recess time, which lasts up to the end of January, everything is plain sailing for General Smuts as Prime Minister, and no defeat is possible, yet when the new Parliament opens in 1940, both he and his Cabinet will be remarkably fortunate, if they escape without a defeat through the long session which lasts on to July.

Returning to the Indian question, it would follow almost automatically that if General Smuts were defeated, the anti-Asiatic Bill of Mr. Stuttaford would be revived in a more drastic form than ever. Some one, far more narrowly racial in policy than Mr. Stuttaford, would take office; and the lines of the Bill would be far more rigid than those proposed during the present year. Both Mr. Hofmeyr and Mr. Lawrence would have all their work cut out to uphold the Indian cause.

We must not deceive ourselves, therefore, by any false optimism - as though the present favourable situation would continue for long. The anti-Asiatic element in South Africa is very strong indeed, and on the slightest provocation it is ready to take action.

Ancient South Indian Commerce

The trade of South India extended not only to the Mesopotamian valley,—to Sumeria and Babylonia, but also to Egypt in the third millennium B. C. Writes V. T. Lakshmi in *Triveni*:

"Thousands of years before the emergence of the Greeks from savagery......Egypt and the nations of Ancient India came into being, and a commercial system was developed for the interchange of products within those limits, having its centre of exchange near the head of the Persian Gulf......The growth of civilisation in India created an active merchant marine and trading to the Euphrates and Africa......" (W. H. Schoff). The Arabs, who played the intermediaries, carried muslins and Indian spices from South Indian "Baradavars," who took those articles in their boats to Aden and the East African Coast, and carried them, in turn, to Thebes or Memphis, by sea or land. In the Book of Genesis there is mention of a company of traders with spicery and myrrh going to Egypt. In the abundant booty, loading the vessel of the Pharaoh for conveyance to the land of Egypt, appeared many South Indian animals and products not indigenous to Egypt—elephant's teeth, precious stones, sandal-wood and monkeys. Further, the presence of indigo, tamarind-wood and other Indian products have been detected in the tombs of Egypt; and, it is also said that the Egyptians dyed cloth with indigo and wrapped their mummies in South Indian muslin. But, the Egyptians were poor sailors, and South Indian articles found their way to Egypt through Arab and Phœnician ships.

There are certain Egyptian words that betray the Indian origin of articles :

The Egyptian word 'Ebu' like the Italian word "Ebur" may be the Sanskrit "Ibhu," the Egyptian word "Kafu" like the Hebrew "Koph" may have come from the Sanskrit "Kapi," meaning 'ape.' The presence of the African Baobab in the Tinnevelly District has been traced to early traders from Africa.

In the Inscriptions of Harkhuf, unrder the Egyptian King, Mernere, of the sixth Dynasty, 2,600 B.C.; there are references to several South Indian articles that found their way to Egypt : incense, ebony, grain, ivory, panthers, etc. The ebony referred to, doubtless, was South Indian ebony, which was, according to Theophrastus, "peculiar only to India." In the sixth Dynasty, under

Pepi II, in the twenty-sixth century B.C., references were made to South Indian cotton cloth, by an Egyptian Royal officer, Sebni. Besides, ivory was in great demand in Egypt : and considering the fact that it was easier to kill elephants in Indian forests, than in African forests, Indian ivory alone could have been largely imported to Egypt. Further, it was asserted that the Egyptian Kings used axes and swords and other iron implements, manufactured only in South India in those early times. In exchage for these articles, Egypt sent to South India incense, sweet-smelling gums, etc.

The *Vedic Mantras* are burdened with allusions to the "interchange" of merchandise.

South Indian traders must have sent their ships to sea and sailed to distant lands for sale and barter, long before North Indians took to maritime commerce. In the second millennium B.C., when the old land-route was destroyed, the tide of trade bent southward and led to a great development in the sea trade of of South India. Under the seventeenth Egyptian dynasty (1580-1530 B.C.), there were several records of the receipt of ivory in trade and as tribute, which fact indicates that in early times, ivory and ivory-articles, like chairs, tables, statues and whips, went from the west coast of India to the Nile Valley. Under the eighteenth Dynasty, great Egyptian ships fetched, from the Arab intermediaries, South Indian ebony, precious stones, ivory, gold, cinnamon, incense, apes, monkeys, dogs and panther-skins. In the days of the twentieth Dynasty, under Rameses III (1198-1167 B.C.), Egypt continued to get abony and precious stones from South India.

In the halcyon days of her prosperity, Ancient Egypt, under the twenty-eighth Dynasty, imported linen from abroad, and the garments of royal linen used in Egypt were considered to be of South Indian muslin.

The cinnamon, which Egypt largely imported, was not an article of Punt, as it was believed, but it grew in Malabar and Cochin; and South India traded in it with the Arab intermediaries, who sold it in their turn to Egypt. Among the eastern treasures, mentioned as supplied from Punt to Egypt, were grain and gingelly oil, which, according to the 'Periplus,' were largely exported to far off countries only from South India. The Egyptian priests underwent the "anointment" ceremony, with the "South Indian gingelly oil," and the Egyptian Queen Hatshepsust got her excellent ebony only from the Malabar coast and not from Punt, as she believes. So, trade between South India and Egypt flourished from very early times to the second millennium B.C.

A little before the end of the second millennium B.C., the Hebrews ended their servitude in Egypt and migrated to Palestine.

Sweet spices were considered very holy among the Hebrews in Palestine. After Israel's rise to prosperity, the Palestine trade with South India and other countries grew by leaps and bounds. South India not only imported cinnamon and sapphires to Palestine, but also all the other articles which she had been sending Egypt through the Arab intermediaries. In the tenth century B.C., we hear of Queen Sheba's lavishing presents upon King Solomon: spices and precious stones, which were undoubtedly South Indian articles. "The almug trees, which are indentified with sandal-wood, native to South India, especially Mysore, Coimbatore and Salem Districts, and a large quantity of gold should have gone to Palestine from South India." South Indian ivory and peacocks were among several other articles imported to Palestine. The Hebrew word for ivory "Shen habbin" resembles "Ibha danta" in Sanskrit, and the Hebrew word "Thakki" for peacock bears semblance to the Tamil word "Thogai." In Ezekiel, XXVII, 13 in the Old Testament, South Indian trade with Palestine in ebony is mentioned; it was prior to the seventh century.

Military Training

The Journalist writes editorially:

The Bhonsla Military School at Nasik will stand for all times as a living tribute to the genius of Dr. Moonje, who as the champion of the Hindu Mahasabha Cause has been in public limelight for a good time now. Few people do realise the importance of this effort of Dr. Moonje to awaken the lethargy of the Nation which has been the subject of much criticism and comment both by the Government and the public-spirited citizen.

In times of a war emergency such as the one we are living in, it has been always the utterance of the authorities concerned that India is lacking in military temperament and disposition. That especially the Hindu part of the population (which has always been given no say in the matter of falsifying this charge) is by tradition unfitted for Military Service. Nothing can be farther from the truth. In fact, the younger generation--the present generation of Youth of India is itching for an opportunity to show that courage and military valour that was displayed in years gone by is not dead in them. If proof is necessary, it should not take long to find out. For if all ranks are thrown open and no discrimination be made in the treatment and status of the volunteers, we should be able to have an army that can count in millions and yet be the largest as well as the most efficient, in the shortest possible time. But when will the mentality of the Powers that be change to this effect ?

There is no doubt that many thousands of middle-class people would like to give their children this type of Military school education, but due to the general poverty and the insufficiency of general support the maintenance cost of each student has been somewhat above the means of the average parent.

The school is conducted on the most modern, sound and progressive principles under the direct guidance and supervision of Mr. Kayande who has devoted many years to the study of military education for our Youth. Dr. Moonje has shown great intelligence in selecting this person for the position, for a better choice could hardly have been made.

Nasik, the sacred city to millions of Hindus has to be considered lucky for the unique honour that has fallen to it.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

He Who Lives, Wins

Pearl S. Buck observes in a paper contributed to *Asia* that China is winning the war, more by not fighting than by fighting. While it is undoubtedly true that China, weak in mechanized war power and munitions, has had to avoid large military engagements and fight a guerrilla warfare, yet it is significant that China was consciously weak in this way, even though she has for many years faced the probability of this war with Japan. That is, China chose to put her money into new schools, new roads and new industries rather than into munitions. She believes that eternal life lies in these rather than in wars, and in this she provides the perfect contrast to Germany, who has robbed her whole being in order to develop her military strength.

Long after Germany is in collapse, one dares to prophesy, China will be alive. She has chosen to live and not in the passive half dead fashion of the Koreans, a nation already subject to sloth and effectness before the coming of Japan. China's choice of life is positive, not negative. She believes that to live is to win.

I do not know intimately the other cities, but I suppose they were something like Nanking, which I know very well. Physically Nanking was a collection of buildings, more or less handsome, more or less new, and spiritually it was a focus, or a center, for certain emotions such as patriotism, new nationalism, people's loyalty and so forth. If when these cities were destroyed, bombs had destroyed them spiritually as well as physically, there might be something to fear perhaps. But Nanking was not spiritually destroyed. Though its buildings are destroyed or occupied by the enemy, the real Nanking is more alive today than it ever was. It lives in the brains and energies of men and women still alive, and more determined than ever that China will live. Had they been so foolish as to remain inside of the meaningless brick and mortar which their own hands had put up, or had they gone out to risk foolish battle, they would today have been dead and with them would indeed have died Nanking and the center of China. Even the wise beast forsakes its lair in time of danger, knowing that life is more valuable than anything, since when life is gone, all is lost.

Chinese, then, are winning the war by staying alive, as far as possible. Some of them are alive merely because of the lowest instinct to save their own skins. But many others are alive because they honestly believe in the foolishness of death, and in the value to their country of living citizens. True, many people, clinging to their homes, have been killed by bombs. Perhaps they were the sort of people who did not much care who ruled them if they could stay at home. There are such people in any country. Those who cared more, or perhaps merely were wiser, went away, knowing that houses can be built, or caves can be lived in temporarily, if one is alive. Many Chinese had to fight to vent their own feelings, and because they wanted to fight. These had their part in making articulate the new patriotism. But they could not and did not save their country. That will be done by the determination of the intelligent Chinese who are now concentrated on the one matter of weathering this storm in which the Japanese are spending themselves, and therefore of being alive, healthy and full of energy when the Japanese are spent, whether by victory or defeat. In either condition, the Chinese will be ready for reconstruction, whatever that will mean. If they must endure a period of Japanese control, they will be strong enough to go through with it while they plan for its end. If they can be patient enough—and they can be—to let Japan go on with the enormous expense of war, they can be so much stronger at the end than Japan will be that they will still be unconquered, though Japan may have won the war. But Japan is losing, wherever the technical victory lies. She is losing not only because she is pouring into the waste of war the fruit of the labor of her people, but far more than that, because she is pouring out the lives of her young men. If this stream toward death continues, she will never recover from it, and China, even though subject to her, will be her master in the end.

Motion Picture Advertisement

Motion picture advertising is an excellent vantage point from which to gauge the aims and purposes of those who guide the policies of film making. It reveals only too obviously what producers believe to be the public's taste and needs, as it likewise discloses the standards of those who serve the public. We are herded together in one mass—the sensation-loving mob, write John and Marion Kinneman in *The Christian Register*. This is the most dominant characteristic of the supposed mass mind that Hollywood chooses to call its public. Few motion pictures, however, are as bad as their advertising. Frequently they are good pictures which receive the first set-back from their own publicity agents.

One of the best illustrations of this is the recently released "Idiot's Delight." Reviewers seemed to be unanimous in their opinion that, despite the change to a happy ending, the play lost little in its transition from stage to screen. The author himself prepared the latter version, and he adhered to his original theme which was an invective against war, with particular

emphasis upon the vicious activity of munitions makers. Witness, however, the copy which was used in one of Chicago's leading papers to acquaint its readers with the production: "When their eyes meet . . . . the sparks fly! When their lips join . . . . the flame leaps! When their embraces lock . . . . the world's on fire! Two who loved and lost each other in Omaha honky-tonks . . . . only to meet again amidst turbulence . . . . and love even more triumphantly."

No thought was given to the millions of mature men and women who need no sex furbishings to arouse their interest in the most crucial subject of our day. No recognition of further millions whose literary taste demands no added sex appeal to stimulate an interest in the Pulitzer prize play of the year. The same preconceived, insubstantial estimate of the public's taste,, which induces advertisers to level us off into a sensation-loving mass, dictates that we shall also be leveled off into a sex-sodden lump. And so the appeal is made not to our minds, nor yet to our hearts, but to our loins. This picture of ourselves as Hollywood sees us grows less pretty as we go on.

If we are to judge them by their advertising, the Pacific Coast Freudians are struck in a bog of sex motivation from which either they cannot or they will not pull out. Surely producers have learned something of the public's taste from the box office success of such pictures as "Captains Courageous," "The Life of Emile Zola," "Boys' Town" and "Pasteur."

This is not to imply that all pictures of romance and love are sex ridden; it is only when they are drawn out of all perspective that they become so.

This is perfectly illustrated in one of the most recent advertisements of a picture in which a glamor girl of foreign extraction is starred Here we are told that "she's all things to all men . . . mysterious in her haunting eyes . . . . on fire in her lips, curved with the temptation of heavenly promise . . . her caresses laden with ecstasy! No man can resist her flaming fascination!" If the pictures are judged on the score of their advertising, many productions must be charged with salaciousness Consequently, those responsible for this, like naughty little boys who write on walls and fences, need to be watched. Apparently this salaciousness is a misguided attempt to satisfy the public's taste and arises from a desire to straddle all ages and all intellectual levels.

Attempts are frequently made to attract the public by arousing an unwholesome curiosity.

Although the title of one picture was "Angel," the copy read: "What every woman wants to do she did." We also find "a woman's past paraded in front of a gossip-hungry public." Or, in another picture "tempestuous women, glamorous nights." Even the suggestiveness of "women fall under his sinister spell." Or, if that is not enough, we can have "intimate as a woman's love diary" and "romance torn from history's flaming pages" Then you might want a "soul stabbing thrill" or an understanding of how "she wanted luxury, life and love at any price."

It is Hollywood's belief in our depraved taste that floods the newspapers with intimate

details of a star's anatomy, love life, quite as we examine an animal before auctioning it off.

Further illustration may be found in the advertisement of "Camille." It may be a museum piece but it has survived more than one generation and gives promise of surviving many more. If it is well done it can perhaps continue to bring to audiences, even though in a melodramatic way, the lasting truth of the regenerative power of love. Greta Garbo's "Camille" was exceedingly well done. Yet the publicity men had the presumption to advertise its production in one of New York's best papers in this way: "Garbo loves Robert Taylor" and in small type there was added "in Camille." After it had been running for a week the advertisement continued: "Garbo still loves Robert Taylor" and again in small type "in Camille." She had brought to "Camille" a spiritual quality and a sensitive interpretation that should not have been cheapened by misleading and sex-ridden advertisement

The film industry has long reiterated its belief that the public seeks a means of escape when it goes to the movies. That is another abnormal characteristic of the fabrication which Hollywood has devised for itself and fondly calls its public.

Although there has probably never been a time when a generation was more alive to its own time and place than the present one, nevertheless, in the movies, we are constantly being wafted to the jungle, Honolulu,—anywhere so long as it is far away either in time or place. That is the formula for screen romance. "Come on to Honolulu . . . . . where romance is heavenly . . . . an the hula is a lulu! Under intoxicating Hawaiian moonlight . . . where love's a brewing."

The escapist theory of movie men takes no cognizance of men and women whose conception of romance is the converse of that offered by the films. There are those among us who believe that romance lies in the mastery of one's immediate environment, that adventure need not be of other times and distant places, but of our own time and place. The success of such outstanding pictures as "You Can't Take It With You" and "The Citadel" leads to the conclusion, Hollywood to the contrary notwithstanding, that this sector of realists is far larger than producers have heretofore suspected.

The Secret of Shakespeare's Power

The Catholic World reproduces the following note from Mark Van Doren's *Shakespeare.*

It is literally true that while we read a play of Shakespeare's we are in it. We may be drawn in swiftly or slowly—in most cases it is swiftly—but once we are there we are enclosed. That is the secret, and it is still a secret, of Shakespeare's power to interest us. He conditions us to a particular world before we are aware that it exists; then he absorbs us in its particulars. We scarcely say to ourselves, this world exists; nor do we pause to note how consistent each thing in it is with every other. Our attention is on the details, which we take in as details should be taken in, one at a time Meanwhile there is for us no other world. The great world is not forgotten—Shakespeare indeed knows best how to keep us reminded of its greatness—but it is here confined to a single mode of its being. He is not telling the whole truth in any play nor does he do so in all of them together, nor could he have done so had he written ten thousand. But the piece of truth with which he is occupied at a given moment is for that moment eloquent both of itself and of the remainder. It seems to be all. It is satisfactory and complete. With each new line a play of Shakespeare's lights its own recesses, deepens its original hue, echoes, supports, and authenticates itself. The world is not there, but this part of it is so entirely there that we miss nothing; it is as if existence had decided to measure itself by a new standard. And the secret of that standard is shared with us. Shakespeare, who denies his reader nothing, denies him least of all the excitement of feeling that he is where things are simply and finally alive.

Only a remarkable artist could have done this, and only a remarkable man—a man, moreover, in whom the balance was well-nigh perfect between understanding and observation, between intellect and instinct, between vision and sight. It has long been recognized that his characters, while irreducibly individual, partake of that nature which belongs to all men, and seldom desert the types in whose terms they were conceived Hamlet is young, melancholy, courteous, brilliant, and moral. Falstaff is old, fat, drunken, untruthful, and witty. None of those traits is new, and it would almost appear that nothing in either man had been invented by Shakespeare Each, however, has his unique carriage and voice, and will not be mistaken for any other man on earth. He is first of all a member of the human race After that he is himself, saying things which Shakespeare knows how to envelope in a silence so natural that for the time being we hear no other sound than that of his discourse. Yet the act of being himself never takes him beyond the range of our understanding.

Shakespeare loved the world as it is. That is why he understood it so well; and that in turn is why, being the artist he was, he could make it over again into something so rich and clear.

Religious Liberty in Russia

The following extract from an article contributed to *The Missionary Review of the World* by F. J. Miles is reproduced here from *World Christianity.*

The American secular press has been misled into stating that the new constitution affords religious liberty to Soviet citizens. It does not. It grants "freedom to perform religious rites." All this means is that elderly folk who still cling to their religious ceremonial can continue to follow it.

No Christian is persecuted as such and no evangelist is banished merely for preaching the Gospel. They are charged as counter revolutionaries. But facts are stubborn things. Formerly we had sixty-six consecrated Russian evangelists within the U.S.S.R. Today only five are left and they are in exile. None of the "liqui-

dated" men ever engaged in any counter-revolutionary propaganda or activity. Before me are the reports for August, 1938: (1) In the Far East a purge of Baptist churches is taking place, and the leaders are being charged as "Japanese spies." (2) Baptist groups in Tolka have been "liquidated." Tolka is in the Caucasus. (3) Baptists in the Caucasus were accused of (a) hindering the election of Stalin candidates at the recent elections; and (b) conducting religious propaganda among the hospital workers of the district. (4) A Baptist pastor of twenty years' standing in one of the oldest churches in the autonomous Udmurpk Republic was arrested as a German spy. (5) Evangelistic groups in the Crimea were "liquidated."

Some reports appear in the press of churches being full. There are enough elderly folk (with whom the Soviet cannot be bothered—"They'll die off soon, anyway") to fill the buildings that still remain open at Easter, and at the three-day Christmas. But in the few churches remaining open, little can be done. The pastor may preach on the premises but nowhere else. He is taken up for interrogation periodically, and comes out of the ordeal a nervous wreck. No literature is allowed on the premises except such as is absolutely needful for the conduct of worship. No meetings may be held for women or young people. It is a criminal offence to gather three young people under the age of eighteen to teach them religion. No teacher is permitted to enter any place of worship. No social service may be rendered, lest by so doing the church should influence those helped to become religious. The church is under a graduated tax that is increased periodically till, in spite of severest sacrifice, it can no longer be paid; then automatically the Soviet takes over the building because those using Government property have not paid their dues. If the pastor dies, no successor may be elected and the church is liquidated.

Independence of the Philippines: Recent Trends

Five years ago when the Tydings-McDuffie independence act was signed by President Roosevelt and approved by the Phillippine legislature it was popularly assumed that the final chapter in the legislative history of Philippine-American relations had been written. After a transitional decade, the American flag was to be hauled down and the independent Philippine Republic would be free thereafter to pursue its sovereign way.

Today, when half the scheduled period has elapsed, much of the Filipino enthusiasm for independence has evaporated completely, and no less a personage than former High Commissioner McNutt has publicly advocated the abandonment of the whole emancipation programme.

Two things have served to dampen the original ardour, points out Grayson Kirk in *Political Science Quarterly*. The first of these is the fear of economic collapse, for the free-trade regime had caused Philippine economic life to become geared into the American economy.

Business and agricultural interests have continued to hope that Congress would relent and consent to a modification more conducive to a prosperous Philippine future. As this hope has receded, these groups have come more and more to the conclusion that independence would be ruinous.

The second fear is Japan.

The general case for presumptive Japanese domination over a weak independent Philippine state can be stated briefly.

Having a comparatively low population pressure, the Philippines have the greatest supply of unused rich agricultural land in that portion of the world. Climatically this land is, and will continue to be, attractive to Japanese colonists. Population pressure alone may swell the Japanese migration to Davao where there are now more than 20,000 permanent Japanese residents. In addition, there is a great deal of mineral wealth valuable to an aggressively industrialized Japan. Chromite, iron and gold are found in great abundance and there are smaller deposits of many other minerals.

The strategic advantages to Japan would be even greater.

Possession of the Philippines would enable Japan to cut British communications between Hongkong and Singapore at will, especially if Japan should retain permanent control over the island of Hainan. French Indo-China would be defenseless, while British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies would be brought within easy striking distance. Such a position would give Japan easy access to the valuable, and sorely needed, oil fields of the Dutch East Indies and the tin deposits of Malaya. It would also place Japan athwart our own trade communications with that portion of the world. Thus, in case of war, Japan could block our imports of tin and rubber, forcing us either to bring these products through the Suez Canal or to rely upon Bolivian tin and non-Malayan rubber. In a very real sense of the term, the Philippines are so located as to provide a key to the control of the entire area of the South China Sea. Japanese domination would mean an unchallengeable maritime and military supremacy in the Far East.

Realizing all this, many Filipinos have become so alarmed that they would prefer to forego the dangers of independence for the security afforded by the American flag. Others disagree, arguing "if Philippine independence is contingent upon conditions in the Orient, how can they become any better? If Japan wins in China, she will be more feared than ever. If Japan is destroyed by China or Russia, these may be threats to the Philippines. Making Philippine independence basically contingent on Oriental conditions means no independence at all . . . Once the precedent is set, the battle of permanent dependence will have been won."

Art of Jacob Epstein

One of the most remarkable and least appreciated of Epstein's gifts as a sculptor is the instinctive harmony between his carvings, with their autonomous existence as sculptures, and the form of the buildings on which they are placed, writes Louis Golding in *T'ien Hsia*.

The Strand carvings blend into the building. the *Day* and *Night* repeat in uncanny fashion the main lines of those parts of the building which form a background to each figure—the archway between the child's legs—the horizontal sweep of the recumbent figure leading up by means of the poisoned arm to the brooding mass of the figure above. *Rima*, seen in a picture-postcard reproduction, is almost meaningless aggression, but seen as part of a designed panel, set back in the peace of its enclosure, it is almost reticent in its fitness for the site, and its literary relation to the passage which inspired it: 'What a distance to fall, through burning leaves and smoke, like a white bird shot dead with a poisoned arrow, swift and straight into that sea of flame below.'

Epstein regards himself as a direct sculptor in stone, but he is also a modeler of portrait busts and bronze figures, and herein lines the main source of the quarrel that art critics have with him.

His method of working with added pellets rather than smoothing a surface is consciously an art of building up, since 'the face is made up of numberless small planes and it is a study of where those planes begin and end, their direction, that makes the individual head.'

A double interest, in the play of lighting and of structure seen from within, and the play of character in the service of as faithful a likeness as possible, is the interest of Epstein's portraits. It is no exaggeration to say that he has created a larger number of great portraits than any individual artist in the whole history of sculpture; *Jacob Kramer*, *Cunninghame Graham*, *Old Pinager*, the superb *Joseph Conrad*, the imposing *Lord Rothermere*, *Rabindranath Tagore*, *Ellen Janson*, *Isabel Powys*, the monumental *Paul Robeson*, the super-subtle *Albert Einstein* are obvious and durable masterpieces.

It would be no exaggeration to say that no living sculptor has a greater knowledge of art than Epstein.

His days are spent in museums and exhibitions, no new objects remain unscrutinized, no discovery from Ur of the Chaldees or from Mexico is hidden from him, either illustration, museum, exhibition, or in the sale room. It is inspected and assimilated, its lesson learned. His own collection of Gothic carvings, Negro sculpture, Chaldean figures, Marquesan idols, Gold Coast bronzes is of superb sculptural value. He has not passed through a succession of influences but has recreated in his own practice the whole history of sculpture, adapting newer methods to modern problems. 'African work,' he says, 'has certain important lessons to teach that go to the root of all sculpture. I have tried to absorb those lessons without working in the African idiom.'

SHOULD INDIA BE DIVIDED?

By V. B. KULKARNI

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land?"

For sometime past we have been hearing the cry for the division of India into two distinct states, *viz.*, Hindu and Muslim. The idea for the creation of a separate Muslim state is not altogether new. It was sponsored several years ago, but had failed to gain much currency, partly because responsible Muslim leaders were unwilling to associate themselves with it, and partly owing to its manifest impracticability.

I do not believe that even today, when the relations between the Muslims and the non-Muslims are supposed to be less cordial, responsible Muslim leaders are in earnest sympathy with the 'Muslim state' idea, and it is, therefore, permissible to interpret the agitation as a tactical move designed for the discomfiture of political opponents. Whether this interpretation is right or wrong, it is certainly worthwhile to examine the arguments advanced in favour of the 'Muslim state' idea.

It is argued that Muslims of India are a nation by themselves and should, therefore, have a state of their own not only for their self-preservation but also for the perpetuation of all that they hold sacred, dear and valuable. In other words, a separate state is demanded to safeguard the Muslim (*i*) race, (*ii*) religion, and (*iii*) culture. I proposed to deal with these points seriatim.

We have ridden the racial theory to death and yet the illusion persists. Do the Muslims and non-Muslims of India belong to different races? Emphatically not. If, for the sake of argument, the Indian population is broadly divided into "Aryan" and "non-Aryan" races, it would be interesting to know to which of these two racial groups the Muslims exclusively belong. The fact of the matter is that there are both Aryan and non-Aryan Muslims just as there are Aryan and non-Aryan Hindus. An Aryan Hindu remains an Aryan even by ceasing to be a Hindu, just as a non-Aryan Muslim cannot become an Aryan by adopting some other religion. Racial characteristics do not change by the change of faith, for, while religion pertains to conscience, "race" denotes the distinguishing features of the human species.

If the contention that Muslims of India belong to a separate race has no basis in fact, the plea for a separate 'Muslim state' on grounds of religion is equally less convincing. Islam in India has never been in danger, as the present numbers of its followers amply indicate. History does not record, as it does in the case of the Aryans, of any widespread Muslim immigration into this country. They came as invaders and cuold not, therefore, be counted into more than a handful of millions. Nor will the most fanciful estimates of the numerical strength of their successive descendants take us anywhere near the present formidable figure of eight crores. The fact of the matter is that the ranks of the Muslim community are being continually augmented by the steady depletion in the numbers of the Hindu population.

It must also be borne in mind that Hinduism can never be a threat to Islam, for it is neither a militant nor a proselytising religion. Moreover, an average Hindu is nurtured in the traditions of broad-minded religious toleration and has the same instinctive veneration for other faiths as for his own. History has taught us again and again how deep was the reverence of Hindu rulers for the religion of their Moslem subjects. The pages of the history of Vijayanagara and Maharashtra,—empires, be it noted, which rose to establish righteousness in the land,—have been immortalized by the matchless religious impartiality of their rulers,—an impartiality that has won the eulogy even of hostile historians. Even today the basis of governance in the numerous Hindu principalities is one of perfect religious equality.

The culture of the Indian Muslims is as much a matter for pride to their countrymen as it certainly is to themselves. Is there any Indian who is not stirred to the very depths of his soul when he beholds the immortal Taj? Indeed, the great altitudes of civilization to which India has risen, through her art, song and literature, are not the exclusive contribution of this community or that, but represent the combined efforts of them all. Muslim culture is as certain of transmission to posterity as the other cultures of the land.

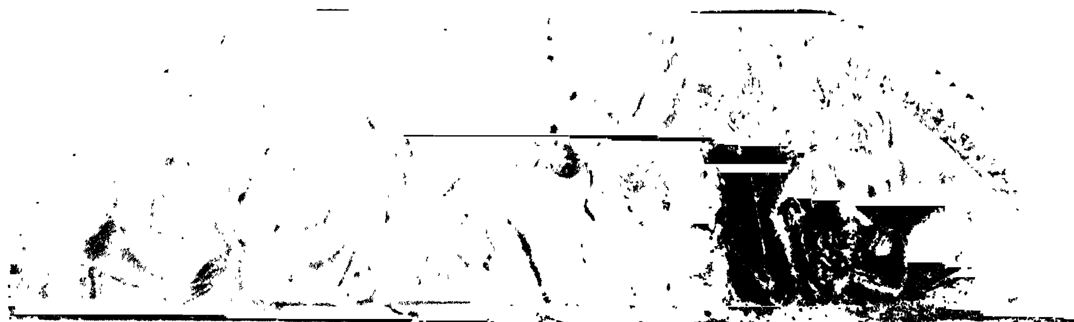
It will thus be evident that there is no logical basis in the demand for a separate

Muslim state. No useful purpose will be served by exaggerating, emhpasizing and underlining our 'differences' which are more imaginary than real. Like Eastern Europe, India is not a cockpit of interminable and irrepressible racial animosities. The Muslims of India are not a racial minority. The protection they need, if indeed they do, is in the realm of religion. Such a provision will be more of a preacutionary nature than the outcome of a genuine fear about the future of Islam in this country. In all other respects, the position of the Muslims is one of absolute equality with that of the non-Muslims.

We cannot create new states with the facility of pilling up hay-stacks. The authors of the Versailles Treaty reshaped the map of Europe with a view to according, as far as possible, a separate state and nationality to each racial group. The "Succession States" arose out of this arrangement. How precarious is their existence today is a matter of common knowledge.

If the "racial states" have proved unworkable and disastrous, would the creation of "religion-states" be feasible? Mankind has now reached a stage when it refuses to subordinate nationality to religion. The plea that to a Muslim religion takes the place of nationalism is, therefore, utterly untenable. So eminent an authority on Middle Eastern affairs as Sir Ronald Storrs says that "the death-blow to this theory was dealt by Ghazi Mustafa Kemal." Religion can have no primacy in the conduct of national affairs. We simply cannot regret to the epochs of the crusades.

The events of the past few years in Europe have exercised the most pernicious influence upon the rest of the world. The deliberate efforts of a certain section of Indians to promote disunity in the country are, I am afraid, the contagion caught from Europe. Irresponsible outbursts and a ceaseless propaganda of hatred and contempt against one's own countrymen are a new growth not native to the soil of India. Could a greater calamity befall this unfortunate country than to teach the Muslim to look abroad for their emancipation, political and, otherwise? What would be the reactions of the simple-minded Muslim villager if he is told that he has nothing in common with his fellow-villagers, and that he lives in the country as a Muslim and not as an Indian? Thoughtful men in the country must ponder over these unpleasant and inescapable facts and bear in mind the words of wisdom uttered by Mahatma Gandhi in the pages of *the Harijan* of 11th November.



Nataraj Relief-work executed at the Vidysagar Memorial Hall by Khagendra Ray, Anil Ray and Bhaktadas Bhaskar

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THE BLUE LOTUS
By [illegible]

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NOTES

Division of Political Labour Between "The Rulers and the Ruled"

At a dinner at Nagpur on the 6th January last His Excellency the Viceroy said in reply to the toast proposed by Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy :

"Sinking of differences and the preparation of those conditions and circumstances which would bring about establishment of the Dominion Status is the course of wisdom in the present circumstances, and any help that I am capable of affording to achieve that ideal, will be forthcoming in the greatest measure practicable."

His Excellency also "appealed to political leaders to avoid in these delicate political matters too unbending a rigidity, and urged the importance of keeping an open mind for readiness to compromise."

His Excellency's advice and appeal could be regarded as above criticism if both parties, "the rulers and the ruled," were prepared to follow the advice and respond to the appeal. But that is not the case.

The Communal Decision, which forms the basis as it were of India's British-made constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, has given statutory recognition and fixity to "differences" already existing and has created differences which did not exist before.

There is no sign that the Communal Decision will be done away with. If it were done away with that would be something done by the "rulers" to establish harmony and good feeling between the communities. We get plenty of sermons telling us to live together as good neighbours. And certainly it is to our interest to do so. But what have the British people, the British Parliament and British politicians *actually* done to promote neighbourliness among us ? The only answer is, they have given the Communal Decision with its penal portion relating to the Hindus of Bengal. So there seems to be a division of political labour between the rulers and the ruled : the rulers are to do what safeguards their imperial interests and the ruled are to "sink differences," some of which have been given statutory recognition and some created in those interests.

His Excellency has deprecated unbending rigidity. But have the British Parliament and Government allowed him to adopt a less rigid and more propitious attitude than what was adopted twenty years ago when in 1919 "the natural issue of India's progress" was intended to be "the attainment of Dominion Status" ? The latest declaration made by the Viceroy goes no further than Dominion Status.

So the division of political labour between the rulers and the ruled seems still to prevail : the rulers are to remain unbendingly rigid and the ruled "to keep an open mind for readiness to compromise."

The Viceroy's "Offer" at Bombay Orient Club

The following extract is made from the speech which His Excellency the Viceroy made at a luncheon in his honour at the Orient Club, Bombay, on the 10th January last :—

"As to the objective there is no dispute. I am ready to consider any practical suggestion that has general support, and I am ready, when the time comes, to give every help that I personally can. His Majesty's Government are not blind—nor can we be blind here—to the practical difficulties involved in moving at one step from the existing constitutional position into that constitutional position, which is represented by Dominion Status.

"But here again I can assure you that their concern and mine is to spare no effort to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the achievement of Dominion Status.

"The offer is there. The responsibility that falls on the great political parties and their leaders is a heavy one, and one of which they are, I know, fully conscious."

This "offer" is a repetition of the 1919 "pledge," and there is no difficulty in believing that His Excellency made it in all sincerity. He has also promised "to give every help that **I personally** can" to enable India to reach the goal of Dominion Status. Mark the word 'personally.'

As to the binding character of announcements or promises made by a British Sovereign, a Prime Minister, a Secretary of State, or a Viceroy, etc., we need only repeat what Major D. Graham Pole wrote in our last December number in the course of his article "*Dominion Status for India—When?*"

Lord Halifax told the Joint Select Committee, on 18th July, 1933, that the "much discussed Declaration" which he, as Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, had made in 1929

"dealt entirely with the realm of ultimate purpose. It made no commitments whatever as to date."

Lord Linlithgow has given some indication as to when India may expect to be a Dominion, but has given no date. He has said no effort will be spared to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the achievement of Dominion Status. Now what the rulers may consider the minimum may in reality be considered by the political leaders of India as an indefinitely long period. But assuming without admitting that the British people's minimum would also be our minimum, let us consider whether the word given by any British *person* is binding on the British Parliament, which is the sovereign authority.

Lord Rankeillour told the Joint Select Committee in regard to Lord Irwin's Declaration and its effect:

"Those were the words of the Viceroy. They can be over-ruled by Parliament."

This point was also emphasised by the Chairman of the Conservative M. P.s' India Committee, Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, M. P., speaking in the House of Commons in December, 1934 when the Report of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament was under discussion, in these words:

"No pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919."

In the House of Lords debate Lord Rankeillour went even further. Speaking there, on 13th December 1934, he said:

"No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment."

So it comes to this that, if Dominion Status can satisfy the Indian people, such status should be given to India *now* by legislation in the British Parliament. The British Parliament has been legislating during the continuation of the present war for its own purposes. It has been also legislating to take away some of the powers given to the Indian provinces and Burma. Therefore it would not be correct to say that Parliament would not be able to pass any amending or other Act to do the needful for India. An amending or other Act *can* be passed now as war legislation.

If it be said that all the details of the Dominion constitution to be given to India cannot be settled during the continuation of the war with the calm deliberation necessary for the purpose, the least which the British people can do to satisfy India that they mean what they say is to make their Parliament legislate to the effect that immediately after the termination of the war—say within three months of the conclusion of peace, a new Government of India Act giving her Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety will be passed.

In writing as we have done, we do not in the least call in question the sincerity of the Viceroy. We have written as we have done because of the *uncontradicted* opinions expressed in both Houses of Parliament to the effect that statements made even by the British Sovereign cannot bind Parliament against its judgment, and also because in spite of previous promises of Dominion Status the British Parliament *deliberately* omitted any reference to it in the Government of India Act of 1935.

Independence and Dominion Status

What we have written above has been written on the assumption that Dominion Status would satisfy the people of India. But up till

now all Congress leaders have been saying that they want complete independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said that there can be no settlement with Britain unless the claim to complete independence be conceded. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose has declared that the Forward Bloc would take a line of its own to secure independence if the Congress High Command agreed to accept anything less.

All the while Mahatma Gandhi has been giving people to understand that he believes in the sincerity of the Viceroy and that the Bombay speech of the latter gives hope for an honourable settlement. And in order to understand what settlement might satisfy him we have to remind ourselves of a previous statement of his that the substance of independence would be acceptable to him.

The substance of independence does not admit of precise definition. But it is generally thought that Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety is equivalent to the substance of independence. For that status gives a country complete freedom in all its internal affairs. As regards external affairs the only thing which a Dominion cannot do is to declare and carry on war with Britain or another Dominion, or in a war to side with Britain's enemy or enemies, or to conclude peace with it or them. But even these things can be done by a Dominion if it secedes from Britain. And it has been held by constitutional authorities that according to the Westminster Statute Dominions have the right to secede.

As at present India has no intention to fight Britain or any British Dominion in the ordinary sense, or to side with Germany, Dominion Status would give her complete freedom for all practical purposes.

Nevertheless if any person were to ask the present writer, "Would you be satisfied with Dominion Status," he would be constrained to answer, "No." For a large and ancient country like India with a civilization of its own to become the Dominion of another country inhabited by a different people with a different civilization, culture, traditions and history, cannot be admitted as a natural or a right development. The white people of Australia or New Zealand may agree to their countries being Dominions of *their* Mother Country. The people of Canada of British stock may have similar feelings. As people of European extraction the French Canadians may not be dissatisfied with being the citizens of a British Dominion. That Eire (the Irish Free State) has been trying as much as possible to destroy all vestiges of her connection with Britain, shows that she, though a European country, dislikes being a British Dominion. General Hertzog's motion in the South African Parliament in favour of concluding peace with Germany shows that a considerable section of the Boer population in South Africa, though of European extraction, do not feel attached to Britain.

So we, who are neither of British nor of any other European extraction, cannot be accused of any unnatural sentiment if we be not satisfied with the goal of Dominion Status in our heart of hearts. But we admit its practical advantages for a few years to come. These are obvious and need not be mentioned in detail. So it may be accepted as a halfway house, complete independence being the permanent Home of the Spirit of India.

We are not opposed to the idea of a world federation—we like it in fact. But we can join it, we wish to join it, only as an independent state.

In all that we have written we have spoken for ourselves, not for any party.

As for the Congress, though its leaders are declaring themselves for nothing less than independence, they will work a Dominion Status constitution as they worked Provincial Autonomy though they said repeatedly and vehemently that they would not have the latter, *if Gandhiji accepts Dominion Status.*

From what we have written it may appear that our dislike of Dominion Status is merely sentimental. We do not admit that a sentimental objection is trivial merely because it is sentimental. In many things, as in this, it is based on right reason. But our dislike of Dominion Status is not merely sentimental. Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety is a creation of the British constitution and the British Parliament, and its denotation and connotation may be altered or changed according to British and British Dominion requirements. The changes or alterations may be such as would not go against the interests or affect the freedom of the present British Dominions which are ruled by people of European stock, but they may be made such as would curtail our liberties and leave the door open for India's exploitation by Britain and her Dominions. Complete freedom is the birthright of every country. It cannot be safely left to be conceded or not conceded, wholly or in part, by a foreign people and their constitution and legislature.

Rabindranath Tagore on "World Order"

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, "devoted" friend of Visva-bharati, sent the Poet a pamphlet on *European Order And World Order* (published by P. E. P.) last November with a letter in which he said that "in spite of the war I can't help feeling that great days are in front of us." In the course of his reply, dated December 27, 1939, the Poet wrote, as published in *Visva-bharati News* :

"I have read your letter and the P. E. P. pamphlet with profound interest—it does one good to know that all civilized thought and planning have not been submerged by war-passions. Your letter gives me new hope and is a confirmation of the spiritual integrity of the European civilization in which I have always believed—the wide-awake humanity of the West that diplomatic machinations can never crush. I can realise from your brochure on *European Order and World Order* that the best minds of Europe are being put to a severe test, that they have the sanction of the peoples of Europe in trying to formulate a Federal Union which will unite the peoples in spite of the ringleaders of blind Nationalism, who, sitting safely in the citadels of power, send the youth of the land to destroy each other on the battlefield. In Europe, the real battle goes on—that between organised passion and the unconquerable majesty of the human heart—and your peoples have the vitality to live through this struggle. I cannot believe in the victory of any belligerent powers,—as belligerents they are doomed. I can hope for the triumph of the united peoples of Europe under some such system as you propose in your letter to Lord Halifax and in the programme sponsored by the P. E. P.

But what about India? It does not need a defeatist to feel deeply anxious about the future of millions who with all their innate culture and their peaceful traditions are being simultaneously subjected to hunger, disease, exploitations foreign and indigenous, and the seething discontents of communalism. Our people do not possess the vitality that you have in Europe; and the crisis, even before this war started in the West, had become acute in India. Needless to say, interested groups led by ambition and outside instigation, are today using the communal motive for destructive political ends.

It may be fairly presumed that if India could join a Federal Union of all the real democracies of the world on equal terms as an independent state, that would be soul-satisfying to Rabindranath Tagore.

Indian Christians and South Africa

Everything possible was done before last Christmas by Indian and European Christian leaders to make known to the South African Churches the intense distress that was being caused in India by the proposed policy of segregating the Indian community in South Africa both in trade and business areas. The metropolitan wrote to the Archbishop of Capetown who is the head of the whole Anglican Communion in South Africa; and the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in India wrote to the Moderator of Dutch Reformed Church, which is Presbyterian in character. Also, the National Christian Council of India sent an official message to the National Christian Council of South Africa.

It was also decided on Mahatma Gandhi's advice that the time had not arrived to send an Indian Christian Deputation to South Africa. But if the need should arise, and Mahatma Gandhi should agree that the time *had* come for such a step, it would immediately be taken. The Indian Christian community, in every province, is fully alert to the demand which may be made upon it to help forward such a deputation, if and when the time should arrive for it to start.

C. F. A.

Gandhiji's Warning to Dr. Malan

Mr. C. F. Andrews' note printed above was in type when we read the following statement of Gandhiji in the morning papers of the 28th January last :

The news from the South Africa is disturbing. Dr. Malan is on the war path. He will enforce segregation by law. He will prohibit legal unions between the Whites and Asiatics. He will tolerate the Indians' presence only as hewers of wood and drawers of water; never as human beings, having equal opportunities and rights with the Whites.

"Here in India which is daily growing in consciousness of her self-respect and her right to be regarded as a free nation, this racial bar is resented.

"India's Independence is coming sooner than many people think. So far as I can see nothing can stop her march to her natural destiny.

"I myself envisage an alliance with Great Britain and the Dominions, if freedom is to come as a result of an honourable understanding between the two countries.

"But if the statesmen of South Africa continue the attitude of race superiority, alliance between unequals would become an impossibility.

"I look upon this war as a divine judgment. The whole world is directly or indirectly affected by it. Every nation subordinate or free has to make its choice. Personal wishes of the present actors are likely to be confounded.

"I would urge Dr. Malan and those South Africans who think with him to take a long view of things. He is, of course, on the right track, if he thinks, as many Africanders do, that God has created the white man to be lord and master of the coloured man. I hope that Dr. Malan is not one of them. Any way, I hope, General Smuts will resist the pressure that is being put upon him to adopt the reactionary legislation suggested by Dr. Malan."—*A. P.*

Alienation of Agricultural Land

Alienation of agricultural land is a problem which almost every agricultural country has

been compellled to face at one time or other. In Bengal, the right of transfer conferred on the tenants enables them to sell off their land. Agricultural land is in this way passing from agriculturists to non-agriculturists. It may be noted that the problem was not absent even as early as 1884, when Sir Richard Garth, the then Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, wrote in connection with the Bengal Tenancy Bill :

"I quite admit that to make the occupancy-right saleable would increase its value in the market. But it does not at all follow that this will be beneficial to the ryot himself. On the contrary, I consider that there is no surer mode of exterminating occupancy-ryots as a class than by permitting them to transfer their tenures."

His apprehensions have mostly come true. The Punjab had her Land Alienation Act as early as 1900 and the Royal Commission on Agriculture came to the conclusion that it had done substantial good inasmuch as at least 372,000 acres had been restored to agriculturists. The Commission further pointed out that, though the desirability of extending the principle of statutory restriction on the alienation of land to districts or provinces other than those in which it was then operative is one which can only be measured in the light of local conditions, still "the time has arrived when enquiry should once more be conducted into the extent to which the hereditary cultivating class is being expropriated by those who do not themselves cultivate the land." It finally said :

"We think that legislation on the lines suggested would, on the whole, be beneficial. We wish, however, to make plain our opinion that no legislation however wise and sympathetic, can save from himself the cultivator who, through ignorance or improvidence, is determined to work his own ruin."

B. C. S.

The Bengal Land Alienation Bill

A Bill entitled The Bengal Land Alienation Bill was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* on the 28th December last. It is a private bill, introduced by Md. Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri, and as such may have to wait long before being passed into law even if it is found acceptable by the legislature. But in view of the importance of the problem, the principles underlying the bill require consideration, specially when its effects may be far-reaching.

It has been stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that the Legislature before 1928 did not consider it proper to make the *raiyati* lands transferable, as they thought it would be against the interest of real *raiyats*, who being illiterate and improvident will quickly sell off their lands whenever faced with any financial difficulty. In 1928, however, the Legislature realised that in spite of no provision in the law about transfer of *raiyati* lands, occupancy-holdings were being sold and purchased freely. The Legislature thought it best to legalise the custom and the legalising of the salami and fixing its rate prevented the abuse of powers by oppressive landlords. But it did not prevent passing away of lands to the hands of non-agriculturists or accumulation of too large a quantity of land in the hands of individual *raiyats*. Hence the present Bill.

The Bill provides that

"no raiyat or under-raiyat shall transfer any land or his holding to any proprietor, tenure-holder, *jotedar* or non-agriculturist except under the following circumstances :—

"(*a*) When the proprietor, tenure-holder or *jotedar* is a resident of the village and has not already got more than 100 bighas in his *khas* or *barga* possession and the area proposed to be purchased will not make the total area after purchase in his possession or *barga* possession more than 100 bighas.

"(*b*) When the proprietor, tenure-holder or *jotedar* requires land for the purpose of homestead or *cutchery* and not more than 5 acres is wanted for the purpose.

"(*c*) When a non-agriculturist requires land for purpose of homestead and the area wanted is not more than 5 acres.

"(*d*) When any enterprising man or firm requires land for agriculture on scientific methods or for any public purpose and the Collector of the district certifies as to the *bona fides* of the purchaser and recommends the sale.

"(*e*) When any enterprising man or firm requires land for establishment of factories, etc., and the area is not more than 50 bighas.

"(*f*) When the transfer is in favour of a relation within 3 degrees of consanguinity."

Every deed of transfer must contain an endorsement from the transferer that the transferee is an agriculturist or falls within one of the exempted categories and if this endorsement is found false by any Civil Court within six years of the registration the transfer shall be cancelled and the land sold by bid to a *bona fide* agriculturist or any other person coming under the exceptions. If this sale also is found improper within six years of such sale, it would be cancelled, half of the sale proceeds going to the person at whose instance the sale was cancelled. Finally, if in any involuntary sale, the highest offer from bidders who can legally bid, falls short of the decretal money or if there be no bid from any proper bidder, the Court can temporarily make over the land to the decree-holder for a period not exceeding six years.

Having regard to the fact that land is passing away from the agricultural classes to non-agriculturists, some statutory measure preventing the transfer of agricultural land to non-agricul-

turists may not be unjustified. But it must also be remembered at the same time that the agriculturist in Bengal has no other asset excepting land. Regulation of money-lending in recent times has made it difficult for the *raiyats* to borrow easily even in times of need and, as the last *Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in Bengal* admits, this has in some cases made the position of the agriculturists extremely difficult. This Land Alienation Bill, therefore, is likely to hamper more seriously than any other recent measure the credit of the agriculturist. The Bill, if not accompanied by other measures providing cheap and controlled credit to the agriculturist, may serve some political and communal purpose but is not likely to do any real good. It was stated by the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee that one of the reasons why money-lenders are often compelled to charge high rates of interest is to be found in the low credit of the agriculturist. Any measure which is likely to minimise the creditworthiness of the *raiyats* is therefore to be specially deprecated, specially when the time has come to make every attempt for improving their creditworthiness.

Apart from this fundamental defect inherent in a measure of this type, the principles enunciated in this particular bill are not wholly acceptable. First, the bill has only a prospective and not a retrospective effect and those who already possess more than 100 bighas of land would not come within its ambit. Then again high pressure of population has resulted in a virtual famine of land and the total area per family is not likely to exceed 10 to 15 bighas. The proposed measure, in these circumstances, would provide no effective remedy in most cases, for it would apply to persons possessing at least 100 bighas of land. Thirdly, provision has been made in the bill for 50 bighas of land in the case of factories—a limit which is totally inadequate even for many middle-sized factories.

The Bill, however, has a special import from the point of view of the middle class. Non-agriculturists have been defined in the Bill as those " who are not *bona fide* tillers of the soil and do not cultivate land with their own hands. " The middle-class population of Bengal consisting chiefly of teachers, clerks, pleaders, physicians, etc., would as a class be excluded from the category of the agriculturists. It would not therefore be possible for a middle-class man to acquire a sufficiently large amount of land and thus provide himself with an additional source of income to be fallen back upon in times of difficulty. If transfer of land to non-agricultural people is a serious problem, this is also a problem not less serious in any way, for while the former is affecting adversely our whole social and economic structure, this too is likely to produce the same effect. While new avenues of employment are not being opened up for our middle class population, this further encroachment on a possible future source of income of theirs would certainly not be desirable.

Occupations cannot and should not be fixed in perpetuity. The cry of " Back to the land " has been heard for years. And it is not at all improbable that many persons belonging to the *bhadralok* class would take to the plough or the tractor. In any case, nothing should be done to prevent their taking to such an occupation. There is no law to prevent a person belonging to the agricultural class from becoming a clerk, a teacher, a professor, a lawyer, a trader, or a merchant. So there should not be any which would stand in the way of persons who follow these professions becoming real agriculturists.

It should be borne in mind that all owners of land belonging to the agricultural classes do not plough *all* their land with their own hands. When their holding is large, they have to depend on hired ploughmen. If such hiring does not destroy their right to own land, why should it destroy the right of " non-agriculturists " to own land ?

We would, therefore, request the sponsor of the Bill and others of his way of thinking to consider all possible aspects of the question. We do not approve of hasty legislation on vital matters. Good intentions or profession of good intentions are not enough : in spite of them the statute-book is already full of ill-drafted and ill-considered laws which have not cured the disease but have added to the list of our complications.

B. C. S.

The Co-operative Movement in the Punjab

The official view in India generally is that the working of co-operative societies has yielded better results in the Punjab than in other provinces. Without entering into a discussion of the question as to whether this is a fair and correct view, it must be admitted that the bureaucracy in India had, so far, better facilities for working the co-operative organisation in that province than elsewhere. The fact that the post of Registrar of Co-operative Societies has been held in the Punjab by a succession of brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service placed that province in an exceptionally advantageous position. No other province in India could boast of Registrars of the type of Calvert,

Strickland and Darling, and the Registrar, in accordance with the terms of the Co-operative Act, constituted the very foundation of the movement. This circumstance afforded to the authorities in the Punjab the fullest scope to mould and shape co-operative societies according to their wishes, the existing co-operative organisation in this country being mainly a government managed and government supervised concern.

We are led to make these observations on a perusal of *The Co-operative Movement in the Punjab* by Mr. Ata Ullah, M.A., Lecturer in Economics, Muslim University, Aligarh, (published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, Price 16s. net.), a copy of which has been lying on our table since some time past. The book supplies to the reader a fair account of the working and development of co-operative organisation in the Punjab and takes note of some of the more important and pressing among the problems of co-operative administration,—problems that have given rise to interminable controversies and await appropriate solution. The value of the work lies in the fact that it affords to the informed and discerning reader material on the basis of which he may form his independent estimate of the results of the Punjab experiment. At a time when the official control over co-operative societies in this country was being tightened more and more, completely ignoring the lessons of the past thirty-five years' working and in utter disregard of the declared intentions of the sponsors of the co-operative movement in India to the effect that this control should be gradually relaxed and the movement be based upon self-reliance and freedom from outside control and dictation, it was expected that the author would discuss in his work the fundamental problem of control in an appropriate manner. The book will be found to be disappointing from this point of view, especially as the future progress of the movement on right lines depends more on a proper solution of this question than on anything else. Nevertheless, it will be of use to co-operative workers desirous of finding out ways and means for rehabitating the co-operative movement in India and for placing it on a proper foundation, as the conditions under which co-operative societies are worked in the different provinces are in many matters of a similar nature. Dr. C. R. Fay, M.A., D. Sc., Reader in Economic History at the University of Cambridge, Chairman of the Horace Plunkett foundation, and author of the well-known work, *Co-Operation at Home and Abroad*, who contributes a short though suggestive preface to this work does not indulge in any exaggeration when he speaks of the author thus :

"He thinks for himself, and when his personal experience conflicts with the official view, he does not hesitate to say why."

The author cites examples of present methods of working, sums up results, suggests proposals for improvement and makes observations which at once show that things co-operative in the Punjab are not in reality as bright and spotless as they are often represented to be by apologists of the system of working co-operative societies by methods of bureaucratic direction and departmental tutelage. After thirty-five years' working of co-operative societies by some of the ablest members of the Indian Civil Service, which is claimed by certain people to be the most efficient service in the world, we are told that the co-operative society was still

"hailed by an indebted peasantry as a cheap money lending agency established by a beneficent Government for the welfare of the Punjab cultivators.

"In a vast majority of the societies, all that the members know about the society is that it is a *sarcari* bank, and its purpose is to advance cheap loans to the members."

And what has been the result of the provision of such cheap credit to the peasantry ? It is stated that during the last thirty-five years the cultivators have thought fit to utilise this increase in credit agencies towards enlarging their indebtedness. " They have, " we are told, " borrowed from the money-lender and the society. Repayments to the society have been made by borrowing from the *Sahukar,* who in his turn has been paid by means of the accommodation provided by the society ". The author comes to the following conclusion :

"We know that the provision of this cheap and controlled credit, if we can call it so, has certainly failed to bring the required transformation in the rural economy of the country."

It is not denied that whatever its blemishes, co-operative organisation in the Punjab has in certain spheres yielded valuable results. But, as our author points out, the time has come for a proper enquiry into the working of co-operative societies in the Province with a view to removing the various defects that stand in the way of reform and progress and to giving the organisation a new orientation; it was time all concerned realised the extreme inadequacy of the co-operative movement as a method of revitalising the peasants of the province. He adds :

"A critical review of the working of the movement has long been overdue. Let the problem of the move-

ment be studied with a view to a future programme for education and co-operation for therein lies the only hope of ensuring the existence of a sturdy peasantry (now on the verge of collapse). Hasten the appointment of a Committee on Co-operation; and thus enable the Province to avoid the mistakes of the past, and have a progressive plan for the future."

As the writer says, the interests of co-operation and of the Punjab alike demand that such an enquiry should be held and held without any further delay.

The authorities in the Punjab do not appear to be in any mood to listen to the advice of our author for an enquiry. This disinclination to follow the example of other provincial governments, who had deemed it proper to conduct such enquiries, is to be deplored. It is extremely unfortunate that this serious mistake has also been repeated by the Bengal Ministry who, disregarding the repeated demands for an enquiry, and wholly ignoring the serious allegations that have been levelled of late against the way co-operative societies are being worked and controlled by the department at the present moment in this province have, on the advice of the department, placed before the legislature a most reactionary and retrograde Co-operative Bill—a measure which strikes at the very root of genuine co-operation in the province.

Quinquennial Review on Educational "Progress" in Bengal

Among the official publications of Government one of the most important is the Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education. This is issued by the Central Government for the whole country and by the various Provincial Governments for their respective areas, at intervals of every five years. The publication of the Review is awaited with great expectancy by the general public, as it affords them an opportunity to obtain an idea of the actual progress achieved, and at the same time to test the ardour and earnestness of the authorities in pressing forward the cause of educational advance. The Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for the years 1932-37 was issued some time ago. This important official report seems, so far, to have escaped any notice in the press, except, perhaps, the comments that appeared in the columns of a communal favourite almost immediately after the issue of the Review. We do not know if there are any rules according to which such official publications are nowadays circulated by the authorities. Neither have we the means of ascertaining the nature of their distribution list. But we fear that the purpose of such publications, along with the amount of energy and expense incurred, comes to naught if these are simply allowed to lie quiescent on the shelves of the Secretariat under deposits of accumulating dust. We have just been able to have a glance at the Review through the kindly offices of a friend who has been favoured with a copy as he happens to be a member of the legislature. What strikes us as extraordinary is that the present issue should be printed without the usual resolution of Government on the subject. It would certainly be interesting to enquire as to what occult reason brought about this disposition to hide their light under a bushel in the present instance. This appears to one to be rather amazingly incomprehensible when one places side by side with this the richly printed, profusely illustrated and fantastically exaggerated report of the achievements of the present Bengal Ministry from the 1st April, 1937 to the 31st March, 1938, published and broadcast under their authority.

Education in Bengal

It was generally felt that an adequate extension and improvement of education was not possible so long as a foreign bureaucracy were allowed to guide and control the educational policy in India, as they could not be expected to display the same alertness and zeal for a rapid diffusion of education among the people of the country which an Indian would very naturally evince. The Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for the years 1932-1937, to which a brief reference has just been made, shows that although education in Bengal has, since the inauguration of the Montagu Reforms, been in charge of Indian Ministers, most of whom have been Muslims, the conditions in this Province are at the present moment as deplorable and unsatisfactory as, if not worse than, they were before. The Review deals with a variety of topics such as primary education, secondary education, University and collegiate education, education of girls and women, education of Muslims, education of backward classes, education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians and other special classes, education of defectives and delinquents, professional education, industrial and commercial education, physical education, medical care, Sanskrit and Islamic studies, selection of text-books, public libraries, administrative control, etc., and these are dealt with in separate sections. Each of these topics is by itself a very important subject, but what is most lamentable is that in none of these can one entertain, on a perusal of the

Review, even a faint ray of hope of future progress. It is true that the Review marks the end of the Montagu constitution. But the report of the two succeeding years of Provincial Autonomy from the 1st April, 1937 to the 31st March, 1939, published under the authority of the present Ministry, which officially records the progress made during the period, taken along with the events of the subsequent ten months, does not in any way make the position less disheartening. Prior to the advent of Provincial Autonomy, Bengal was for a number of years placed in an extremely disadvantageous position, on account of an almost chronic state of financial difficulty. This difficulty did not exist during the last three years, with the result that the present Bengal Ministry were able to make substantial additional grants for education. We do not minimize the importance of increased educational grants, but more increased expenditure on education does not by itself result in educational progress. What is needed is fair and judicious expenditure. The Review directs attention to the fact that Bengal "no longer occupies the position it had in the educational world of India before the inauguration of the Reforms." The situation demands that immediate and vigorous steps should be taken to reorganise and reconstruct the present educational system from top to bottom with a view to making it suitable to Bengal and to adopting it to the needs of the people of the Province and further that adequate funds be made available to give effect to such a scheme of planned education for the widest diffusion of knowledge among the people.

Deathless Freedom of the Poles

PARIS, Jan. 23.

M. Paderewski, Pianist, ex-President of Poland, has been elected President (Speaker), of Poland's Provisional Parliament.—*Reuter.*

PARIS, Jan. 24.

In a speech to the Polish National Council General Sikorski said that the reconstructed Polish army in France would shortly have 100,000 men.—*Reuter.*

PARIS, Jan. 23.

M. Paderewski was today elected President of the National Council of the Polish Republic which held its meeting at the Polish Embassy in Paris today. The Council's first act was to pass a motion of sympathy with Finland.

The meeting of Poland's Provisional Parliament was held in the richly-gilded and ornate Louis XV Ball Room of the Polish Embassy. Despite his age and physical weakness, M. Paderewski has retained his power to move his hearers.

M. Paderewski said: "Poland is immortal. We shall deliver her from her captivity and raise her up from her ruins. Our army after having won the final victory beside the Allied armies of France and Britain will re-enter our country with its flags flying and bringing on the point of its bayonets liberty to our oppressed brothers."

M. Paderewski expressed the view that recent Governments had been largely responsible for the fate of Poland and urged that these misfortunes should be a lesson. He concluded: "Martyred brothers, Poland will not perish. She will live eternally powerful and glorious for you, for us and for all humanity."

Although he read the speech in quiet and almost feeble tones, there were tears in his eyes and of the members of the National Council, and the only woman member was crying quietly.—*Reuter.*

Hertzog's Motion in South African Assembly for Concluding Peace with Germany.

CAPETOWN, Jan. 27.

In the South African Assembly, General Hertzog's motion was defeated by 81 votes to 59.

General Hertzog's resolution, moved on January 23, declared that the time had come for the state of war against Germany to be ended and peace restored. General Hertzog contended that South Africa entered the war for the sake of Britain and accusation that Germany desired world domination was unfounded and unjust.

The debate on General Hertzog's motion had lasted nearly five days.

FLING AT PRO-GERMANS

The all-night sitting of the Assembly which had been debating General Hertzog's peace motion since Tuesday showed no signs of coming to a speedy end when the morning dawned. Back-benchers held the field since mid-night. Mr. Burnside (Labour) accused General Hertzog of preparing his speech in advance so that it could be used by Zeesen (German overseas broadcast) and said that it would have been better if he had never held office. As for Mr. Pirow, Mr. Burnside declared, he had inherited every German characteristic except the ability to organize the army.

Mr. Havenga, formerly the Minister of Finance in General Hertzog's Government, said that the Government speeches were largely of a propaganda character and aimed at calling General Hertzog pro-Nazi but no reason had been given why the South African people should enter war any more than large numbers of neutral nations throughout the world.

ANOTHER VERSAILLES?

Mr. Havenga asked General Smuts whether the war would not result in another Versailles and expressed the hope that nations would come to their senses and end "this foolish, futile war before too much blood and treasure has been spent."

Mr. Hofmeyr, Minister for Finance, said: "We all long for peace, but there is apparently a difference between the sort of peace we desire and the peace General Hertzog desires. General Hertzog's peace would not end the nightmare of Nazism."

He added the Opposition's attitude towards Parliament's decision to declare war was a misjudgment of the democratic ideal. General Hertzog wanted the Union to strike her flag and forsake her friends, but they were determined not to do so.

HERTZOG'S REPLY

General Hertzog, replying to the debate, said that whatever the result of the vote might be, South Africa's

call for peace had been heard and her demand that her men should not be sacrificed on the altar of European wars. He added that it had always been understood that South Africa and the other Dominions should not take part in a war unless Britain was threatened. He ridiculed the idea that Hitler was out for world domination. He argued that the Treaty of Versailles was to blame for the war.

The Government majority of 22 was larger than had been expected.

It was announced in Capetown today that an agreement had been reached between General Hertzog and the Nationalist Republican leader Dr. Malan providing for a united opposition in the Assembly but it is not expected to affect General Smuts' majority.

The voting reflects the increase in support in the House for the policy of General Smuts. During the course of the debate it was estimated that Government would command eighteen more votes than the Opposition.—*Reuter*.

The voting shows that pro-German feeling in South Africa is not negligible. It is good for the cause of freedom, however, that it has not found scope for any mischief.

Party For Making South Africa A Republic

CAPETOWN, Jan. 28.

The parliamentary groups led by Mr. Hertzog and Dr. Malan reached an agreement for mutual co-operation and the agreement is subject to the approval of the Congress of both groups. A statement issued tonight says that both the parties are convinced that a "republican form of Government separated from the British Crown is the best suited to the traditions and aspirations of South African people."

It adds that this is the only effective guarantee that South Africa won't again be drawn into wars of Great Britain.

The new party known as the Reunited Nationalist or People's Party will strive to remove all obstacles which hinder the achievement of this aim. The statement declares that the Republic can only be achieved on broad basis of national will and with due regard to equal language and cultural rights of the two sections of white population.

"This can only be brought about as a special definite mandate from the voters and not merely as a result of mere parliamentary majority. The membership of the party won't be denied to any national minded Afrikander who is prepared to adhere to party obligations but is not convinced of the desirability of creating a Republic in the present circumstances."—*Reuter.*

Artist Bhabani Churn Law's Generous Offer

Sj. Barada Charan Ukil, Secretary, All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society of New Delhi, sends us the welcome news that Sj. Bhabani Churn Law, artist, of Calcutta, has generously offered to meet the entire cost of the Bengal wing in the National Art Gallery to be established at New Delhi shortly. Sj. Law is a scion of a branch of the wealthy Law family of Calcutta. Three of the scions of three other



Sj. Bhabani Churn Law

branches of the family are noted for their devotion to and patronage of the branches of knowledge in which they have distinguished themselves. It is a pleasure to note that another scion of the family, who is devoted to Art, has decided to promote the cause of Art in India by a munificent donation.

Political Science Conference

The second session of the Indian Political Science Conference held its meeting on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th January last at Lahore. It was, as reports show, a successful session and teachers of political science and publicists have taken rather enthusiastically to it. The *Journal* of the Association is also an instructive and useful publication.

Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab, opened the Political Science Conference with an interesting speech. Incidentally he referred to the position of a governor in an Indian province. He rightly observed that no analogy to the position of a governor could be discovered elsewhere, except in Greek dramas. The comparison, as the *Tribune* of Lahore pointed out, is

more than an apt one, for just as the *Deus ex Machina* was the ultimate resolver of difficulties, he was also the originator of all troubles. Sir Henry Craik apparently did not desire to be caught in his own trap : but he has unwittingly become a victim of criticism.



Dr. P. N. Banerjea

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, a former Minto Professor of Economics of the Calcutta University, presided over the session. In the course of a lucid address covering a large variety of subjects the President sought to " bridge the gulf " between academic students of the science on the one hand and the politicians on the other. His plea was also for bridging the gulf between Britain and India.

Muslim Leaders' Appeal For Independence

The following appeal was issued on the 25th January by many of the Muslim leaders of Bengal asking Muslims to join the Independence Day celebrations :

"Islam always stands for equality, freedom, universal brotherhood, democracy and nationalism. From time immemorial, we Mussalmans hold the view that one country contains one nation without any distinction of colour, religion, caste, etc. So India holds one nation composed of Hindus, Muslims, Jains, Christians, Parsis, Sikhs, etc. It is for the first time in the history of India that the idea of Indian nationalism, that is, the idea of greater India under the Mughals had been formed, although India is inhabited by different communities and races professing different faiths. We, Indian Muslims now, therefore, form part and parcel of this Indian nation as before. We, Indian Muslims have so long made a glorious record in the contribution to the struggle for Indian independence. Now, we, Indian Mussalamans lack our national and public duties towards our country, if we do not celebrate the " Independence Day " on the 26th of January, throughout the length and breadth of the country. All patriotic Indian Muslims—men and women, most ardently expect that the British Government should now respond to the Indian National demand and implement the war aims of Great Britain and their application to India after the end of the present war."

"Apart from the call of our patriotism no Mussalman can deny the teachings of the Holy Quran and risk traditions of the Holy Prophet which run in our blood, we should not only observe the " Independence Day " but also stand shoulder to shoulder with our own fellow-countrymen in our great trial for emancipating ourselves from political slavery in this critical juncture of the world history."

Fight for Freedom

" We have an undying confidence in our hearts that the nine crores of Indian Muslims having helped to win Freedom possess enough strength and courage and know how to protect their own legitimate interests in the Free India."

" After the end of this war, the world will be altogether changed; and freedom of a subject nation such as India should be recognised, in order to adapt herself to the changed world."

" Lastly, millions of the downtrodden—Indian Muslim masses, need Independence most to save themselves from starvation, and all patriotic Muslims are not blind to the fact that the primary duties and obligations of a modern civilised State, *i.e.*, health, education, sanitation, medical treatment, irrigation, etc., are not being to an expected extent exercised by the British Government being always bent on exploiting and draining off country's wealth to the detriment of the children of the soil."

" We may, therefore, make an earnest appeal that the Mussalmans will participate in their thousands in the celebration that will be held in Calcutta, Bengal and elsewhere all over India on that day and thus prove to the world and to all other Islamic countries that we, Muslims no longer lag behind our fellow-countrymen of other communities in our natural desire and struggle for freedom."

Mohammed Hossain, Maqbul Hossain, M.L.A., Ameer Ali, Md. Fazlul Huque, Abdul Hai, Taru Mean, Vice-Chairman, Comilla Municipality, Abdul Jabbar, Nazir Ahmed, Abdul Halim, Nur Mohammed, Mohammed Osman, Syed Habibur Rahaman, President, Bakarganj District Krishak-Proja Samity, Barisal, Kazi Shamsuddin Khadem, Abdul Malek, President, Tripura Zeela Krishak Samity, A. F. M. Fazlul Huque, Pandit Jamiruddin Bhuian, Abdul Aziz, Abdul Hakim Hazari, Abu Taher, Abdul Kader Khondakar, Hossain Ali and many others.

A similar appeal was issued by the Muslim leaders of Bombay.

London "Times" on the Muslim League

NEW DELHI, Jan. 25.

Vigorous criticism appears in the London *Times* of the attitude taken up by Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. In the course of a long editorial comment which reached New Delhi today the *Times* says :

"Firstly, the League, although the number of its members is impressive, no more represents Muslim India than the Congress represents India as a whole. There are many Muslim bodies which do not follow Mr. Jinnah's lead and by no means are all League members content with his leadership.

"Secondly, some of his recent utterances have given the impression that the British policy of defending the lawful interests of the minorities has encouraged him to think that members of the Muslim League are entitled to veto any and every constitutional advance simply because they are the minority. Purely negative attitude of that kind is really just as great an obstacle to political progress as are the totalitarian claims of more advanced members of the Congress."

The paper, though it charges Congress Governments with "eccentricities" which tended to nullify their great work says :

"It is true that Congress Ministries in provinces where their party was lately in power appear to have been well-disposed to the Muslim minority."—*H. S.*

Though the *Times'* hits at the Congress may please Janab Jinnah Saheb, its criticism of the Muslim League's claim to represent all Indian Muslims should convince him that the British Government does not admit that claim; for the *Times* generally gives expression to the official view in matters like this. Shri Jinnah should also similarly understand that he will not be allowed by the British Government to veto what that Government may consider constitutional advance. A third thing which he should be able to infer from the *Times'* criticism is that his and his henchmen's allegations that the Congress Governments of the six or seven provinces had oppressed the Muslims are considered false in British official circles; for the Congress Ministries which were "well-disposed to the Muslim minority" could not possibly have deliberately oppressed that minority.

The *Times* says the number of the Muslim League's members is impressive;—just as a muddy stream or pool may be claimed to be deep, we suppose. For the Muslim League has all along had the discretion not to divulge the number of its members, which is believed to be small. In any case, it is smaller than the number of Muslim members of the Congress.

In the opinion of the *Times* the "claims of more advanced members of the Congress" are totalitarian. In what sense exactly the *Times* considers them totalitarian is not quite clear. Perhaps it refers to the alleged claim that "the Congress represents India as a whole." We are afraid the Congress claim has been either misunderstood or misrepresented, or both. So far as we know, the Congress never claimed to represent all individuals and every individual in India. What it claims is that all communities, classes, castes, creeds, etc. are or can be represented in and by it, which is not true of any communal or sectional organization.

Jinnah's Charges Not To Be Enquired Into

In the foregoing note we have said that the charges of oppressing Muslims brought by Shri Jinnah against the Congress Ministries are considered false in Government circles. This inference of ours receives confirmation from the following cable :

LONDON, Jan. 25.

In the House of Commons asked whether it was proposed to hold an enquiry into the allegations made by Mr. Jinnah with regard to the treatment of minorities by Congress Government Sir Hugh O'Neill said that he could not believe that the interests of either party to the dispute or of the peoples of India as a whole would be served by a formal enquiry into the matter. Any such enquiry would necessarily have to proceed on the evidence taken all over India and would last many months during the course of which the communal feeling which had already displayed might be embittered.—*Reuter.*

Independence Day Celebrations

On the 26th January last Independence Day was celebrated in all parts of India by large and enthusiastic gatherings in numerous cities, towns and villages. These gatherings generally consisted of persons of both sexes, all ages and various communities.

Let us all bear in mind every day of our lives that the Independence Pledge requires us all to make ceaseless endeavours to win freedom and independence for our country and nation.

In Bengal and Calcutta owing to differences in Congress ranks and to the Congress indifference to the Hindus' grievances and the enthusiasm roused among Hindus by the Hindu Mahasabha session, there was some possibility of the Congress Independence day not being observed with as much ardour as in previous years. But in the nick of time the communal Bengal ministry came to the rescue. On the 25th January there were numerous house searches and consequent arrests. These gave the requisite fillip to the celebrations.

Crowded meetings of Indians and British friends of India celebrated Independence Day in London. Messages were received from Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Prof. J. B. S.

Haldane, the Dean of Canterbury and others. Several M. P.s were present and supported India's claim.

How Government " Honours " Its Servants and Others

In the latest number of *Harijan* Gandhiji has presented to its readers "the following instructions (culled from a newspaper cutting) for bowing for those who were to receive decorations at the hands of H. E. the Governor of the United Provinces" on the 16th January last, with comments of his own:—

" When your name is read out by the Secretary you will kindly move on to the edge of the carpet and you first bow to His Excellency.

"Then advance to the centre of the carpet and bow again.

"Then advance to the foot of the dais on which His Excellency will be standing and bow again.

" You will then be invested by His Excellency. His Excellency will then shake hands with you. Then you should bow.

" Then proceed four paces backwards and bow again.

"Then turn about and proceed to your seat."

All officers, military or police, attending in head-dress will salute and not bow.

" N.B.—The bow should be made by bending the head forward only and should not be made from the waist."

Sir Samuel Hoare says imperialism is dead. Every Congressman knows that it is dying. These instructions show that it will die hard. I never knew that this process of humiliation still continued. Decorations themselves are a symbol of imperialism.

They are a means of overawing and bribing people, a reward for so-called loyal services and sometimes for gaining the applause or the silent approbation of distinguished men and women. When these decorations are accompanied by humiliating ceremonial they excite angry feelings and mad passions of those who come to know about them. It is to be hoped that, while a move towards real democracy is being made, those who are in charge will make it a point of removing everything that savours of superiority and the humiliating spirit.—*U. P.*

These instructions, we presume, are meant for the official and non-official Indians whom the Government wants to " honour " and " decorate. " They cannot be meant for the proud free-born countrymen of the British governors.

Even at present when India's political status is that of a subject country, non-officials with sufficient backbone can escape these indignities by refusing to accept " honours." But there is no escape for Government servants whom the Government wish to " decorate. "

All-India Women's Conference

ALLAHABAD, Jan. 27.

The open session of the All-India Women's Conference started here in the Senate Hall of the Allahabad University this evening under the presidency of Begum Hamid Ali. Rani Laxmibai Rajwade the outgoing president formally proposed Begum Hamid Ali to the chair.

Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, president of the reception committee then read out her address of welcome.

The General Secretary, Mrs. S. N. Ray then presented the annual report.

Begum Hamid Ali next delivered her presidential address.

Lady Rama Rau and Miss Marjorie Sykes attended the session by special invitation.

The Hon. Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon, Sir Syed Wazir Hasan, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Bahadur Mr. Abu Muhammad, Pandit Amarnath Jha and Mrs. Naidu addressed the conference on special request.

Earlier in the afternoon Rani Laxmibai Rajwade opened an exhibition of Women's Handicraft.—*A. P.*

Rabindranath Tagore's ' Maghotsav ' Utterance

SANTINIKETAN, Jan. 27.

" Know that all that moves in this moving world is pervaded by God. Enjoy, with renunciation : do not covet that which does not belong to you, we should do well to try to realise on such an occasion the meaning of this injunction of the Upanishads."

So said Dr. Tagore while addressing the inmates of Santiniketan at an evening 'mandir' service yesterday on the occasion of the Maghotsav.

Continuing, he referred to the utter bankruptcy of modern civilisation which, he said, was heading for an irrevocable and cataclysmic end.

" The history of modern times," said Dr. Tagore, " is rendered a woeful narration of jealousy and hatred owing to the unleashing everywhere of brutal forces. Of such forces, easily the most perfidious is greed, and, we can all see how Europe, today, is being consumed by covetousness. In spite of his so-called progress and enlightenment man is precipituously reverting to that primitive age when the satisfaction of barbaric passions count most with him. Europe is paying a heavy toll indeed for her numerous piracies and plundering raids carried on through centuries. As long as man does not reassert to his own self and to others the supreme value of the moral forces of love and fellowship, so long he is bound to go bereft of all those attributes which make him truly human. Today, when demons of greed and godlessness seem to get the better of all that is best in man, we should do well to ponder deeply over the significance of the words, ' know that all that moves in this moving world is pervaded by God. Enjoy, with renunciation : do not covet that which does not belong to you.' "

Dr. Tagore also read out a long article composed especially on the occasion. He referred to the triumphs of human mind which had been helping man in his evolutionary endeavour ever since his rude and barbaric beginning. He regretted that in spite of intellectual heights attained so far by man, he was going steadily down, morally as well as spiritually. The quest of science was truth and truth, the Poet said, should serve to bring about unity and harmony. He referred to the European conflagration as an instance where human spirit was being violated for the sake of vested interests and for filching what did not rightfully belong to the contending parties.

Concluding, he said that India's highest truths have

always met with the deepest disrespect from her own sons. For himself, the Poet said he had long ago received in his heart the message of the sages which enjoins the worship of Shantam, Shivam and Advaitam He prayed that man might find peace through mutual friendship and love.—*A. P.*

Subhas Chandra Bose on his U. P. Tour

The following passages are taken from Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's account of his tour in the United Provinces :

An indirect form of boycott by Congress Committees had to be encountered by them at several places. A circular of the Provincial Congress Committee went so far as to ban attendance of four-anna Congress members in our meetings of the 26th. In addition to these, a curious type of propaganda has been set on foot against us. In most places interested persons spread a rumour to the effect that my tour programme had been cancelled and in a few districts the cancellation of my tour programme was attributed to my departure for Wardha on invitation. But all these efforts met with a signal failure.

From start to finish the tour was a magnificent success—the success was due not merely to the vast crowds who responded to our call but also to the enthusiasm with which they came. The poor but sturdy peasants walked long distances on foot to attend the functions and it was an inspiration to see them. Signs of hunger were stamped on their faces. It was the hunger not for bread but for freedom as well I only addressed them for a few minutes for I could see their eyes gleam with a new fire and their faces lit with new hopes. The revolutionary spark is already a flame in them and I could feel it was this spark which brought the spectre of anarchy and red ruin in the minds of the erstwhile revolutionary leaders.

Some Important Hindu Mahasabha Resolutions

The following are some of the important resolutions passed at the Hindu Mahasabha session held in Calcutta recently :

The first resolution condemned the policy of the Government of India in the North-West Frontier, and declared that the administration of the Ministry, led by Dr. Khan Sahib, had proved a failure.

Bengal Ministry's Policy Condemned : This resolution recorded the "strong protest of the Hindu Mahasabha, against the communal and reactionary policy" of the Ministry. It gave twenty alleged instances of such a policy.

The twenty instances of alleged communal prejudice mentioned in the resolution, include the following : *Passing of the Calcutta Municipal Amendment* Act; introduction of the Communal Ratio in the Public Services; the overriding of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission on communal considerations; discriminatory treatment against Hindu officers in the Public Services; the posting, transferring and promotion of officers on communal considerations; Moslemisation of certain Services, especially the Education Service, at the cost of efficiency; discrimination against Hindus in the matter of grants and distribution of stipends and scholarships and the location of schools; attempts to corrupt Bengali language and to undermine the foundations of Hindu culture; interference with liberty of speech, freedom of the Press and freedom of association of the Hindus : and failure to give protection to the Hindus against Moslem aggression.

Fundamental Rights : Resolutions on the social programme of the Hindu Mahasabha and Fundamental Rights were moved from the Chair and accepted without a debate.

The resolution on the social programme advocated the establishment of contact with the Hindu masses and the removal of untouchability in all forms in public places and affairs.

The resolution on Fundamental Rights declared that all the citizens of India were entitled, among other things, to a decent standard of living, free and compulsory primary education and training in all the arms of the army, navy and air force, so as to be able to defend India against foreign aggression, and to the right of free association and free expression.

Hindu Sangathan Movement : A resolution declaring that the Hindu "Sangathan" (Consolidation) and "Shuddhi" (Reconversion) movement was a vital necessity for the strengthening and consolidation of the Hindus of India, and that it was necessary to pay particular attention to the encouragement of physical culture among Hindu youths and the economic uplift of the Hindus.

A Hindu Militia : The resolution called upon all Hindus between the ages of 18 and 45 to enlist in the Militia forthwith. It also urged the Provincial Mahasabhas to undertake the establishment of the Militia.

Resolution on the War : The resolution on the war and the defence of India affirmed, in view of the statement made by the British Government that its object in declaring war is to safeguard the vital principles of freedom and democracy and in view of the fact that nowhere is there greater necessity for the application of these principles than in India and the task of defending India from any military attack is the common concern of England and India, and as India is unfortunately not in a position today to carry out that responsibility unaided, that there is ample room for whole-hearted co-operation between India and England. In order to make such co-operation effective the British Government should, it was urged, immediately introduce responsible Government at the centre; redress the grievous wrong done to the Hindus by the Communal Award; remove all artificial distinctions between the so-called "martial" and "non-martial" races, and complete the Indianisation of the army as early as possible; modify the Indian Arms Act; expand the Indian Territorial Force and the University Training Corps; and make adequate arrangements for the training of the people in all branches of the defence force so as to make it ready for all emergencies.

India's Political Goal : Five resolutions were then moved from the chair. The first reaffirmed complete independence as the goal of the India's political aspirations, and urged that a constitution based upon Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminster be conferred on India immediately.

The resolution recorded the Mahasabha's emphatic protest against the recent statements of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State that the further constitutional progress of India must depend upon a solution of the communal and minority problems.

Provincial Boundaries : The second resolution ex-

pressed the opinion of the Mahasabha that provincial boundaries should be re-distributed on the natural basis of affinities of race, language, culture, customs and usages.

Co-operation in Census Operations: Two of the remaining resolutions referred to the offering of all possible co-operation to the authorities in the taking of a census, and the protection of cows.

We are against the use of the word *Shuddhi*, as it implies that all non-Hindus are impure, which is not true. It is offensive and insulting. But Hindus certainly have the right to convert others to their faith.

No Indian Religious Group A Nation by Itself

In no country no religious group, however large, forms a nation by itself. Sj. V. D. Savarkar thinks on the contrary that the Hindus, the largest religious group in India, form the Indian nation by themselves. We do not agree. His view lends indirect support to the fancy of some Indian Mussalmans that they form a nation by themselves.

If the Hindus alone are members of the Indian nation, then only those Britishers who are Protestants are members of the British nation, for they are the biggest group, and those Britishers who follow the Catholic, Jewish or Muslim faith or are agnostics or atheists, do not form part of the British nation.

Members of which particular single race, religious community, linguistic group, nationality, ..., form the American nation by themselves alone in the United States of America? There are so many of them there.

There are at least a hundred nationalities in Soviet Russia, professing various religions and atheism and speaking some 200 languages in round numbers. Do they form a nation?

We do not agree with those Indian Muslims who think they have a different all-India culture of their own. Except Pushtu, spoken in N.-W. F. P., every Indian language which is the mother-tongue of the Muslims in any area is also the mother-tongue of the Hindus in that area. The Urdu language and literature are the joint creation of both Hindus and Muslims. All other provincial literatures are the literatures of the Hindus, Christians, Muslims, etc., who are the children of those provinces. Indian music is the same for all Indian religious communities. Indian art, too, is a common possession and common pursuit.

The subject cannot be discussed in greater detail in a brief note.

Numbers of the Hindu and Muslim Minorities in the Provinces

MADRAS, Jan. 18.

The Madras Legislature Congress party has issued a booklet entitled *Minorities in Madras*, explaining the position of Muslims as well as of certain other groups in a "typical province" in matters falling within the purview of the Provincial Government.

The booklet observes that the problem of minorities has been made to loom large in the discussion of the Indian constitutional issue, and it is desirable to clear up some vague impressions which the propaganda may have created.

The booklet points out that 29 million Hindus live in provinces wherein under the present constitution Mussalmans elected under separate electorates must hold Governmental authority for all time, as against 20 million Mussalmans living in provinces with Hindu majorities.

It adds "in the light of this fact, it is dfficult to make out that Islam is in danger or that Mussalmans are exposed to the risks of Governmental tyranny in the provinces.

"If we take up the Indian States we find even there that as against a little over seven million Muslims under non-Muslim rulers, there are more than fourteen million Hindus living in States governed by Muslim rulers. There seems, therefore, to be no cause for any nervousness on the part of Mussalmans."—*A. P.*

Sri C. Rajagopalachari on Independence and Dominion Status

In the course of an address to the students of the Madras Christian College on January 24 last,

Referring to the future political status of this country, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the difference between Dominion Status and Independence depended upon British interpretation, upon the British law and upon the British constitution. The Dominions might be recast in some other way after the war. They might re-arrange themselves in a different manner to be more efficient. It was not constitutionally impossible for the Westminster Statute to be revised or altered. Hence it was not an unreal difference. The nation's goal should be complete freedom nationally. That the British Parliament had recognised a general status for the Dominions was not a thing by which they could govern themselves for all time. Therefore, their goal should be independence of the British constitution.

The speaker added that Dominion Status today might be equivalent to complete freedom. It might be even better, because they got a navy without paying for it, though it was not the same thing as complete freedom. The goal of the Congress was something different from Dominion Status. But it did not mean that, at any particular time, the one or the other was not the wise thing to take up. That should be left, for the politicians and need not be decided just now.

From this one may fairly infer that Sri Rajagopalachari is inclined to accept Dominion Status for the present and to work for the final goal of independence of the British constitution and connection.

The remark that Dominion Status may be even better than complete freedom "because they (we) got a navy without paying for it," overlooks the fact that protection by others frees us from the duty of developing our own strength and resources and thus keeps us weak and in real bondage.

Where Gandhiji and Rajaji Disagree

Rajaji thinks that in one respect Dominion Status is even better than complete freedom, as by the former India would get a navy without paying for it, implying that such British aid would be acceptable. Gandhiji on the other hand thinks that *hijrat* would be preferable to accepting (so-called) British military aid for the protection of life, property and honour of women from the attack of budmashes.

Sri Rajagopalachari on Congress and Muslim League

In the course of the same address,

Referring to the Muslim League and the Congress, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the claim of the League that they were a separate nation was not a correct claim. If they had that consciousness, the face of India would not present the appearance it presented now. If they took the early documents of the Muslim League, they would find a wholly different story. They also aimed, like the Congress, at one national freedom and one Government. But something had happened to create a new desire now.

Mr. Rajagopalachari was convinced that the quarrels between the League and the Congress would soon end. But Britain should not be permitted to exploit these quarrels. The Muslims were not a small minority. They were big enough to influence any majority. It was not necessary for them to call in Britain to see that the Hindus behaved properly towards them if the latter went wrong.

Caste and Untouchability

Recently Srimati Rameshwari Nehru, president of the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal ("Caste-breaking League") communicated a resolution of the Mandal to the Congress urging the latter to take effective measures for the suppression of caste mentality, as the division of the people into numerous castes made the growth of a compact nation impossible. In acknowledging her letter Acharya Kripalani, general secretary of the Congress, wrote :

"The Congress policy has so far been confined to the removal of untouchability in all shapes and forms. Our belief is that once untouchability is removed from Hinduism, the caste system will automatically disappear."

But, though untouchability is the worst feature of caste, the abolition of the former will not destroy the latter. The following observations of Sj. A. V. Thakkar, the chief organizer of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, confirm this view :

". . . untouchability as observed in India though connected with the pursuit of unclean occupations and eating of unclean food, is not based on it. As an institution it is the logical result of the caste system, which seems to be an organic part of Hindu social organization. It can therefore be completely abolished only by the abolition of the present caste system or at least its transformation. Our Sangh is doing neither, for our aim is more limited."

The Brahmo Samaj, which seeks to do away with caste root and branch is, therefore, right, and so also is the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal.

Dismal Educational Situation in Bengal

In the course of his preliminary observations on the progress of education in Bengal in the *Ninth Quinquennial Review*, Mr. A. K. Chanda, of the Indian Educational Service, who is now Principal, David Hare Training College, Calcutta, describes his *Review* as a dismal one. A feature of the *Review* in that it supplies figures for the quinquennial years ending the 31st March, 1922, 1927, 1932 and 1937. This makes it possible and easy to estimate the progress that has been made during the fifteen years the Montagu constitution was in force, when education was in charge of an Indian Minister selected from among the elected members of the Legislature. The following excerpt from the *Review* shows how primary and secondary education has fared during this period, mostly under Muslim control. The *Review* states :

The education of the masses has suffered most as a result; this is not to say that there has been any retrogression; but in the pre-Reform days, greater importance was given to University and Collegiate education than to primary education and the primary school course was not a self-contained course, marking the end of a definite stage in the scheme of education. At the end of the quinquennium, the position is very nearly what it was 15 years ago. In spite of the predominantly rural and agricultural character of the province, the education given is better adapted to train boys for employment in the towns as clerks or at best in one of the limited number of learned professions.

The control of secondary education is still chaotic as it was in the past and hardly anything has been done to increase the quality of teachers in secondary schools. The facilities available for the full training of secondary school teachers are as meagre as they were in 1921; in fact, expenditure on Training Colleges has been cut down ruthlessly as a temporary measure of economy from 1933 onwards.

There has been very little increase in the expenditure on education from provincial revenues since 1922; indeed in 1937 Government actually spent Rs. 7,00,000 less on education than it did in 1927.

The *Review* admits that the high hopes that were raised, when with the inauguration of the Montagu Reforms education became a transferred subject, have not been fulfilled in this province and quotes the following opinion expressed in the Government resolution on education, published in July 1935, to show the actual position at the time; and matters have not materially improved since then. The Government resolution observes :

The result for education has been disastrous. What was bad has become worse and what was tolerable had in many instances become bad. Improvements long meditated and long overdue, had to be postponed indefinitely and instead of even normal progress, there was at many points a visible retrogression.

The position, it will be seen, is most distressing and disheartening. Those who have the future welfare of the Province at heart should put their heads together immediately, find out the causes for the failure of the Ministers, responsible for education, and take prompt and effective measures for remedying the present deplorable situation.

Manzilgah and Sukkur Riots

We have received a copy each of a "Statement on Manzilgah and Sukkur (Sind) Riots," issued by Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani, M.L.A., Vice-President, Sind Provincial Congress Committee, and Prof. Ghanshyam Jethanand, M.L.A., leader of the Congress party in the Sind Legislative Assembly, and "A Letter on Manzilgah and Sukkur (Sind) Riots," addressed by Sjt. Choithram T. Valecha, M.L.A., advocate, Sukkur, to the Premier of Sind. To put it mildly, both are calculated to upset persons of the most phlegmatic temperament. The pamphlets show that the Sind Ministry and the officials concerned failed miserably to do their duty. Their failure may be rightly characterized as criminal.

Mr. Abdul Quayum, M.L.A. (Central), who was deputed by the Congress Working Committee to hold an enquiry into the riots, said in the first week of January last, "I am deeply grieved and I have to hang down my head in shame." After visiting the riot-stricken areas he wrote :

"While in Peshawar I did not have an idea of the extent of loss of life and property that had taken place in Sukkur and the neighbouring villages as a result of the riots."

It was in the first week of October, 1939, that disturbances broke out in Sukkur. The first communique on the riots was issued by the Sind Government on the 16th January, 1940. According to the Government's version,

142 Hindus were murdered.
10 Hindus were burnt alive.
58 Hindus were injured, of whom nine died subsequently, 27 recovered and 22 are still in hospital.
14 Muslims were killed.
12 Muslims were injured. All injured have since recovered.
164 Houses were burnt, most of which belonged to Hindus. Loss estimated Rs. 1,48,000.
467 Houses were plundered. Loss estimated amounting to Rs. 6,53,000.
6 Hindu women were abducted. They were subsequently recovered.
7 Dacoits were shot.
700 arrests have been made.

The Hindu Sabha does not accept these figures as accurate. Nor do the two Congress leaders who have issued the Statement referred to above. They observe :

We do not know whether the Government have included in their version the murders and loss of property in dacoities committed in Rohri Division of Sukkur District, and in some villages of Larkana, Upper Sind Frontier, Nawabshah and Hyderabad Districts.

Two Hindus were murdered and two seriously injured as late as 13th January in Rohri Division of Sukkur District.

The Government version as reported in the press does not mention that the abducted women were raped. Our information is that they were also raped.

Regarding loss of property the Government estimate appears to be underrated.

Panic among villages still prevails and most of the refugees have not yet returned to their villages owing to insecurity of life and property.

The Sind Provincial Congress Committee has started Relief Fund for the sufferers. We appeal to the public to donate liberally. All contributions may be sent to the Secretary, Congress Sukkur Relief Fund, Karachi.

During the Burma riots of year before last 164 Indians lost their lives. The Sind riots are, therefore, not less serious than the Burma riots. The latter started in the last week of July, 1938. About two months later the Burma Government appointed a committee to inquire into the causes of the riots and other questions relating to them. We have not yet (30th January, 1940) received any news of the appointment of any official, non-official, or mixed committee by the Sind Government to inquire into the Sukkur riots.

Provincial Governors and the Governor-General of India have special responsibilities and special powers for the protection of minorities. As these special responsibilities have not moved the Governor of Sind and the Governor-General of India to exercise their special powers for ensuring the (past or future) safety of the Hindu minority in Sind, we conclude that, as

the Hindus are an All-India majority they are officially considered a majority everywhere and a minority nowhere, and cannot, therefore, claim protection by the exercise of the special gubernatorial powers. But, nevertheless, they can *perhaps* claim protection by the exercise of the *ordinary, non-special* powers of the Government.

Gandhiji's attention has been drawn to the subject. He has told the Hindus of Sind that that province has "a national government" and that "national governments will cease to be national if they have to depend on British military aid." In our humble opinion the so-called autonomous provincial governments were not "national governments." If calling in a company of even the sepoy army, for which India pays, be dependence on "British military aid," using the armed police in the interests of law and order is also dependence on British aid. Did not the provincial national Congress governments use soldiers or the armed police whenever they felt obliged to do so? Why then tell the Hindus of Sind that they must, if necessary, seek *nirvāna* in order that the blessed provincial governments may continue to be called "national"?

No doubt, Mahatmaji has not suggested *nirvāna* for the survivors of the riots but has suggested *hijrat*, that is, migration to some other part of India in a body for good. But that is easier said than done. Let Mahatmaji at lesat provide the land, the houses, the passage money, and the wherewithal to settle in life afresh for the thousands who would require to follow his advice, and then talk of *hijrat* again.

It is said many Hindus of Sukkur and its neighbourhood have taken gun licenses and are learning to defend themselves and their families and hearths and homes, if again attacked.

"Hijrat" Would Encourage Budmashes

Apart from the impracticability of *hijrat* and the illogicality of not accepting (so-called) British military aid, *hijrat* and non-acceptance of such aid for protecting life, property and women's honour would have the highly evil effect of encouraging budmashes to massacre, loot and ravish where and when they are in an overwhelming majority.

Sir Philip Chetwode on the Punjabees' Martial Qualities

In a recent broadcast from London on the constitution of the Indian army, Sir Philip Chetwode, late Commander-in-Chief in India, observed that the recruitment of a larger proportion of it from the Punjab than from the other parts of India did not mean that the inhabitants of the southern parts did not possess martial qualities. He said that it was with the help of the soldiers of south India that the British obtained a footing in the country. According to him, the reason why men belonging to the northern parts of India were chiefly recruited was climatic. That is a wrong explanation. But it is enough for the purpose of those who want soldiers to be recruited from all parts of India that in the opinion of one who had been recently India's Commander-in-Chief that Punjab does not possess a monopoly of martial qualities. Of course, that is not to say that the people of that province are not warlike. They certainly are. But others, too, can fight like them, given the chance.

Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee Honoured

LONDON, Jan. 10.

The Council of the Royal Society of Arts has elected Sir Atul Chatterjee as Chairman in the place of Sir Reginald Glancy. Sir Atul Chatterjee is the first Indian to hold the office.—*Reuter.*

It is a fitting recognition of Sir Atul's attainments and culture.

Reader of Bengali at University of Rome

Mr. Santimoy Moulik, who went to Italy in 1937 as a scholar of the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East, has been appointed Reader of the Bengali Language at the University of Rome. He is the younger brother of Dr. M. Moulik, formerly lecturer at the same University.—*A. P.*

It is a matter for satisfaction that Indian languages and literatures have been receiving increasing attention abroad.

A Very Useful Institute For Research On Diseases

The Sir Nilratan Sircar Research Institute, a pioneer institution of its kind in India, has started research work on heart diseases, diseases of metabolism, malnutrition and is making a study of the indigenous drugs and allied subjects.

The Institute is housed in a building constructed in close proximity to the hospitals of the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, Calcutta. The building of the Institute (proposed to be a three-storied one) has been completed up to the second storey and equipments have been done in part.

The whole scheme will cost Rs. 3 lacs. A sum of Rs. 28,000 has been raised up till now by public donations and the Principal of the Carmichael Medical College has approached the Calcutta Corporation for the provision of the grant of Rs. 50,000 for the Institute in the next year's Corporation budget for the completion of the scheme.

The Sir Nilratan Sircar Research Institute is entitled to all the help that it requires from the Calcutta Corporation and the public.

Rammohun Library & Free Reading Room

The Rammohun Library and Free Reading Room celebrated its foundation-day on the 27th January last under the presidentship of its patron, Maharajadhiraj Sir Bejoy Chand Mahtab Bahadur of Burdwan. Sir P. C. Roy and other speakers dwelt on the appropriateness of honouring the memory of Raja Rammohun Roy by the foundation and maintenance of a cultural institution. Besides accommodating a library and a reading room, both of which are largely used, the Hall is used almost every week for public meetings of various kinds. The evening lectures arranged by the authorities of the institution have been quite popular. The subjects covered a wide range. Throughout the year a girls' school, the **Vidyāsāgar Bālikā** Vidyālaya, is accommodated in the premises of the Library. Its report for **1939** invites the attention of the members and the general public to some of its immediate needs.

The most urgent of these needs is the reconstruction of the roof of the building. For this purpose a sum of about Rs. 3,000 will be required of which about one-half has already been collected. Another need is the extension of the building. It is necessary to point out that, with the steady increase in its collection of books and the expansion of its field of activity, the Rammohun Library has outgrown its present accommodation. The bookshelves of the Library are at present accommodated in the balconies of the main Hall, where further space is no longer available. Besides, the present arrangement causes very great inconvenience to the readers whenever meetings are held. The extension of the building has thus become an urgent necessity. This will require about Rs. 10,000. But in addition to funds required for capital expenditure, more money is needed for meeting current expenses. Until the Reserve fund reaches Rs. 20,000 the financial position of the Library can hardly be considered to be quite satisfactory.

The Excess Profits Tax Bill

A Reuter message issued from London on the 24th January, 1940, stated that the House of Commons, in the course of the discussion on the India and Burma Miscellaneous Amendments Bill, in the Committee Stage, adopted a Government amendment enabling the Government of India, should they so desire, to introduce an excess profits tax bill. This has been followed by the publication in the *Gazettte of India* on the 27th January of the text of a measure called the Excess Profits Tax Bill. It seeks to impose a tax of 50 per cent of the excess of the profits made in any accounting period after April 1, 1939, over what is described in the Bill as "standard" profits. The provisions of the Bill follow closely the lines of the excess profits tax imposed in the United Kingdom in 1939. It is intended that the Bill is to come into force on a date to be determined by the Central Government. The measure will remain in force until repealed. This tax thus differs from the income-tax, which is imposed afresh each year by the Annual Finance Act. It has been announced that the Central Government propose to move formally for the introduction of the Bill on the 6th February, when the Budget Session of the Indian Legislative Assembly opens.

The statement of Objects and Reasons appended to the Bill points out that the outbreak of war has created opportunities for the earning by companies and individuals engaged in business of very large profits. As the war has also necessitated greatly increased expenditure by the Government on Defence and other Services, they intend to secure through the proposed measure a considerable portion of the additional business profits wheih would accrue as a result of the conditions prevailing during the war.

We think there could be no objection to the principle of a tax on high profits, if the tax were imposed by a free, representative and democratically elected legislature, and its proceeds were devoted to the common good of the people. The proposed excess profits tax certainly does not belong to this category. While the British excess profits tax has been imposed by a free and popularly elected legislature, for a purpose to which the British people and the British Parliament are parties, both the war and the tax have been or are proposed to be imposed upon India, and India is not a party to either the war or the proposed tax, of her own free will. We are in sympathy with England in this war and we are not unwilling to assist her. But she should bring into being —and she has the power to do so—conditions under which it would be possible for India, of her own free will, to accord her support to England's proposals. Another objectionable feature of the Bill is that it will have the effect of checking and discouraging a proper development of industries in the country, as an adequate amount of capital required for such development would not be forthcoming as a result of this imposition. The extraordinary procedure followed by the British Government in the matter of amending the Government of India Act for the purpose cannot also be

supported. We are glad to find from the report of the discussion in the House of Commons available to us that Sir William Jowitt, Mr. Wilfred Roberts and Mr. Sorensen entered an emphatic protest against this arbitrary exhibition of autocratic power by the British Government. We regret it is not possible for us, within the short time and space available to us, to comment in detail on the complex and comprehensive provisions of the Bill which are likely to lead to very great complications and result in the use of arbitrary procedure and cause considerable hardships to the parties concerned.

Wanted—A Loss Compensatory Dole Bill

There can be no question that war conditions will enable some industries and trades to make unusual profits. Government think that they are entitled to half of these profits. But war conditions will lead to unusual losses and deficits in some other kinds of business, industry and trade. As Government want to share the profits, they should also bear their part of the losses. We suggest, therefore, that part of the proceeds of the excess profits tax be devoted to paying doles to the proprietors of those firms which will be put to excessive loss by war conditions. Government should take power for the purpose by a bill.

The Bengal Social Service League

The Bengal Social Service League was founded on January 26, 1915, as a registered association with a strong working committee composed of distinguished persons in different spheres of life. The aim of the League is to help in the development of the manhood and the womanhood of the nation and in securing an all-round improvement of its community life through social study and social service. It celebrated its silver jubilee in its own four-storeyed house at 1|6, Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta, on the 26th January last in a quiet manner in keeping with its non-sensational work of sterling worth, in the presence of a small group of well-known citizens who are its members and well-wishers. Dr. D. N. Maitra, the honorary secretary, to whose energy, devotion and sacrifice above all it owes its present position, narrated its past history in a short speech and gave expression to his future hopes and fears. Among its well-wishers and members of committee may be mentioned Sir P. C. Ray, Sir Monmatha Nath Mukerji, Mr. J. N. Basu, Sir Hari Sankar Paul, Profs. Kalidas Nag and Raj K. Chakravarty, Mrs. B. Basu,, Khan Bahadur Mlvi. Ataur Rahaman, Rai Bahadurs Aghornath Adhikari and Sukumar Chatterji, Messrs. J. K. Biswas, J. N. Sircar, O. C. Gangoly, Satinath Roy, Satyananda Bose, and Sudhir Chandra Ray Chaudhuri.

Its past is a record of good service in (1) Flood and Famine Relief work; (2) Maternity and Child Welfare work; (3) Work among the Depressed Classes; (4) Industrial and Agricultural Educational work; (5) Industrial Schools; (6) Primary and Night Schools; (7) Popular Educational Movement through (*a*) Lantern lectures all over the province and in the remotest villages; (*b*) Travelling Exhibitions and (*c*) a permanent Social Welfare and Health Exhibition; (8) Rural Reconstruction work through branch-centres; (9) Co-operative work; (10) Inauguration of an All-India Social Workers' Conference Movement (of which the first President was Mahatma Gandhi); and so on.

All-Burma Bengali Literary Conference

It is a very encouraging fact that even in the midst of war conditions the Bengali community of Burma held their annual literary conference during last Christmas week in Rangoon. We thank its organizers for a copy of the proceedings, of which we can make room for only a portion.

The Third All-Burma Bengali Literary Conference opened its session in the City Hall on Monday, the 25th December, 1939, amidst great enthusiasm. The presidential procession entered the hall amidst picturesque ceremonies. The proceedings opened with an invocation from the Rig Veda followed by the National song "Bande Mataram." Mr. R. P. Chowdhury, President of the local Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Academy of Bengali Literature), requested U Tin Tut, M.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S., Chancellor of the Rangoon University, to declare the Conference open. U Tin Tut declared the conference open with a speech marked by great cordiality and sympathy, of which the major portion is quoted below.

" On this auspicious occasion, when there falls on me the honour of opening this Third All-Burma Bengali Literary Conference, I wish I had the gift of your golden Banga-Bhāshā that I might address you in the ancient and noble language of Bengal. My first duty is to welcome in the name of the Burmese people Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi. We are pleased that so distinguished a man of letters should visit our shores and we hope that he will extend

his stay so that he may obtain some knowledge of the people of this country, though we know that his knowledge of both Oriental and Western languages and literatures is already profound. Our present conference is the Third All-Burma Bengali Literary Conference and it is noteworthy that in all three conferences we have been fortunate in our Presidents. The first conference of 1936 was presided over by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, while the second conference of 1937 was presided over by Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee.

"We are fortunate to possess in Burma a branch of the famous Bengali Academy of Literature and the special mission of the Burma Branch is to bring out the cultural affinity of Bengal and Burma and strengthen our cultural bonds through literature and arts. In particular the Burma Branch has set itself the task of promulgating Bengali literature in Burma and I trust that it will quickly take steps to translate into Burmese some of the best Bengali literature, ancient and modern. In this world of international conflict and competition, the best road to the friendship of nations lies in the mutual knowledge and appreciation of our several cultures, and a nation's culture is best studied through her literature and her arts. We in Burma always have a special interest in Bengali Literature and Art—firstly because now, as always, Bengal has been a near neighbour to Burma not only geographically but also spiritually, and in the happy years my wife and I spent in India we had always felt that in spite of the superficial differences of language and dress the Bengali is in his culture and tradition very near to the Burman. We, Burmans, have also special interest in Bengali as it is the direct lineal descendant of the Pali or Magadhi language, which is the language in which the scriptures of the Buddhist religion are recorded.

"Though my acquaintance with the Bengali language is slight, I would like to add that I have enough second-hand contact with Bengali literature to be an ardent admirer of it."

The addresses delivered by the general president of the Conference and by Mrs. Suruchi Rāy, Sāhityabhārati, president of the literature section, by Professor Dr. A. T. Sen of the Mandalay Agricultural College, president of the Science section, by Sj. P. P. Majumdar, M.A., B.L., president of the history and economics section, and by Sj. P. K. Basu, M.A., B.L., president of the philosophy section, were scholarly and interesting and were highly appreciated. The level generally reached by the other papers was high. There were amateur theatricals and other entertainments. A number of useful resolutions was passed, among which a resolution was adopted requesting the Calcutta University to urge the Rangoon University to make Bengali a course of study on the basis of reciprocity. Another resolution asked the local Parishad to consider the feasibility of inviting the next Annual Session of the All-India Prabāsi Bengali Literary Conference to Rangoon. We cordially support this suggestion.

Communal Frenzy in Rangoon Again

The fresh outbreak of communal frenzy in Rangoon, leading to loss of life and property, is greatly to be deplored. We hope the leaders of all communities will try their utmost to restore neighbourly feelings and relations among them as quickly as possible. That enlightened and cultured Burmans cherish friendly sentiments towards Indians is evident from the observations made by U Tin Tut, I.C.S., Chancellor of the Rangoon University, in the course of his inaugural address at the recent All-Burma Bengali Literary Conference.

Vināyak Nandshankar Mehta

News has been received of the very sudden death at Allahabad from heart-failure of Vināyak Nandshankar Mehta, senior member of the Board of Revenue, U. P. He was only 56 at the time of his death.

A little over thirty-three years ago we travelled from Allahabad to Calcutta to attend the session of the Congress presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji. In the same train and compartment with us, if we are not mistaken, were the late Pandit Srikrishna Joshi, Sir (then Mr.) C. Y. Chintamani, and Mr. V. N. Mehta, youngest of us all. Mr. Mehta's conversation impressed the writer as that of an ardent and true Hindu nationalist. We never met him afterwards, but have carried that impression all along.

"Mr. Mehta was a Nagar Brahman and native of Surat, posted to the United Provinces after passing the I.C.S. examination. Mr. Mehta's first station as an I.C.S. officer was Allahabad and the end came at Allahabad. He was in the 34th year of his service and would have retired in less than two years. For a brief while he was in the judiciary; for the rest he was on the executive side. He was magistrate and collector of a number of districts, the most important of which was Benares and he rendered himself extremely popular everywhere. He and Mrs. Mehta deeply interested themselves in all causes, movements and institutions which made for the well-being and advancement of the people. The Benares Home for Women in Distress, for which so much was done by

the late Babu Sheo Mohan Lal, was the creation of Mr. and Mrs. Mehta. Mr. Mehta was director of industries, and a most zealous and enthusiastic one, his efforts being seconded with equal zeal and enthusiasm by the late lamented Mr. S. P. Shah, his deputy. He was secretary to Government for Education and Industries. He was a most esteemed commissioner, first of Allahabad and next of Meerut. He was for some time Revenue Minister in Kashmir and later, Prime Minister of Bikaner. His last appointment was that of member of the Board of Revenue and he was senior member at the time of his sudden death."—*The Leader.*

"Cancellation of Sanads" in The Orissa States

In our last number we have published Sri Harekrushna Mahtab's reply to Sri Romendra Protap Singh Deo's criticism of the Orissa States Enquiry Committee's Report. We have no desire to take sides in this controversy. One of the principal contentions of Sri Harekrushna Mahtab appears to be that, as there has been inhuman oppression in the States, their Rulers' *sanads* should be cancelled. No one has yet said or shown that there has not been any misrule in any Orissa State. On the other hand, neither the Orissa States Enquiry Committee nor any other critics have shown that *all* the Orissa States have been guilty of misrule. Therefore the logical demand for the Committee would be cancellation of the *sanads* of those Rulers in whose States there has been misrule. The Committee should, therefore, add a supplement to their Report giving a list of the States in which there has been such misrule.

Whether cancellation of *sanads* would or would not be a remedy and the most effective remedy for misrule one need not dogmatically assert for the present. The paramount power has both the right and the power to interfere in cases of misrule. It is no less its duty. That it does not generally do this duty and assert its right and power is a charge which has been levelled against it repeatedly. But fair-minded men cannot but disagree if any persons or class of persons give ground by their pronouncements for the inference that they think any stick good enough to beat *all* the princes with. There are good men and bad men, good rulers and bad rulers among them. And some of the States are in certain important respects better administered than British territory. It cannot be contended that the inhabitants of *every* Indian State will be better off in all respects if the State be ruled directly as British territory. We who live under direct British rule know that it is not a synonym for Rām Rājya of Gandhiji, who has in the Independence Day Pledge impeached it for *ruining* India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually.

We emphatically want that all Rulers should be constitutional rulers and that steps should be taken immediately making for popular representative government definitely in the course of a few years. We desire such government for all Indian States, not for the Orissa States alone. That is so far as India's present political status is concerned. When India becomes free and federated, the mutual relations between the Indian States and what is at present British territory can be placed on a permanent footing by all India's statesmen.

India Chamber of Commerce Dinner in Honour of Sirdar Hardit Singh

A dinner was given by the India Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc., on December 5th, 1939 at the Hotel Commodore in New York City in honor of Sirdar Hardit Singh Malik, India Government Trade Commissioner to America.

> The gathering was most distinguished and heads and representatives of several leading firms engaged in importing and exporting business between India and the United States of America were present.

Sardar J. J. Singh, president of the Chamber, said in the course of his speech :

> I can confidently say that it shall not be long before the much awaited and sought for Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between India and these United States will have become an accomplished fact.

Sirdar Hardit Singh Malik in the course of his speech in reply gave the following estimate of the value of the trade between India and America :

> Roughly speaking the value of the trade between the two countries amounts over a year to about $100,000,000 and although this has not always been the case, in recent years the balance of trade has been somewhat in India's favor. . . . . .

He regretted that the outbreak of war has upset all hopes, for the time being at any rate, of an increase and expansion of Indo-American trade, but concluded his speech in an optimistic vein.

> We have a large population in India at present, but the individual purchasing power of the population is very small. As that power increases with our industrialization and the greater productivity of our agriculture with its consequent rise in our standard of living we shall buy more from you, not less. It may be that we shall not buy the things that we buy at present. But our needs will expand and a country like America which realizes the necessity of going ahead and will no doubt adapt its manufacturing industries

to the ever changing needs of countries that are not as industrially advanced as herself, will be in the best position to supply those needs. As I see it, it is a fallacy to believe that the industrialization of the more backward countries will lead to loss of prosperity in the more advanced industrial countries. On the other hand, it should, I think, lead to greater prosperity all around by increasing purchasing power available for the absorption of the larger variety and number of goods manufactured. As our standard of living improves in India and as our purchasing power expands with it I have no doubt that it will be to the benefit not only of ourselves but also of all the countries with whom we trade at present.

Anticipations of a Long War

LONDON, Jan. 26.

The view that the War may last for a long time is held by the former British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Nevile Henderson.

Sir Nevile speaking at a meeting tonight in London said that it was going to be a hard war and possibly a very long one. He was confident of ultimate victory for the Allies.

Sir Nevile added that Britain had great economic advantage, but at the same time he pointed out that the economic machinery in Germany would not collapse easily.

He exhorted the audience to save every scrap of refuse and cited as an example that while he was having conversation with Field-Marshal Goering the latter ordered his servant to pick up the stopper of a bottle and preserve it since thousands of pigs were fed by stoppers of used bottles in Germany.—*Reuter.*

"How Long Will This War Go On?"

Unity of Chicago, edited by John Haynes Holmes, who hailed Gandhiji as the world's greatest man, writes in its issue of the 4th December, 1939, just to hand :

> This war—how long can it keep going ? The question is prompted by reports from Finland of the distress suffered by that gallant little country through the sheer drain upon her resources from the mobilization against Russia. Other neutral countries, especially Belgium and Holland, are subject to similar exhaustion. And if this is true of the neutrals, what about the belligerents which are staggering under burdens never before known in history ? Even if expenses can be met, what about the morale of the people ? How long can it bear up under the strain ? The Munich explosion, assuming that it was not another Reichstag fire, presents incontrovertible evidence of stress in Germany. Reports multiply that the German people are restive under rationing of food and clothing—reports which seem to be confirmed by similar reports from France and England. Not a day passes without its story of popular resentment against blackouts and other war precautions. Women and children, evacuated from Paris and London and other cities, are drifting back to their homes in contempt of governmental advice and in resentment against governmental dictation. Strange events are taking place in English conscientious objectors' courts, where objectors are being applauded and attacks upon war loudly cheered. Daily reiteration in censored dispatches of "the superb morale" of English and French troops at the front stirs suspicion, after the tenth or eleventh story, that morale is pretty bad. Fraternization between German and French troops seems to be constant, in spite of all efforts to suppress it. Radio concerts are shared, messages exchanged—and on one occasion at least whole regiments of German troops were transferred in order to break up the good fellowship everywhere prevailing between supposedly hostile forces. Is it possible that the war is not starting for the reason that neither side trusts either its troops or its people to sustain bloody action ? Is there any explanation of a war that is not begun except that there is no will to war adequate to drive the enormous machine of combat ? Meanwhile, with little fighting, no progress toward decision, no action but only talk, the enormous expense goes on, and bankruptcy impends. The present situation, of course, cannot continue. Some thing must finally happen. The break must come. Who knows but what it may be a collapse of morale, an outburst of public revolt, on both sides of the battle line, which will end war in revolution ?

All-India Women's Conference Resolutions

Among the resolutions adopted by the All-India Women's Conference at Allahabad there was one congratulating the women of China on their heroic activities for the unification of China and the Chinese people and the restoration and preservation of the freedom of that country. The Conference condemned Japan's aggression and atrocities in China. A suggestion was made that a good-will mission of China should visit India and a similar deputation of Indian women should visit China, if practicable.

The Conference requested the women of all the belligerent countries to exert their influence for the early termination of war.

In the war resolution of the Conference, war was strongly condemned, sympathy was expressed with the people who have been suffering from the war, and Britain was urged to declare the conditions on which she would be prepared to conclude peace. It was demanded that that declaration should include among the conditions the establishment of racial equality, individual civil liberty, and provisions for the maintenance of the honour and equality of the smaller nations with the bigger ones. Complete independence was demanded for India and faith was expressed in the efficacy of ahimsā for the establishment of peace on earth and goodwill among men.

Great sympathy was expressed with the sufferers from the earthquake and floods in Turkey and subscriptions in aid of a relief fund were promised.

Finnish Heroism

The Finns continue to fight valiantly against the Russians in defence of the liberty of their country. In this unequal fight they have displayed unsurpassed courage and skill. They are entitled to all kinds of help from outside to come out finally successful. Without such help it is doubtful how long they would be able to go on.

German Barbarities in Poland

News has come of the massacre of 18,000 Polish leaders and the expatriation of hundreds of thousands of Poles in a state of practical slavery by Germany.

The War in Europe

The indiscriminate sinking of neutral as well as British and French vessels continues. Attempts have been made by German bombing planes to raid British coastal towns, but with little success.

Real war on land in the Franco-German border may begin in spring.

Apprehensions of complications arising out of Rumanian oil have not yet definitely disappeared.

China and Japan

Japan has been trying to establish a subservient government in the provinces of China occupied by her, with the help of Chinese who are traitors to their country's cause. But the brave and patriotic Chinese are determined to keep up the fight till final victory is won. We wish them all success.

" Mahajati Sadan "

Following an animated debate for nearly a couple of hours the Corporation of Calcutta, at its special meeting on the 30th January last, sanctioned a capital grant of one lakh of rupees to the Mahajati Sadan, the proposed Congress House of the province, now under construction on Chittaranjan Avenue.

The grant was made subject to the condition that in case of the acquisition of the structure by a public body its value, up to one lakh of rupees, will accrue to the Corporation.

The amount which is to be met from the closing balance of the Corporation Fund, would be made over to the Mahajati Sadan Committee to be utilized for the construction of a library hall, rooms and a gymnasium in the building.

In the course of his reply to some criticisms Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose said :

" With regard to the question of trustees as you are perfectly aware it has been made perfectly clear as soon as building is constructed and made fit for use it will be handed over to a body of trustees. It will be for them to administer the property in the manner in which they may think fit.

" With regard to financing of this building I am sorry that Mr. Roy Chowdhury has tried to deal with the point in this manner. He has been labouring under the impression that we have not made any collection since the lease was granted. As a matter of fact, collection that has so far been made whether in cash or kind, including promise that are being partly redeemed, these would come to the modest figure of 90,000. But fortunately or unfortunately since the lease was granted our plan has become more ambitious.

" It is now our desire to construct something which would really be worthy of the country to which we all belong. The original estimate has been increased to three lakhs and I am afraid that on account of war and the consequent rise of prices we shall have to revise that estimate once more. May be, when the building is constructed we shall find the total amount has risen to at least 3½ lakhs of rupees."

Maghotsava Number of " The Indian Messenger "

The Indian Messenger is the weekly organ of the Sādhāran Brahmo Samaj, which celebrates its anniversary in the month of Māgh like other Brahmo Samajes. The special number which this weekly has issued on the occasion of the *Māghotsava,* the annual festival, is worthy of preservation for purposes of reference on account of the value and usefulness of much of its contents. It deserves detailed notice.

Bengal Congress Affairs

We wish we had the time to go through and master the details of the various statements made by the Congress parties in Bengal and those made by or on behalf of the Congress President and high command. But we have none. Moreover, we dislike these squabbles. So we will not pronounce any opinion on the merits of the controversies.

Four-hundredth Number of " The Modern Review "

The next April issue of *The Modern Review* will be its 400th Number. We hope our contributors, subscribers, other readers, and advertisers will extend to us a helping hand on the occasion as they have done all along.

THE WORLD OUTLOOK TODAY
India

By C. F. ANDREWS

In choosing 'India' for my second subject, I find that it will be necessary to divide what I have got to say into two separate articles. For, before we can get a true perspective of all that is happening in India today we have to face the previous question concerning the practical effects of British rule,—how far it has been injurious, and how far beneficial.

The notes of the Editor in the January number set my mind at work in this direction and made me see its prior importance as a subject of discussion. He made his own comments on the 'Day of Independence' resolution, which had been set forward in the form of a pledge by the All-India Congress Working Committee. While he accepted the fact that on the political and economic plane India had grievously suffered, he was not willing in the same manner either to agree, or to pledge himself, that India had been culturally and spiritually ruined. In a series of paragraphs he pointed out, that while the historical data appeared to show a distinct material loss there had been along with it spiritual gain.

II

In the short space of a single article, it is best to confine the consideration of this vital question to Bengal, where the British impact during the nineteenth century was far the strongest: for though the earliest trading factories were opened up in Madras, yet Bengal, with its capital, Calcutta, was the centre of the most pervasive form of this foreign invasion, and therefore most deeply influenced by it. If any serious harm had been done in the process, its results would have been seen most prominently in this part of India.

As an objective estimate of that period, I would like to quote from a letter of Dr. T. G. P. Spear, of Delhi, in criticism of a book, called *The Rise and Growth of the Congress,* where I had collaborated with Sj. Girija Mookherjee. We had traced the initial success of the All-India Congress Movement to the great religious reforms which had preceded it. For they had given a universal spiritual awakening which India had lacked before. This renaissance had been the direct result of that propitious meeting of East and West, beginning early in the nineteenth century with the advent of Raja Rammohun Roy. Through him, Bengal had met the West on equal terms long before either Japan or China had done so. The time was ripe for the intellectual barrier between Asia and Europe to be broken down. Along with the right occasion, came the right man to fulfil it. For in the person of Rammohun Roy a genius had been given to the world of the first magnitude, who could by his dynamic personality make the religious values of the East felt all over the West. For he stood head and shoulders above the men of his time, in both continents, and could meet on the highest plane of religious experience and thought those who were the foremost intellectual leaders of his age. He achieved this marked success at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and thus began to bridge over the gulf between the West and the East from that very early date. The renaissance in China and Japan came much later

Our second thesis was this, the racial tension in India between the rulers and the ruled had become more acute *after* the military revolt of 1857-58. This racial tension had led on by a natural reaction to the decision taken in 1885 to found at last the 'All-India National Congress.' Dr. Spear, as his letter will make clear, accepted the former of these two propositions but criticized and corrected the latter. He places the racial tension much earlier and gives his own reasons for it.

III

"The importance," he writes, "which you attach to Raja Rammohun Roy seems to me to be *entirely* justified. In every direction he was a creative force. He not only stood for the admission into the Hindu organism of Western learning and Christian ethics, but he prepared beforehand an antidote for the disintegrating forces of Rationalism, on the one hand, and Christian Missions (in their then form) on the other, by his theories based on the Vedas and Upanishads and by his *Precepts of Jesus.* This last I think to be much more important than

is generally realized. It was the answer to Dr. Duff, before Duff arrived in Calcutta."

"I also *quite* agree with your emphasis on the 'Religious Factors' in the growth of Indian Nationalism."

"Now comes the question of the 'change of spirit,' which you mention, in the English outlook. Was it *before or after the Mutiny?* My own belief is that it started about 1830, and was already largely complete *before* the Mutiny."

"Intellectually, it derived from Utilitarianism, with its horror of abuses, superstitions, survivals, etc., and its emphasis on Reason. The older Mill, in his history (published in 1817) gives the Utilitarian view; and that book was immensely influential. To this Utilitarian School, everything Indian appeared to be an abuse or a superstition; and in consequence the more zealous they were to reform, the more superior they became to things Indian."

"Macaulay's Minute was symptomatic, not seminal, and the same policy would have come in, even if Macaulay had never existed. On the moral side, the 'superior' attitude derived from the Evangelicals. It is, first of all, clearly visible in Henry Martyn's journals and is both vocal and powerful with Dr. Duff. What a difference there is between the outlook of Dr. Schwartz and Bishop Heber, on the one hand and Martyn and Duff on the other!"

IV

In our book on the Congress, we had put down, as I have said, the racial change, which took place during the nineteenth century, to the Revolt of 1857. We had also traced back the economic exploitation to the same 'post-Mutiny' period. Here again, on the economic side, Dr. Spear's correction of our argument is just.

"These ideas of superiority," he writes, "found an excuse for, though they did not originate, the economic exploitation of India. You put this *after* the Mutiny. I fear it must be ante-dated by fifty years or more, at least. The ruin of the Indian piecegoods trade was the work of the Company, when it became profitable to import raw cotton for the new machine mills in the late eighteenth century. There is the evidence of Heber and others for the ruin of the Dacca industries of muslin, silk, and so on. But Utilitarians could argue that England's benefit would ultimately be India's also, and so they could both stifle their own consciences and smother the opposition of local officials who had a feeling for the people."

"The result of all this can be seen in the new attitude towards India, as not only an acquired, but also a conquered country: as not only having an inferior civilization, but as having no civilization at all! This, in its turn, was helped by the wars of conquest, from 1838 onwards, which went on almost continuously for fifteen years; and thus the 'annexation' mentality succeeded the 'administration' mentality: and the 'improving' mentality (as though India was a bit of virgin, cultural soil) succeeded the 'conserving' mentality. The apotheosis of all this was the Dalhousie regime, which was essentially intellectual imperialism, added upon economic and political aggression. Another, but later irritant, was the 'competition-wallah' from 1853."

V

Dr. Spear sums up his criticism in a long concluding section, which in some respects is the most interesting and informative in his vivid letter.

"The Mutiny," he writes, "seems to me to have been the result rather than the cause of all this. What it added was *Fear,* which now entered into the English superiority complex itself. Henceforward, the British were never quite sure of themselves though they pretended to be so. Hence they became always prone to unnecessary severity. The generation of Metcalfe, etc., had been frankly not sure of their 'fragile' dominion in India at all. Hence they were much less possessed by hidden fears, or liable to sudden panics and outbreaks of mass hysteria."

"I think you are rather too kind to the 'Company' at the expense of the 'Crown' Government. Do you not rely too much on the younger Mill, who was in fact an interested party, as an employee of the Company and who resigned from the service in disgust rather than serve under the Crown? Again, many of the witnesses against the Crown Government are old Company's servants, with either grievances or prejudices. In the 'thirties,' at any rate, the feeling against 'Crown' government was simply based on its connection with the unpopular Supreme Court at Calcutta with its English Law. But the Company was surely just as monopolistic and exclusive as ever the Crown became. Except for a financial crisis and the intervention of Parliament in 1833, there would have been no posts above 50 rupees a month open to Indians under the Company! The only advantages which I can see, for the Company, were the 'twenty year' Charter inquests, and the fact that the opponents of the Company

found themselves by accident, as it were, advocating the Indian interests in their effort to injure it."

"Compare Bentinck and Ripon—men alike in many of their virtues and limitations—how the one was thwarted by the Directors whenever he tried to make any constructive use of the money saved by economy, while Ripon, on the other hand, received a steady support from the Home Government. The double system of 'Board' and 'Court' also was an excellent device for ensuring that nothing creative should be done at all! The Court, for instance, successfully thwarted the Board's desire to do justice to the Moghuls at the time of Raja Rammohun Roy's Mission. The greater tolerance of things Indian, which had characterised the Company's times, had already passed away before the Company itself ended. It was due to an intellectual atmosphere, not to any virtue in the system of delegated control; and it passed away with that intellectual atmosphere itself."

"I have written, I am afraid, a terribly long letter which will try your eyes, but I promised to tell you my ideas about your book, and here they are! All is still quiet here in Delhi, like the Western Front! With our affectionate greetings."

VI

I have quoted thus largely from this letter, not merely because of its intrinsic personal interest, but also because of the detached attitude of mind with which it is written. My hope is that what follows in this article, and in what will come later, the 'World Outlook' for India may be viewed in the same atmosphere of detachment. My main conclusion, which Dr. T. G. Spear would certainly bear out, is this, that a very deeply embedded culture, like that of India, becomes even more firmly established by the shock of opposition and the challenge of something new, when it comes upon it from the outside. Although, like a flood, the foreign culture may seem to submerge that which is indigenous for a time, there is left behind a valuable 'silt,' which gives a much richer harvest later. Furthermore, there is an equally valuable process of cross-fertilization, bringing with it a fresh efflorescence and also variety to the original culture itself.

To use another metaphor, equally appropriate to India, the 'shock' which is brought to bear from the outside, may help to quicken a new vitality within, when a moribund condition has been reached. But when life begins to throb again, no more such shocks are needed. For the newly-quickened life will then take its own course.

The sudden reaction to the stimulus from outside creates a new potency, a new momentum. All great periods of Religion, Art, Music, Literature, appear to have come, in human history, just at a time when some such outer stimulus has quickened the impulse from within.

VII

Here are three simple illustrations:

(1) Matthew Arnold has told the story, in 'Obermann Once More,' of the way in which the great shock of a new religion from the East came suddenly upon the Roman Empire in its decline:

> "A conquering new-born joy awoke,
> And filled her life with day."

If it had not been for this 'new-birth' in the old Roman civilization, which came from an alien, Semitic source, the centuries which followed in Europe would have been entirely different. The 'Dark Ages,' which came later, would have begun much earlier and swept all civilization in the West away.

(2) The old pagan customs in ancient Britain were too weak and feeble to withstand the shock of the Roman Conquest combined with the advent of the strong moral force of Christianity which followed. Here, the survival of a few harmless traditions has remained side by side with an entire revolution in human thought. Nazi Germany is furiously occupied today in an attempt to revive this old paganism by artificial means, but with little success.

(3) Contrast this with what happened after the Norman Conquest. Then, Saxon England was flooded for a time with French language and literature. But in the end the deep-rooted 'Anglo-Saxon' stock survived, along with a remarkable cross-fertilization which produced a vigorous growth. Chaucer, who represents this process, stands at the head of all great English poetry.

VIII

If, therefore, it is true that this process of shock and recovery repeats itself both in the East and in the West, does it not point to the fact that the sudden breaking down of the barrier between Asia and Europe, which came with the advent of Raja Rammohun Roy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had remarkably favourable results? That, at least, is how I read modern Indian history, and I was happy to find that Dr. Spear agreed with my conclusion.

We have, I believe, to go back to the early Moghul times of Akbar and Shah Jahan before we find such a revival of Art and Religion as that which took place a century ago in India. The cause of this earlier renaissance under the Moghuls was the same—the impact from outside of an alien culture.

All this does not mean that whatever came from the West was equally capable of assimilation. There was much that was merely taken over at second-hand and thus brought harm to the weak-minded. But those who were strong in their own culture, like Bankim and Rabindranath in the East, and Emerson in the West (to mention three names only), undoubtedly received a profound creative impulse, which has helped forward human progress.

To turn back to one of our analogies, history shows us that there was very much that was crude and even harmful in the Norman invasion of Saxon England; yet no one could compare the England of Chaucer with that which preceded the Norman Conquest without realizing what a marvellous revival had come about owing to the cross-fertilization of these two different and very stubborn stocks. The political subjection, which had held down the Saxon with an iron hand, did not prevent new words, new ideas, new artistic forms, from coming in and creating a new literature, and even a new era of man's spirit.

We shall find, I think, that in a country such as India, where civilization began to strike its roots deep into the soil from the earliest recorded times, such new starts and revolutionary processes have been actually needed from time to time in order to clear away those forms of parasitical growth which like poisonous creepers were altogether noxious, and also to give light and air and open space to that which is the genuine product of Indian soil. To clear away the weeds and let in sunlight does not destroy the culture of a garden of flowers, but rather increases its beauty.

P. S.

In order to avoid any wrong impression, let me add that I entirely agree with Prof. Seeley, when he says that '*prolonged* submission to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration.' I quote from memory. The emphasis there is on the word 'prolonged'. Every year that now passes in India, without the removal of the foreign yoke, is undoubtedly an evil. It is likely to undo any benefit that may have been derived before. This was my main thesis in a series of articles which I wrote, in 1921, called 'The Immediate Need of Independence', where I emphasised the word 'immediate'; and I hold fast to every word which I then wrote. Nearly twenty years have passed since that date and hope deferred has made the heart sick. Things in India *have* deteriorated, as Prof. Seeley prophesied, and the evil is rapidly increasing. This agony of subjection is eating like iron into the soul, and the strain must be relieved at once.

(To be continued)



EMERSON AND SARAH BRADFORD RIPLEY

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

ANOTHER woman who, like Mary Moody Emerson, greatly influenced Emerson's early development and remained throughout his life a beloved and stimulating friend, was Sarah Bradford Ripley, wife of Reverend Samuel Ripley of Waltham, Massachusetts. Emerson's biographer, F. B. Sanborn, says, she was "the most learned woman of New England." She was a classical scholar and taught Greek and Latin in her husband's college-preparatory school for boys. Emerson's son, Dr. Edward Emerson, says, she was the chief strength of the school. President Felton of Harvard said that she could have filled any professor's chair in that university. Professor Child went so far as to declare: "She is the most learned woman I have ever known, the most diversely learned, perhaps, of her time, and not inferior in this respect, I venture to say, to any woman of any age."

Emerson's acquaintance with her began when, as a boy, he was sent to be a pupil in her husband's school in Waltham and she became one of his teachers. She was not only a fine teacher but so attractive and charming a woman that all the boys fell in love with her,—of course, including young Emerson whose esteem and affection for her, thus begun, never waned.

After the discontinuance of the school, Mr. and Mrs. Ripley moved to Concord. Mr. Ripley very soon died but Mrs. Ripley lived in Concord more than twenty years, until her own death. During these years she saw much of Emerson and became a frequent and always-welcomed guest in his home. Indeed, he tells us that during the last part of her life she almost invariably spent her Sunday evenings with his family,—to the delight of both Mr. and Mrs. Emerson. It is easy to understand why she must have been a most charming companion, possessing, as she did, superior social qualities, personal beauty, a noble character, a brilliant mind, and intellectual gifts and attainments that were astonishing.

Emerson, in one of the references to her in his diary, wrote: "Mrs. Ripley reminds one of a steam mill of great activity and power, which must be fed, and she grinds German, Italian, Greek, Chemistry, Metaphysics and Theology with utter indifference. But she herself is superior to all she knows."

He found her literary judgments, her views of men and things, her religious ideas, her ideals of life, largely akin to his own. There was no one with whom he more enjoyed conversing. Her conversation was not so brilliant and showy as Margaret Fuller's nor so rousing as Mary Moody Emerson's but it was more thoughtful and based on a wider scholarship than that of either.

The friendship between Emerson and Mrs. Ripley was of so many years duration,—beginning in his school days and lasting until her death,—that it is not surprising to find frequent references to her in his Diaries. In the entry of April 30, 1838, he wrote: "Yesterday I was at Waltham. The kindness and genius that blend themselves in the eyes of Mrs. Ripley inspire me with some feeling of unworthiness, at least with impatience of doing so little to deserve so much confidence." In the last entry he made regarding her, soon after her death, we find this final summing up of her character and gifts: "At a time when perhaps no other woman read Greek, she acquired that language with ease, and read Plato,—adding soon the advantage of German commentators. After her marriage, when her husband the well-known clergyman of Waltham, received boys in his house to be fitted for college, she assumed the advance instruction in Greek and Latin, and did not fail to turn it to account by extending her studies in the literature of both languages. . . . She became one of the best Greek scholars in the country, and continued in her latest years the habit of reading Homer, the tragedians, and Plato. But her studies took a wide range in mathematics, in natural philosophy, in psychology, in theology, as well as in ancient and modern literature. She had always a keen ear open to whatever new facts astronomy, chemistry, or the theories of light and heat had to furnish. Any knowledge, all knowledge, was welcome. Her stores increased day by day.

"She was absolutely without pedantry. Nobody ever heard of her learning until a necessity came for its use, and then nothing could be more simple than her solution of the problem proposed to her. The most intellectual gladly conversed with one whose knowledge, however rich and varied, was always, with her, only the means of new acquaintance . . .

"She was not only the most amiable but the tenderest of women, wholly sincere, thoughtful for others. . . . . . . She was absolutely without appetite for luxury or display or praise or influence, with entire indifference to trifles."

THE PRICE OF PEACE

By A. M. BOSE

TWENTY years, after the end of the last Great War, Europe is plunged again in a war which may prove to be far more disastrous to human civilisation both morally and materially—than the last one, unless the Allied Statesmen chastened by the mistakes committed during the Peace Conference and the post-war period, show courage, imagination and boldness now, in formulating and proclaiming to the world the aims for which they have taken up arms against Nazi Germany. Denunciation of Hitlerism and the vague assurance that England, France and their Allies are fighting for a better world order will not meet the needs of the situation and convince neutral opinion. Similar promises were profusely given during the last war, and later only partly fulfilled. A more detailed picture of the kind of peace the democratic countries intend to propose at the end of hostilities and some guarantee that it will be adhered to at the Peace Conference is urgently needed, if these countries want to rally the worlds' moral sympathy on their side. There is a certain school of thought—to which some British Cabinet Ministers belong—which maintains that, having said in general terms what the war aims of England and France are, their main task now is to win the war. Peace discussions can follow later. Advocates of a just peace cannot agree with this point of view. They remember the sad disillusionment that followed the last war. Millions of young men on both sides gave up their lives, so that a better humaner world order may rise out of the charred ruins of the battle-field—but the politicians did not keep faith with them. Let that betrayal not happen a second time within a generation. If people are asked to lay down their lives for a new world, they have a right to know, how that world is going to look like. Now is the time, before the heat of the battle warps tho minds of men with passion and blind hatred, to declare in unequivocal terms, the objectives for which the Allies are fighting. And they must not be vague and nebulous. It will not do to tell the world merely what they are determined to resist, but also what they intend to create. The battle that is now raging must not proceed only in the material plane, but also in the plane of ideas. While soldiers fight to defeat the enemy in the battle-field, scholars and thinkers must get together to pool their ideas and give us the vision of a nobler future for mankind.

It has often been said that the Allies won the last war but lost the peace. How did it come about? Let us very briefly recount the chief mistakes—psychological and political—the Allies made in regard to Germany. A dictated and not a negotiated peace was forced upon Germany. The late Prof. Walter Schucking—a member of the German Peace Delegation to Paris, and later a Judge at the Hague Court of International Justice—vividly described to me once, the conditions under which the German delegation had to work in Paris—how their hotel was barb-wired and they were cut off from all contact with the outside world. And the German Peace Delegation consisted mostly of Socialists, Catholics of the Centre party, and Pacifists like Prof. Schucking, who during the war opposed the annexionist policies of Ludendroff and the almighty German General Staff and were for a moderate peace. The war-guilt clause of the Peace Treaties laying the sole responsibility for the outbreak of the war on the Central Powers—was a psychological blunder of the first magnitude, which more than any other single act goaded the Germans later into paths of fanatical nationalism. To be scrupulously fair, the writer must say that in his opinion the territorial clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were on the whole fair. Except Danzig and Memel, and parts of the Polish Corridor (which on the whole, in spite of what the Germans may say, had a Polish majority), no parts of German territory with a German majority were taken away from Germany. Even so, Danzig has for centuries been a Free city, to which it had to revert again, furnished with full powers of Self-Government under the protection of the League of Nations, in order to provide an outlet to the sea to the newly established Polish State. For similar reasons Memel was assigned to Lithuania. Let us in passing remark that the unbridled satisfaction of nationalistic claims in a region like Eastern Europe, where races are so hopelessly intermingled will lead only to chaos. So long as scattered minorities are guaranteed full cultural and religious autonomy, they should be content to be loyal members of the state they belong to. And this task of the protection of Minorities was entrusted to the League of Nations by

the Peace Treaties, which it was fulfilling with varying degrees of success. No, it was not the territorial provisions of the treaty that was so unfair to Germany. It was rather the Reparations clauses and the clauses attempting to ruin Germany's trade and commerce that so shocked the conscience of the world. And then came Poincare's occupation of the Ruhr, which was another capital blunder. Poincare was a son of Lorraine, in whose soul the defeat of 1870 had left its indelible mark. To his lawyer mind France was just one big estate over whose interest he had to keep vigilant guard, just as a country lawyer does over the property of his client. But to be a Statesman one needs other qualities besides those of a scrupulously honest lawyer. He could never put himself in the place of his opponent, he had no feeling for the imponderables. In Geneva, it used to be said among the League journalists: 'Poincare knew everything, but understood nothing, Briand knew nothing but understood everything.' This in a nutshell characterised the difference in mental equipment of these two great patriots of France. Briand was the man to deal with the Germany of Weimar in its early infancy, and Poincare was the man to deal with the Germany of Hitler. Instead, to the great misfortune of Europe, it has been just the reverse. To the writer, the tragedy of post-war Europe seems to be summed up in the fact, that where the Allies should have been generous and sympathetic to the new-born Germany of Weimar—pacific, democratic, and international in its outlook—they were hard, unimaginative and full of the victor's arrogant pride; but when the peace of Europe and the defence of the very foundations of human civilization demanded firmness and resolute courage in meeting the unjust demands of a maniacal dictator, who went far beyond undoing the injuries done to his country, in the name of appeasement nothing was done to restrain him. Moderate demands and overdue justice was repeatedly denied to the Weimar Republic, whereas to Hitler all and more than all that was just, was conceded without hardly a protest. Nothing illustrates so well the catalogue of missed opportunities, of the inability of the allied statesmen to take long views, of the French scorning terms that they would have jumped at a few months later, than the history of the Disarmament Conference. In April, 1932, Bruning was vainly pleading for a Reichwehr of 150,000 men and a few "sample" (*i.e.* offensive weapons that were denied to Germany by the Peace Treaty but possessed by the Allies) armaments; whereas in March 1935, Hitler denounced the disarmament clauses of the Peace Treaty and proclaimed a standing army of 550,000 men. Anybody who wants to read this sad chapter of post-war history—the failure of the Disarmament Conference—could do nothing better than read Major-General Temperley's book *The Whispering Gallery of Europe*. The author was the military expert to the British Delegation at the Disarmament Conference and writes with full inside knowledge. He at least, like most politicians, does not blame public opinion for the failure to disarm. He writes:

> "It was pathetic to read the thousands of telegrams that poured into the office of our Delegation at Geneva wishing the Conference success . . . . One felt almost a sense of shame that one was taking part in a collosal make-believe, that the people had not been told the truth . . . . . that all their high hopes would come to naught. Whatever excuses we might make, we could not at least complain that public opinion was not behind us."

Enough of the Past. Let us now turn our eyes to the future. Shall the Allied statesmen take to heart the lesson the recent past has to teach us, refuse merely to be self-righteously indignant, and let wisdom guide them when the time comes to draw up the new peace settlement? And will they realise how they betrayed the League of Nations and all the hopes that were centred round this great institution? Why has the League of Nations failed in the political sphere? Because the Great Powers used it more or less to further their own national interests, and because so long as the idea of absolute Sovereign States rules the world, national egoisms will bar the way to any real collective action. The writer once asked a neutral statesman who is intimately connected with the work of the League from its earliest days and enjoys universal respect, what his experience has been with regard to the collaboration of the Great Powers with the League. His answer was:

> "Except in regard to minor matters such as technical organization and health or social questions, the Great Powers have hardly co-operated in the full League spirit, subordinating their narrow self-interests to the larger interests of the whole community of nations. That is why the smaller neutral countries like my own, cannot, after the bitter experiences of Manchuria, Abyssinia, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, take part in the sanctions clauses of the Covenant, for they cannot trust the Big Powers to protect them in their hour of need."

In the case of Abyssinia, the writer is through his long years of personal experience of League politics, firmly convinced, that the application of Oil sanctions against Italy would have saved Abyssinia. This is not solely his personal view. He has been confirmed in it through his talks with people who are in the

know. He agrees with what J. L. Hammond once wrote :

"The experiment of Collective Security was ruined not by the strength of the State that resisted it, but by the insincerity of those who applied it."

But often in the darkest hour, light is vouchsafed to man. So let us hope, that now when the Western Powers are engaged in a life and death struggle to stop unbridled aggression, they will learn from the mistakes of the past, and in the place of weakness, vacillation and divided allegiance to two mutually contradictory principles—national self-aggrandisement and international collaboration—, they will bring strength, determination and singleness of purpose in the service of building up a Federation of Nations. For some kind of Federation it has to be, however loose, going beyond the structure of the present League, and demanding as the price of peace, some sacrifice of absolute sovereignty. In the present era, with all the technical and scientific advances that we have made, the attempt to preserve intact absolute Sovereign States, means nothing less than going back to the law of the jungle. Before the outbreak of the war, many serious students of International Affairs, watching with a sad heart the repeated failures of the League to stop aggression, had thought out one solution in their minds, but were afraid to utter the magic word, for fear it would be decried as too utopian. That magic word was "Federal Union." Clarence Streit, for years a League journalist, was one of the first to utter it in his book *Union Now.* When the malady is serious drastic medicine has to be prescribed—tinkering with palliatives will not do. Mankind is now at the parting of ways. It either has to take a big step forward or it will perish. In the League of Nations, there is already in embryo, the beginnings of a World-Government. While Governments were playing at Power-Politics and discrediting the League, the silent workers of the League Secretariat and the International Labour Office—the first International Civil Service in the history of the world—have been steadily forging ahead works of social reconstruction away from the lime-light of newspaper publicity. For this side of the League's activity, it hardly gets any credit or praise from the general public, who are scarcely aware of it. For all this has no 'news value' in the eyes of the Press Lords. But of course, all this laudable work of the League in the sphere of social hygiene and health is of no avail if recurring wars come and destroy civilisation. Therefore its fate is bound up with the question of War and Peace. Do the nations ardently desire peace? Then they must be ready to pay the price for it. And that price is high. But is not Peace, that is not mere passivity but an incessant striving after the realisation of the ideal of brotherhood among nations, worth a great deal of sacrifice ?

Are the nations of the world—and especially those that wield great political power and have oversea possessions—ready to declare, that at the end of the war, they will :

1. Do all in their power to strengthen and revive the League of Nations;
2. Part with some of their sovereign rights, especially the right to declare war and peace, and entrust the League of Nations with the organisation of common defence of all its Members against aggression;
3. Solemnly renounce war and accept third-party judgment, either by arbitration or judicial decision, for the settlement of disputes;
4. Abolish high tariffs among Member-states and work towards its ultimate abolition through the creation of a Zollverein;
5. Carry out a radical programme of disarmament;
6. Through concerted action do all in their power to promote economic prosperity and social justice;
7. Extend the Mandate system to all the Colonies in Africa and administer them solely in the interests of the native inhabitants, with the ultimate object of fitting them for Self-Government;
8. Accord free access to all the nations to the raw materials of the tropics;
9. Not discriminate in any way, either politically or economically, against ex-enemy nations once they have joined the League of Nations and promise to carry out loyally its provisions;
10. Work through the League of Nations for its gradual evolution towards a Federal Union?

If the answer is in the affirmative then this war may prove a turning point in the history of mankind and we may hopefully look forward to a better future. And an India that through her inalienable rights has gained full nationhood is mistress of her own destiny, will, in the words of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, "gladly join other free nations for mutual defence, economic co-operation and a new world order based on freedom." But the question remains :

"Will they pay the price?"

On the answer given to this question by the nations of the earth, hangs the fate of mankind.

December 17, 1939.

HOBSON'S CRITIQUE OF IMPERIALISM

By Dr. BOOL CHAND, M.A., Ph.D.

The publication of the third 'entirely revised and reset' edition of J. A. Hobson's *Imperialism*[1] brings a subject, which has never really gone out of the public view, again to the forefront. The book seeks to give precision to a term which is on everybody's lips and which is used to denote the most powerful movement in the current politics of the Western World.

Meaning of Imperialism

In this otherwise classic analysis of the implications of Imperialism, the author does not attempt to give a definition of the term. He explains his view of Imperialism by distinguishing it from Colonialism.

> "Colonialism, where it consists in the migration of part of a nation to vacant or sparsely peopled foreign lands, the emigrants carrying with them full rights of citizenship in the mother country, or establishing local self-government in close conformity with her institutions and under her final control, may be considered a genuine expansion of nationality, a territorial enlargement of the stock, language, and institutions of the nation."[2]

Imperialism starts only when a state advances beyond the limits of nationality, for

> "nations trespassing beyond the limits of facile assimilation transform the whole stimulative rivalry of varied national types into the cut-throat struggle of competing empires."[3]

But with the 'quibbles about the modern meaning of the term Imperialism' the author does not bother himself. He is satisfied with giving some concrete facts in the history of the last sixty years in order to convey an idea of the measure of Imperialism in the world today.

We do not question the efficacy of this procedure of giving definiteness to the term Imperialism. But we do feel that concrete facts and examples serve their real purpose only when they are able to achieve a concretisation and definition of ideas, and therefore we believe that a definition of the term Imperialism is really called for and if successfully given, would lead to a great clarification of the concept.

There is a well-known definition of the term Imperialism given by the great Russian sociologist and revolutionary, Vladimir Lenin, that 'Imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism'. This definition was given by Lenin in a pamphlet which he wrote in 1916 under the title 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism' and in the writing of which he made free use of Hobson's book. Yet this definition does not seem to us to be quite adequate. It is unhistoric and too narrow in its scope, for it fails to explain the imperialism of the feudal and the mercantilist types. It is not even a correct explanation of the facts of modern economic imperialism. None, for instance, of the late-comers in the race for imperialism—Germany, Italy, or Japan—whose claims accelerated the resumption of empire-making towards the end of the 19th century, could be said to have reached the 'monopolistic stage of capitalism'. When they acquired their colonial possessions, they were—and Japan is today—economically semi-feudal. And since, as Lenin himself admitted, 'capitalism becomes capitalist imperialism only at a definite and very high stage of its development;'[4] Lenin's definition fails to explain even the Czarist Imperialism, although the fact of its existence cannot be disputed by any.

A full definition of Imperialism must, therefore, take into consideration a number of factors. It must consider that Imperialism is a creed as well as a policy, its main driving force being 'the desire or lust for power'. As a creed, it sees in force—physical force—the chief instrument for shaping human destinies. As a policy, it looks forward to the vision of a self-sufficient super-state which is capable of living in splendid isolation from the rest of the world. On the economic side, it represents a particular type of 'predatory economics' in contrast to mere 'exchange economics'. As every age has its own method of widening the territorial base of national wealth and of winning domination or additional external resources by one or other method of coercive pressure, so it has its own brand of imperialism. Thus, the Imperialism of the Feudal Ages relied on conquest and land grabbing as appropriate means for widening

1. Allen & Unwin, London, 1938.
2. Hobson : *Imperialism*, 3rd ed., p. 4.
3. *Ibid*, p. 9.
4. Lenin : *Imperialism, in Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 80.

and enriching society: the Imperialism of the Mercantile Ages, on the contrary, did not go after territorial possessions, its objects were goods, particularly precious metals and rare spices, and when it could not get them by regular reciprocal exchange operations, it resorted to monopolistic control of trade settlements and oversea routes: the Imperialism of the Industrial Age, in the same way, consisted in the striving of every industrial capitalist nation to bring under its control and to annex increasingly big agrarian regions, for the supply of raw materials to be worked in the factories of the imperialist power: and Modern Imperialism differs from the older type in the dominance of the financial or investing over the purely mercantile interests.

Hobson's analysis, however, does not concern itself with all these four types of imperialism; he is, in the main, concerned with the study of the new Imperialism of the Industrial Age.

Economic Value of Imperialism

From this definition of Imperialism, the enquiry naturally proceeds to the assessment of the economic benefits of the possession of an empire.

The tenacity with which some of the Western Powers have fought their way into the imperial arena and the absorption of such large proportion of public interest, energy, blood, and money in seeking to procure colonial possessions and foreign markets would seem to suggest that these powers were obtaining their chief livelihood from these colonial possessions; but on analysis of figures from the British Empire, the most extensive empire in the world, Hobson comes to the conclusion that this is far from being the case.

Firstly, as regards the commercial value of imperialism, the glaring fact about British foreign trade is that it furnishes a very small proportion of the total industry of the nation. A recent conjectural estimate of the Board of Trade put the proportion of the total labour of British working classes which was concerned with the production of commodities for export as 'between one-fifth and one-sixth of the whole'; and if we suppose that the profits, salaries, etc., in connection with export trade are at the same level with those derived from home trade, this conjectural estimate would mean that between one-fifth and one-sixth only of the income of the nation comes from the production and carriage of goods for export trade. This estimate cannot, of course, be taken as a measure of the net value of foreign trade to the British nation, nor can it be taken to imply that Great Britain could dispense with her external markets and be no great sufferer in trade and income. Some considerable foreign markets are an economic necessity to Great Britain, in order that by her exports she may purchase foods or materials which she cannot produce at home. But the important fact is that there is no inescapable direct relationship between the industrial progress of a nation and its external trade. On the contrary,

"when a modern nation has attained a high level of development in those industrial arts which are engaged in supplying the first physical necessaries and conveniences of the population, an increasing proportion of her productive energies will begin to pass into higher kinds of industry, into the transport services, into distribution and into professional, official, and personal services, which produce goods and services less adapted on the whole for international trade than those simple goods which go to build the lower stages of a civilisation,"[5]

so that it may happen that while up to a point in the development of national life foreign trade grows up rapidly, after that point a decline, not in the absolute size or growth but in relative size or growth, should take place. Such a point, Hobson estimates, was reached in England in 1905.

Proceeding to enquire what proportion of this small external trade of England was explained by her possession of an empire, Hobson states a still more astonishing conclusion, that there is no support for the dogma that 'trade follows the flag'. He reviews a long period of about sixty years, from 1855 to 1903, and notices that 'imperialism had no appreciable influence whatever on the determination of our external trade', for while imperial expansion during the eighties and nineties was attended by no increase in the value of British trade with the colonies and dependencies, a considerable increase in the value of British trade with foreign nations did take place, the greatest of this increase being with that group of industrial nations whom Britain regarded as her industrial enemies and whose political enmity she was in constant danger of arousing by her policy of aggression—namely, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States.

There is another point of supreme significance which has considerable bearing upon the new Imperialism and which, therefore, deserves to be noticed. This was brought out by Professor Flux after an elaborate investigation into the size of British trade with India, the self-

5. Hobson : *Imperialism,* p. 30-31.

governing Dominions, and the other colonies, that

"the only considerable increase of our import trade since 1884 is from our genuine Colonies in Australasia, North America, and Cape Colony; the trade with India has been stagnant, while that with our tropical Colonies in Africa and the West Indies has been in most cases irregular and dwindling. Our export trade exhibits the same general character, save that Australia and Canada showing a growing resolution to release themselves from dependence upon British manufactures; the trade with the tropical Colonies, though exhibiting some increase, is very small and very fluctuating."[6]

All this forms a very sad commentary upon the economics of the new Imperialism, for except in the case of India, it is impossible in the light of this analysis to make any serious attempt to regard the territories acquired under the new Imperialism as in any way satisfactory business assets.

The same practically is the conclusion when we consider imperialism as an outlet for population, particularly in the case of the British Empire. There is a widely prevalent belief that imperial expansion is desirable, or even necessary, in order to absorb and utilise the surplus of an ever-growing population; but analysis shows (1) that the total emigration of Britons represents no large proportion of the population, (2) that this proportion actually diminished during the years of active imperial expansion, and (3) that of the emigrants less than one-half settled in British possessions and an infinitesimally small fraction in the countries acquired under the new Imperialism.

Parasites of Imperialism

But although Imperialism is, as the above analysis shows, comparatively valueless to any imperialist country as a whole, it nevertheless forms a good fattening ground for certain special classes and interests.

The direct economic outcome of an aggressive imperialistic and militaristic policy is

"a great expenditure of public money upon ships, guns, military and naval equipment and stores, growing and productive of enormous profits when a war, or an alarm of war, occurs; new public loans and important fluctuations in the home and foreign Bourses; more posts for soldiers and sailors and in the diplomatic and consular services; improvement of foreign investments by the substitution of the British flag for a foreign flag; acquisition of markets for certain classes of exports, and some protection and assistance for British trades in these manufactures; employment for engineers, missionaries, speculative miners, ranchers, and other emigrants."[7]

Thus certain definite business and professional interests feeding upon imperialistic expenditure or upon the results of that expenditure are set up in opposition to the common good and are prepared to give united support to every new imperialistic exploit.

Lenin, in his brilliant essay on Imperialism, rightly stressed the capitalistic and the financial foundations of modern imperialism, but he completely ignored the element of services which constitutes, and in the nature of things must constitute, one of the most imperialistically inclined class of people in any community. Colonies are, as James Stuart Mill said, 'a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes'.

"In all the professions, military and civil, the army, diplomacy, the church, the bar, teaching and engineering, Greater Britain serves for an overflow, relieving the congestion of the home market and offering chances to more reckless and adventurous members, while it furnishes a convenient limbo for damaged characters and careers. The actual amount of profitable employment thus furnished by our recent acquisitions is inconsiderable, but it arouses that disproportionate interest which always attaches to the margin of employment. To extend this margin is a powerful motive in Imperialism."[8]

It is true that the big business, the investing, and the service classes in any community do not constitute anything like a majority; but these classes are today in effective control of the national resources, and the final determination of policy, therefore, rests with them. Finance manipulates the patriotic forces which politicians, soldiers, philanthropists, and traders generate; it exercises its control over public opinion through the press which, in every civilised country, is becoming more and more its obedient instrument; and such is the array of distinctively economic elements profiting from imperialism, a large group of trades and professions seeking profitable business and lucrative employment from the expansion of military and civil services, and from the expenditure on military operations, the opening up of the new tracts of territory and trade with the same, and the provision of new capital which these operations require, that they easily and willingly find their guiding and directing force in the power of the general financier.

The play of these forces does not appear openly. The are essentially parasites upon patriotism and they adapt themselves to its protecting colours. In the mouth of their representatives there are noble phrases, expressive of their desire to 'extend the area of civilisation, to establish good government, to promote Christianity, to extirpate slavery, and to elevate the lower races;' but these phrases are wholly foundationless and therefore of no avail.

6. Hobson : *Imperialism*, p. 38.
7. Hobson : *Imperialism*, p. 48.
8. Hobson : *Imperialism*, p. 51.

Political Significance of Imperialism

Take, for instance, the British Empire. Almost throughout her history, the statesmen of Britain have continued to state themselves with emphasis that there is one fixed rule of action in the administration of the British Empire and that is 'to promote the interest of the colony to the utmost, to develop its scheme of government as rapidly as possible, and eventually to elevate it from the position of inferiority to that of association'. But in its application to Britain's new Imperialism such a statement of policy is really the largest misstatement of fact, for upon the vast majority of populations throughout her Empire Britain has bestowed no real powers of self-government, nor has she any serious intentions of doing so, or any serious belief that it is possible for her to do so. In the self-governing colonies of Australasia and North America alone is responsible government a reality, and even there considerable populations of outlanders, as in West Australia, or servile labour, as in Queensland, have tempered the genuineness of democracy. In the Union of South Africa, recent events form good testimony how feebly the forms and even the spirit of the free British institutions have taken their roots in states where the great majority of the population has always been excluded from political rights. Altogether, not even five per cent of the population of the British Empire is possessed of any appreciable portion of the political and civil liberties which are the basis of the British constitution.

There is, again, a belief prevalent in large sections of the British nation that British Imperialism is a great force for good; for the extension of British Imperialism leads to the spread of Christianity among the heathens and the diminishing of cruelty and other sufferings which they believe to exist in all non-Christian countries. All this is mere presumption; and anyhow these people are mistaken in their belief that religion and other arts of civilisation are portable commodities which it is their duty to convey to the backward nations.

What is surprising is that selfish forces which direct imperialism should utilise the protective colours of such disinterested movements. Men have an unlimited capacity of deceiving themselves as to the relative strength and worth of the motives which affect them, and particularly politicians acquire so strong a habit of setting their projects in the most favourable light that they soon convince themselves that the finest results which they think may conceivably accrue from any policy is the actual motive of that policy. As for the public, it is only natural that it should be deceived; for all the purer and more elevated adjuncts of Imperialism are constantly kept to the fore by religious and philanthropic agencies.

The blending of the strong interested with the weak disinterested forces is, indeed, the very characteristic of the imperialistic policy. It is the homage that imperialism pays to humanity. But so habituated does the mind of the imperialist nation become to this deception that it soon becomes incapable of self-criticism. An example of this may be found in the relations of Imperialism with the 'lower races'. The British imperialist is fond of ennunciating the theory of trusteeship, that the lower races are a trust for civilisation with the civilised races; but the actual history of British relations with lower races occupying lands on which they had settled makes a very sad commentary on the operation of this theory.

> "When the settlement approaches the condition of genuine colonisation, the operation of this theory has commonly implied the extermination of the lower classes, either by war or by private slaughter, as in the case of Australian Bushmen, African Bushmen and Hottentots, Red Indians, and Maoris, or by forcing upon them the habits of a civilisation equally destructive to them." [9]

And all this is explained away by saying that lower races in contact with superior races naturally tend to disappear. The wonder only is that

> "only those lower races tend to disappear who are incapable of profitable exploitation by the superior white settlers, either because they are too savage for effective industrialism or because the demand for labour does not require their presence." [10]

Naturally, forcible white rule over alien natives fails to justify itself by results. The failure is attributable not to any special defect of the British or the other modern European nations; it is inherent in the nature of such domination.

Said John Stuart Mill,

> "The Government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as Government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm, to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants; but if the good of the governed is the proper business of Government, it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it."

The truth of this statement can be eminently seen in an analysis of British Imperialism in India or of European exploitation of China.

9. Hobson : *Imperialism,* p. 252.
10. Hobson : *Imperialism,* p. 253.

For Europe to rule Asia by force for purposes of personal gain and profit and to seek to justify that rule on the pretence that she is civilising Asia and raising her to a higher level of spiritual life, appears on a historical view to be sheerest nonsense; and there can be no denying that a violent breaking down of the characteristic institutions of any nation to satisfy some hasty lust of commerce or some greed of power is the most fatally blind misreading of the true process of world civilisation that it is possible to conceive.

Reaction of Imperialism upon Home Politics

That brings us to the study of the reactions of Imperialism upon home politics and the analysis of the process of imperialism there.

The decades of imperialism in Europe have always been prolific in wars: most of these wars have been directly motived by aggression and have issued in the forcible seizure of territory. It is true that the great imperialist powers usually kept their hands off one another until the catastrophe of 1914, yet the self-restraint proved terribly costly and precarious. It led to the growth of armaments and to the extension of conflicting interests between the various powers in territorial and commercial expansion. The number of sensitive spots in the mutual political relations of the various powers naturally grew and diplomatic strains became frequent in their occurrence and deeper in their intensity. The chief business nature of the national antagonisms rendered them all the more dangerous, inasmuch as the polity of the government passed under the influence of distinctively financial juntos.

Imperialism thus has always effectively brought militarism to the forefront of practical politics; and militarism must raise in any industrial country vast economic and political issues. The economic difficulties of militarism refer to the inordinate cost of a perpetually increasing army for a perpetually increasing empire, and that at a time when the call for free, bold initiative and individual enterprise and ingenuity in the assimilation of the latest scientific and teaching knowledge for the arts of industry, for improved organisation and methods of business, becomes increasingly urgent. 'The economic cost of militarism is therefore twofold: the greatly increased expense of the army must be defrayed by an impoverished people." But far more important are the political implications of Imperialism. They strike at the very root of popular liberty and the ordinary civic virtues. The psychical reactions of military life are notoriously antagonistic to civil standards of morality and would render men unfit for civil life.

The reactions of Imperialism, therefore, upon home politics are of the most serious character. There is a fundamental antagonism between imperialism and social reform as also between imperialism and democracy. Not only is imperialism used to frustrate those measures of economic reform now recognised as essential to the working of all machinery of popular government, but it operates to paralyse the working of that machinery itself. Representative institutions are ill-adapted for empire, either as regards men or methods. The government of a great heterogeneous medley of lower races by departmental officials and their nominated emissaries lies outside the scope of popular knowledge and popular control. It is claimed by them that in foreign affairs the nation should stand as one man, that policies once entered upon by Government should not be repudiated, and that criticism should be avoided as weakening the influence of the nation abroad. When the most important concerns of a nation are thus withdrawn from the field of party differences, party government itself must grow weak; the importance of the executive is thus enhanced, that of the legislative is lowered, and the parliamentary action is looked down upon as the futile and irritating activity of unpractical critics. Autocratic government in imperial politics naturally reacts upon domestic government, and the result is a decline in the reality of popular government.

Imperialist Finance and the Future of Imperialism

Imperialist finance is fundamentally unbalanced and intrinsically inimical to the best interests of the nation. A business man estimating the value of an extension of his business will set the increased cost against the increased takings. Adopting the same course, Hobson ranks the increased expenditure on armaments as a cost of the policy of imperial expansion, and shows that between 1884 and 1903 the relative proportion of the cost of armaments and colonial trade arose from £27,864,000 and £184,000,000 to £100,825,000 and £232,000,000.

Says Hobson:

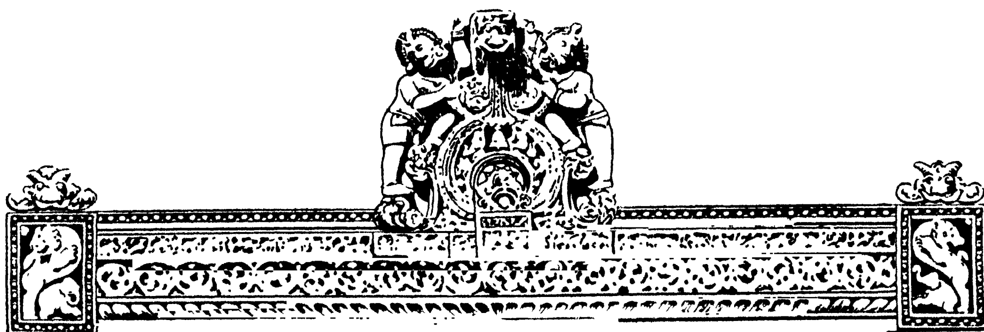
> "An individual doing business in this fashion could not avoid bankruptcy, and a nation, however rich, pursuing such a policy is loaded with a millstone which must eventually drag her down."

We have already seen how imperialism is the policy of a state under the influence and control of a small oligarchy of financial monopolists. This class of financial monopolists is itself the outcome of an era of cut-throat competition, followed by a rapid process of amalgamation, finding its acme in the 'holding' system. No luxury of living to which this class could attain kept pace with its rise of income, and a process of automatic saving naturally sets in on an unprecedented scale. The investment of these savings in other industries helps to bring these under the same concentrative forces, with the result that the number of these financial oligarchs diminishes in the same degree as their power in the state increases. No doubt, the rapid growth of a population accustomed to a high and an always ascending standard of comfort absorbs in the satisfaction of its wants a large quantity of new capital; but the actual rate of saving, accompanied by a more economical application of forms of existing capital exceeds considerably the rise of the national consumption of manufactures and inevitably leads to a demand on the part of these people for foreign markets; and this demand for foreign markets for manufactures and investments is ultimately responsible in modern times for the adoption of imperialism as a political policy.

It may be said that such a process is inevitable. Given the present inequalities of wealth, perhaps it is so. But is it impossible to imagine that the consuming public in the nation itself may raise its standard of consumption to keep pace with every rise of productive power ? Then there could be no excess of goods or capital clamorous to use imperialism in order to find markets; foreign trade may still exist, but it would be carried on by the ordinary process of international exchange. There is nothing inherently irrational in such a supposition, only it must be founded upon a rational distribution of wealth. The present tendency to over-save is noticeable in the present state of economic society, where distribution has no fixed relation to needs and is determined by other considerations which assign to some people a consuming power vastly in excess of needs or possible uses while others are destitute of consuming power enough to satisfy even the full demands of physical efficiency. If a tendency to distribute income or consuming power according to needs were operative it is evident that consumption would rise with every rise of producing power (for human needs are illimitable), and there could be no excess of saving at all.

The future of Imperialism, therefore, is intimately bound up with the scheme of the distribution of wealth in any community. If the apportionment of income were such as to evoke no excessive saving, full constant employment for capital and labour would be furnished at home. This does not, of course, imply that there may be no foreign trade; goods that could not be produced at home, or produced as well or as cheaply, would still be purchased from abroad by the ordinary process of international exchange, although here again the pressure would be the wholesome pressure of the consumer anxious to buy abroad what he could not buy at home, not the blind eagerness of the producer to use every force or trick of trade to find markets for his surplus goods. But the baneful system of Imperialism, with all its distasteful implications for the ruling, as well as the subject country, could not possibly grow up.

In the context of this argument, the real enemy of Imperialism is Socialism, which believes in the taking away from the 'imperialist' classes of the surplus incomes that form the economic stimulus of imperialism; and as Socialism makes progress Imperialism must recede into the background.



THE ART OF PORDENONE

By Dr. P. N. ROY, M.A., D.LITT. (Rome)

There are people who, in spite of their being endowed with high gifts, are so circumstanced that they pass out of life without the recognition which is their due. Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone, the Italian artist, is such a creature. He was gifted with striking originality, a strong imagination, a powerful sense of colour and movement, and yet his name is now known perhaps to none except specialists. When he was alive he had such powerful rivals that his contemporaries could not quite understand and judge him at his right value. Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael, Giorgione and Titian were all in the height of their fame when Pordenone was working. When he was dead, Tintoretto was twenty years old and Veronese ten. So, as has been said by an historian of the last century, he lived in the finest century for the Arts but not the happiest and most opportune period in which to excel.

Yet Pordenone's countrymen were not altogether indifferent to his merits. Vasari praises him as

"so valiant in the art of painting that his works appear rounded and detached from the wall. Therefore, because he contributed strength, impressiveness and relief to the art of painting, he is placed among those to whom is due the enrichment of Art and the benefit to the world deriving therefrom."

Pietro Aretino says that he was inspired by the "frenzy of an original," a phrase which indicate that the artist could at least attract the attention of the people by one aspect of his talent.

In Pordenone's paintings we miss the calm composure of the typical renaissance art. They are marked by very powerful movement of lines expressive of energetic scenes upon a wide surface. This linear energy is so unrestrained as to give the impression of a wild personality of the artist. A critic, Giuseppe Fiocco, who has made a very careful and sympathetic study of the paintings of Pordenone, calls him "questo selvatico artista." This peculiarity of rough and wild linear energy is prominent in his youthful works and is perhaps, partly at least, due to the milieu in which he worked, *i.e.*, the provincial atmosphere of the Friuli country. Friuli at that time was not propitious for the development of art and culture. Too many disasters had overtaken that region during the course of a thousand years and the continual necessity for defence had hardened the minds of the people into indifference towards everything which did not constitute a means of defence against the enemy or a source of bread to appease hunger. Living in the midst of such surroundings and without the benefit of being trained in a school, Pordenone, following his own inclination and will, began his artistic career by painting religious subjects suitable to the taste and capacity for appreciation of the humble country-folk. Later he joined a master, Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo, who could not be expected to teach him better, as the master's technique was as rough and rude. Gian Francesco disobeyed the Renaissance rules of construction and covered the surface of his paintings with intricate lines, giving the impression of a play of forces. The master's teaching and example, therefore, only reinvigorated the natural manner of the pupil and developed in him some of those attitudes of dramatic vehemence which seem to be almost baroque.

A fruit of this training under Tolmezzo is seen in the decorations on the facade of the castle of Spilimberg. The influence of the master is evident here. The classical rules of construction are disregarded and the foreshortening is so imminent as to make the winged horses seem to come out of the picture.

When afterwards Pordenone comes across Giorgione, there occurs a great change in his art. His dry clearly-outlined style suddenly catches the mysterious harmonies of the soft chiaroscuro of the great Venetian master. The time-worn outlines disappear. We are in a wider breathing space. We have the relief of a sense of unbounded freedom. His celebrated altar-pieces are exquisite examples of this change. In them he assimilates and interprets Giorgione in a manner which few artists have done. Another decisive factor in the development of his art is his acquaintance with Signorelli and sojourn in Rome. Under these circumstances Pordenone's art made rapid progress, he becoming one of the finest colourists of the period. But Pordenone thereby did not lose his former popular taste and his vivid

native imagination. The experiences and the memory of his own region of Friuli had formed indestructible foundation to the character of the painter, and he always remained an artist of the Friuli country, with a fascination and form of expression entirely his own.

A comparison has been drawn between Giorgione and Pordenone. The comparison brings out the deep spiritual diversity which exists between the two artists. Giorgione was possessed of the most fugitive of imagination with an inclination towards dreaminess and contemplation. The effect of colour in his painting is that of a beautiful ethereal song which produces vague melancholy suggestions in the soul. It has also been said that the perfection of Giorgione is the perfection of a Greek vase, that his art is an ideal synthesis of imagination and sensation into an elaborate vibration of colour. Pordenone on the other hand lacks the dreamy contemplative quality. He is more solid, more schematic, more firmly placed on the earth, carrying into the colour-world of Giorgione the artistic notion and peculiarities of his youth. That sense of motion which we found to be dominant quality of his juvenile art, still persists, breaking the calm unity of the whole. His fine chromatic effect becomes transfused by a sense of physical dynamism. The result is an art in which, as Gieuseppo Fiocco says, we find Giorgionian mystery of colour, nourished by Roman schemes and Tolmezzian nostalgia.

Michelangelo, Raphael and Correggio also influenced the art of Pordenone. From Raphael he learnt the "grand manner", and from Michelangelo, with whom he found some mental affinity, the effects of relief and movement. He thus became, as Sergio Bettini says, the first of the Venetian "Romanists." But full of the frenzy of an original painter, he crossed all boundaries, and created a world of his own perturbed by the most frenzied play of form, colour and effects of light. The use of these light-effects represents the third phase of the development of Pordenone's art. In this respect he is a precursor of that great master of light-effect, Tintoretto. When, after having exalted to the extreme limit his natural love of form and movement, he realized the lack of unity which marred his paintings, he felt that he could supply this unity by the proper use of light-effect. Sergio Bettini says :

"The language of Pordenone, even when separating itself from that of Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo, carried with it a first synthesis of form-movement; after the Giorgionian experience he reached the second synthesis of form-colour, but with the continuation of movement in this Giorgian form-colour he was compelled to seek a new syntactic element which might give unity to forms realized in constructive colour, and this new element could be only light."

Tintoretto in fact took the cue of his art from this new style of Pordenone and developed it in his own manner. And there exists the same difference between Tintoretto and Pordenone in the use of light, as we have seen between Giorgione and Pordenone in the use of colour. In Tintoretto light is used with the violence of a tempest, but the effect is always a transfiguration of the forms in a spiritual and ideal manner. Pordenone on the contrary remains always objective and material, tending little towards the world of visions and unreality.

It would seem that a fundamental lack of balance undermined the personality of Pordenone. In life as well as in art, he repudiated rules and conventions. He was always irate and always ready to fight. He became even more of an enemy than a rival to Titian, and felt so threatened by adversaries of every sort that even when painting, he had always by his side a shield and a rapier. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that on January 15, 1539, when Pordenone died suddenly, at only fifty-six years of age, in the Angelo Tavern at Ferrara, there were rumours of poison. He was even disorderly in the use of his name. Sometimes he called himself Giovanni Antonio Licino da Pordenone. He also signed his works under various other names, such as Lodesanis and Sacchiense, Corticello or Regillo.

Pordenone was called by his contemporary critics as "Pictor modernus." He has certainly not the universality of Veronese or Tintoretto, but his influence is visible in certain characteristics of the art of the baroque period. Caravaggio, for example, develops certain traits which can be traced to Pordenone. His love of an ample ambient, his depiction of energetic figures, his disposition of figures and the rhythm of the hand are all Pordenonian. Rubens, who was a great admirer of Caravaggio was also an admirer of Pordenone. And many other artists of the seventeenth century show traces of the influence of the Friulian painter.





Piacenza—Church of the Madonna of the countryside—Adoration of the Magi



Milan—Portrait of the unknown



Cremona-Cathedral—Jesus under the Cross

Mr. G. T. Boag, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. Chief Advisor to His Excellency the Governor of Madras
After a portrait By D. P. Roy Chowdhury

Dr. C. R. Reddy, D.Litt. (Hon.), M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University
After a portrait By D. P. Roy Chowdhury

EXHIBITION OF INDIAN PAINTINGS IN RANGOON

By K. B. IYER

The Exhibition of Indian Paintings organised under the joint auspices of the Burma Research Society and the Rangoon Corporation presents a unique collection, fairly representative of the early Buddhist art of Deccan and the leading phases of North Indian Schools, Buddhist, Early Hindu, Rajput, Mughal, Orissan, Nepalese and Modern. Within the restricted compass of about eighty pictures they told in vivid phrases the pictorial history of India covering a period of eighteen hundred years. Looking round, we gain a panoramic view of Asian art; for, in this we see, some of the basic ideals and elements that have influenced and shaped the art of a considerable part of Asia, Ceylon, Java, Bali, Malay, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Burma, Central Asia, even China and Japan, where the greatest period of creative activity synchronised with Indian cultural influences.

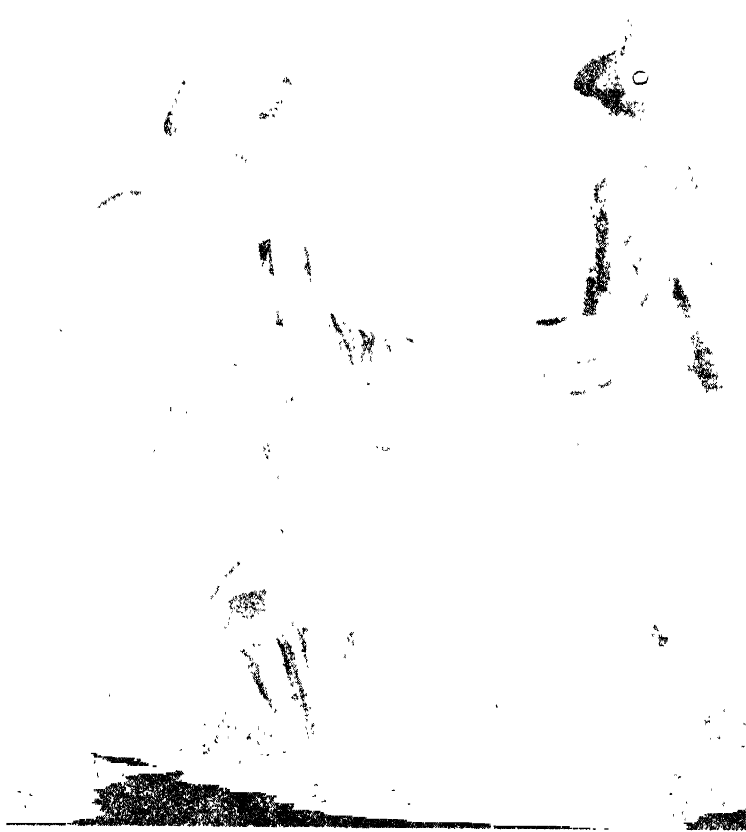
Abundant, infinitely lovely as at Ajanta and Bagh, trickling and hesitant as in the palm leaf miniatures, resurgent and lyrical in the Rajput schools, gay and bursting with youthful energy in the Mughal period, virile in the seclusion of the Hill Schools, experimentative and eclectic in the modern phase, Indian pictorial art remained irrepressible, persistent, always rhythmic, colourful and ever motivated by a deep undercurrent of spiritual force. Here, it will be helpful to remember that Indian art is essentially religious, hieratic; its message is to the soul. Not that it has no secular phase; only the secular, as such, does not function independently, except chiefly in



Crying for the Moon
[Kangra school]



Guna-garbita
[Kangra school]



Initiation
By Nandalal Bose

creation, irrespective of its apparent beauty, ugliness or ghastliness is there. This is powerfully illustrated by Roy Chowdhury's 'Kali' (No. 70) an effective visualisation of the dark goddess; the fury and the terror of the destructive aspect of Nature red in tooth and claw. Framed in conventions and aided by symbols and signs, the artist projects before our vision an aspect of the Eternal Law.

Having fixed its ideals centuries before, a characteristic code of conventions was established and a language of symbolism was employed. The rules laid down in precise terms subjected the aspiring artist to the discipline of the *yoga* path. No conflicting ideologies and individual idyosyncracies were allowed to befog the mind of the artist; no loophole was allowed for rebellion or wilful originality. This did not strangulate individual freedom from functioning, the disciplined was as free as the *yogin* whose rigid code confers a superior freedom. The prolific stylistic differences of Indian painting and the bewildering multiplicity of themes testify to the freedom, the Indian artist possessed. In fact, his rigid code has been no bondage but an aid for the mind to flower in form. Niceties of perspective anatomical perfection and photographic fidelity to appearances and models do not bother him. He revels in creating significant forms that evoke his vision through powerful rhythmic lines and rich warm tones communicating to the spectator the dominant emotional aspect of the incident depicted. Face to face with the picture of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi of Ajanta (No. 2) all criticism is stilled. One is caught as it were unawares in a mood of spiritual calm; the infinite compassion and all-encompassing love exuding from the figure, so rhythmically poised, is felt by the spectator who nestles under the comfort. Take again the *Ragini* series, where man, woman, bird and beast and the flora all alike respond to the

certain works of the Mughal School. The secular is brought into relation with the spiritual, for, the absorbing passion of the Indian artist is to emphasise the eternal behind all appearances as with the Chinese Landscapists. One has only to recall to mind the pictures of bathing scenes on the Riviera with their gay, purposeless crowd of aggressive beauties and compare them with the 'Bathing Ghat at Benares' from the brush of Mr. Chaitanya Deb Chatterjee (shown at the exhibition) to appreciate the genius of the Indian artist to spiritualise the material and transform the momentary. True to life details there are, but what impresses us is the unconscious graciousness of the forms so revealing of their inner personality and the devotional aspect which entirely dominates the scene, giving voice to the deep longings of the soul. The profound sense of beauty these works reveal is not distilled out of matter but is subjective; concerned as they are in revealing the life within, every aspect of



Illustrated manuscript of "Vala-Gopala-stuti"

rhythmic law bringing out in a subtle manner the unity of all life. Here symbolism, as Sir William Jones observed, has effected "the most beautiful union of painting with poetical mythology and the genuine theory of music." Indian pictures are not satisfied by stating a fact; their primary concern is to communicate an emotion.

The few examples of the Ajanta and Bagh frescoes were enough to convince even the sceptic of the glory of Indian art. As Laurence Binyon, the distinguished aesthete and critic, observed: "They are a flowering of the mind in form." Unsophisticated and yet mature, deeply devotinal yet intensely humanistic, the art of Ajanta is something very unique in the pictorial history of the world.

The "Avalokiteswara," copied from a palm leaf MS. of the 9th century by the masterly brush of Nandalal Bose (the original and the copy were on view) and the "Prajnāparamitā" of the 10th century speak of the unique distinction of the Pāla School of Bengal, which conserved some of the best features of Ajanta and transmitted it to Burma, Nepal and Tibet, where it took local colourings. The early Hindu School represented by the Gujarati miniatures characterised by angular, pointed nose and eyes, to a large extent influenced by the Jainic style, is fascinating for its naive appeal and happy colour sense. The Orccha or Early Rajasthani School breathes primitive force. The bold treatment of the conventional trees glowing with leaf and blossom as seen in Ragini "Bangala" was a convincing device to enhance the decorative effect of the picture and deepen the sense of anguish of the separated lover.

The Rajput School with its different stylistic variations was strongly represented. They are remarkable for the power of the line drawing, delicate shadings and unsophisticated refinement. The "Newly Wedded Bride" was a happy study of the timid bashful bride on the threshold of a new life, lured as well as bewildered. The "Birth of Krishna" the "Uplift of Mount Govardhana" and "Lady with the Lyre" ("Guna Garvitā,"—intoxicated with her accomplishments) are triumphs of the brush. Similarly, the "Return from the Pasture" (No. 44) rank as a masterpiece that has rightly earned universal admiration.

The Nepalese-Tibetan School deals with gods and goddesses of the Mahāyāna revealing in a sense the polarity between it and the art of Ajanta in stylistic treatment. This entirely hieratic art, the work of monks, delights in the use of abstract symbols a knowledge of which is a prerequisite to unlock the secrets of these magic carpets. Their geometry is concerned in depicting the Cosmic forces, as far as it would permit equation in human terms. Their stupendous lay-out is peopled with innumerable forms, admirably drawn; a monument to the infinite patience and devotion of the monk-artists. Even in their faded glory, they are arresting; their decorative value and superb colour scheme never wear off by familiarity. This section revealed a rare and priceless collection of which any art gallery in the world can be proud.



Illustrated manuscript of "Prajnaparamita"

Representations from the Mughal School were sumptuous examples and they told in vivid forms the story of the fusion of the Hindu and Saracenic pictorial genius and its transformation into a distinct Indian School different in its intonations and ethos from the purely Saracenic (Persian) art in other lands and outstripping it in many ways. The interested might observe with profit, the pictures titled "A Page from Hamzanamah" (23) and "Princes of the House of Timur" (26) are very much Persian. They are the two land-marks which revealed the process of transformation. This Section was rich in portraiture and contained some of the world's masterpieces. The "Portrait of the Aged Mullah" (32), The "Poet in the Garden" (34) were both revealing and engaging, and the colour scheme was magnificent. The treatment of the trees, leaves and flowers so realistic and live, set up a standard hardly rivalled. The portrait of Nur Jahan and Gul-safa (Nos. 35 and 36) are so powerful that without any effort on the part of the spectator they evoke their living presence.

The Modern School of Indian Painting which had its beginnings in Bengal and which still continues to be its nerve-centre has produced a crop of brilliant artists whose main inspiration is the different native schools of India. But they have also been profoundly affected by the Chinese and Japanese schools and to a certain extent by European influences. Two names stand out prominently among the modern artists of Bengal, Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, some of whose brilliant creations are happily on view. The picture titled "An Illustration from Omar Khayyam" (58) by Tagore is a superb specimen of creative art illustrating in a telling way the cross-currents that have fused into the Modern School. Even the laymen unfamiliar with the technique and ideals of Hindu art and the legends they deal with, would feel the compelling power of the brush works of Nandalal Bose in his truly magnificent conceptions as seen in "Siva Drinking the Poison" (64), an event as significant as the Christ bearing the Cross, "Sati" (65), the "Grief of Umā" (69) which depicts the anguish of a broken heart and "Siva Grieving the Death of Pārvati" (66). The piece titled "Initiation" (No. 68) (here reproduced), a picture that rivets you to the spot, is a penetrating study, soul revealing and virile. It alone is enough to assure his position among the great masters of the age.

Amongst Mr. Chaitanyadev Chatterjee's works the picture titled the "Widow" with its sombre colour scheme and the contrast presented by the paired geese and the fruiting tree, effectively conveyed the sense of tragedy. The "Indian Monk" and the "Orphan" were also effective studies.

One cannot be sufficiently thankful to Mr. O. C. Gangoly, whose title to artistic fame is borne out by his picture "The First Portrait of the Buddha" (No. 71), and to the Burma Research Society and the Mayor for the unique opportunity they have offered to the Rangoon public to study so precious a cultural treasure.

The moral of the Exhibition was very happily summed up by the Mayor of Rangoon: "Most of us live in Burma: but things Indian are very close to us. Just as the Burmese phoongyi goes to Indian books for his classics,

so the Burmese artist must seek in India the origins of his art. We see in the world today, both in the West and the East, nations in conflict, and what the world needs most is international understanding and toleration, which are the basis of peace and goodwill. I feel confident that exhibitions such as these will cement the cultural bonds between Burma and India and will inspire our Burmese artists to revive the art of Burma, which is hardly to be seen anywhere. A nation lives and survives through its art and culture and it is for the Burmese people to pause and consider how to maintain the cultural relations between Burma and her neighbours, India, Ceylon, Siam, China and Japan."

[Pictures illustrating this article are from Mr. O. C. Ganguly's collection.]

A SHARK FISHING FIRM ON THE BAY OF BENGAL

By CHINTA HARAN MAZUMDAR, B.A.

A sea is like a treasure house with all its resources of pearls, corals, fishes, mammals, oysters, and molluscs even with its salt water and the weeds. We have such a sea, a high way of ancient trade and commerce of the Bengalees extending all over the Southern Boundary of this Presidency. But with the change of time access to its shore has been cut off to such an extent that we have become almost forgetful even of its existence. There are possibilities of formulating business on many of the sea products and specially we can have a supply of valuable foodstuff in fish if we care to have them.

Not to speak of the edible fishes of the sea there is possibility of floating business even with various types of sharks which are not taken either by the Hindus or the Muhammadans of the province. These hounds and tigers of the deep are dreaded by all. They are a danger to the fishermen as they tear off their nets, spoil their catches or even make feast out of a limb of the fisherman himself if chance favours them. At times they move quite close to shore and are inadvertently caught in ordinary nets. These 'fishes' are treated in a very crude way by the local fishermen and are put in most limited markets for the Buddhist population of the province. Whereas these sharks if properly treated can have an extensive market abroad. To capture those markets a well organised business is necessary but we are far behind in matters of business enterprise and the foreigners from far off countries come to exploit the resources of our native waters.

Some ten years ago, Mr. Tong Bio, a Chinese gentleman, opened a shark fishing firm in the Bay of Bengal with his headquarters on the Western side of the Moheshkhali island, where the Koalia river falls into the Bay. It is about 3 hours' journey from the steamer station Ujanthaia on the Chittagong-Cox's Bazar line. He had at first a few fishing boats but now he engages almost a dozen of them fitted with sails and two of them with motor engines for his fishing.

Necessary Outfits

This gentleman combines in himself an engineer, fishing expert and an optimistic business organiser. The types of boat used by him are altogether different from those used by the



Shark fishing firm of the Chinese gentleman

local fishermen. By fitting up of sails and engines to them and by the proper selection of his nets he has been able to reduce the number of crew to the minimum of 3 in all for such a boat. Nine of these boats fish night and day at sea while generally one with engine collects the catches and carries them to the yard at intervals. The other motor boat is engaged to take his final products to Chittagong for shipment to

Rangoon or for bringing his stores and sundries, as his headquarters is at a great distance from a town wherefrom he can get his supply in the ordinary way.

The nets are all made of best quality fibre and are nicely finished. Each net is 30 cubits in length and 15 cubits in breadth and the meshes are 4″ square. Handy wooden floats are attached along one side of it. He has built a fine jetty there on the sea beach where the shore is not sloping but rather steep. He has made pulley arrangements on it to lift up the catches from the carrying boat.

It is on this jetty again where the preliminary treatment to the 'fishes' is given. The advantages being that the refuses are directly thrown into the sea so that there can not be any nuisance in the compound.

The labourers he has employed are all trained local men. They are given free ration



Jetty of Mr. Tong Bio

in addition to salaries which range from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 for the season. His business lasts for six months in the year from the month of Aswin to Falgoon (October to March). The labourers are all seen to work conscientiously and there is systematic division of labour for all, the right type of man being put at the proper place.

As soon as the catches, which are mostly sharks of the various types and the saw fish (Pristis cuspidatus), are landed on the jetty, they are opened up. The intestines, heads and skeletons are all thrown into the water beneath but the swords of the saw fish are kept. These swords are dried, packed and despatched to certain places on commercial scale. The fishes are first of all flayed and made into strips say 1½″ square and 1 cubit in length. After that they are washed with the clear saline water of the Bay and stitched on to the end of a wooden pole 1½ cubits in length and ½″ in diameter, one piece in each end of it. They are then put in the sun on bamboo platforms so constructed for the purpose. When properly dried they are assorted and packed in a very up-to-date manner in wooden packages.

The fins are treated in a number of different ways. The caudal fins are dried after carefully cleaning the surface and hanging them high in the sun so that no sand can adhere. The other fins, *e.g.*, dorsal, ventral, etc., are boiled in an iron pan for a considerable time so that the flesh and skins covering the internal spines can be removed conveniently. A band of boys are engaged to do this portion of the work. With heavy knives the external flesh is removed from either side of the spines and they are then bound between pairs of bamboo pieces each 3″ to 4″ long and ½″ broad with cotton thread. The spines are then put to dry on different platforms with great care. It is presumed that these fetch a higher price than the fins themselves, as otherwise the proprietor would not treat them in this way at such a labour cost.

The refuse obtainable after the first and the subsequent operations of the fishes could be converted into manure. But the owner perhaps does not care so much for this sort of by-product, or may be he is not aware that these may also give a valuable return. The skins of the fishes are of course dried and are of some commercial value. They are commercially called "Shagreen" and are used for the covering of valuable caskets on the continent of Europe.

Oil extraction from shark liver also will be a profitable business to stand by in an organised shark fishing firm, as this oil is said to be rich in vitamin content.

The neatness of Mr. Tong Bio's house, the systematic working of his employees and the stocks of foodstuff as rice, oil, sundries, nets and others speak highly of his organising capacity. There are big houses with several compartments where all necessary equipment is properly stocked. There are several ovens in the house so constructed with the chimneys that no dirt can accumulate inside nor has he to depend on the outside weather condition to do any emergent piece of work. The treatment to his nets are also done inside the house at his convenience.

Methods of Fishing

The boats, each with 30 to 35 nets and foodstuff, go far off from the coast and remain

afishing for 3 to 4 days, after which they return for fresh supply of ration and nets. The collecting boats are however engaged in gathering the catches every day regularly. Though the double flashing Kutubdia Light House gives them an idea of their situation in the Bay, these boats are finally guided by the signalling of two powerful lights kept burning on the jetty. This is an impressive sight on a lonely sea.

The nets are let floating at the suitable sites where the catches are in abundance and are examined at intervals. The entanglement of any fish in the net under water is indicated by the movement of the floats, in which case it



A view of the drying platform for shark fishery

is hauled up and bagged. Sometimes big Lawka fish (Polynemus indicus) and Bhetki (Lates calcarifer) are also caught in these nets, which the proprietor sells of to the local fishermen.

The fishes are mostly caught within 2 to 3 fathoms. It is said that big sharks measuring 6 to 7 cubits in length are often caught in these tough nets.

Rays and skates weighing 2 to 3 maunds and huge porpoises move all over the Bay. The flesh of the rays and skates are dried by the native fishermen and put to markets for the consumption of the hill tribes and the local Buddhists, while oil extracted from the livers of the porpoises has a market value. A few varieties of the rays come up in the lower Bengal rivers and their flesh is taken by certain sections of the people with relish. They are generally forced into the fixed nets in the foreshore areas by the sea current. These can well be trapped in good number if special nets with bigger meshes or some contrivance are found out. Their number is so great in the foreshore region that an independent business with them is also a possibility just as it is with the sharks.

Fishing by floating nets has been long in vogue in this part of the Bay. But the nets used by the native fishermen are very very long and unwieldy. The fishermen also go far off from the sites where Mr. Tong Bio operates his nets. This is also to their disadvantage as they have to ply their boats with oars having limited accommodation for their ration, nets, and treatment of catches in the sea. The result is that what the Chinese gentleman is doing with his improved methods and outfits with a particular type of neglected 'fish,' the native fishermen with all their endeavours after a variety of fishes are unable to do a fraction of it.

An Enterprise Worth Attempting by Local Financiers

The courage and patience of the Bengal fishermen are tested qualities. The adventure which they make with their frail boats at times cost their lives. While they remain fishing in the distant sea they have to depend on the tides, the sun, and the stars for their guidance. It is only for want of organising capacity and of funds that they are unable to improve their fishing methods and to open up fishing business like that of Mr. Tong Bio, the Chinese gentleman with headquarters on the beach and fishing centres in the distant sea.

A few years ago the Japanese also came to exploit the fisheries of the Bay of Bengal and capture even the fish markets of the province. They have, however, been removed; but that would not help the problem unless the sons of the soil themselves can take up such business to their credit.

There are other suitable spots where similar shark fishing centres may be opened even in the island of Moheshkhali. The owner of the island Rai K. C. Ray Bahadur is much sympathetic to this industry. For the betterment of the fisheries he has prohibited the destruction of fish fry in his islands of Moheshkhali, Matarbari and Dhalghata. This is a creditable measure and if copied by other owners of private fisheries will certainly do immense good to their own areas and at the same time serve to solve the food problem of Bengal.

Will some one take advantage of the experience and activities of Mr. Tong Bio and reap the benefit from such promising enterprises ?

"MOST MELANCHOLY TO SEE, MOST MISERABLE TO BEAR"

By Dr. SUDHINDRA NATH SINHA, M.B.

Few outside the medical profession know that tubercular infection is not limited to the lungs alone; but that bones, joints, lymphatic glands, intestine, peritonium, pleura, skin, etc., are also the common sites of this infection; that many of the cases of so-called rheumatism, chronic dyspepsia and host of other apparently unaccountable maladies will, on proper investigation, prove to be of tubercular origin. This ignorance is unquestionably responsible, to an appreciable extent at least, for the indifference and neglect evident in the treatment of tubercular lesions situated outside the lungs, and, known by the name of 'surgical tuberculosis.'

Formerly, extra-pulmonary tuberculosis was treated by surgical measures (whence is derived the name 'surgical' tuberculosis) due to the erroneous conception that these troubles were local diseases demanding local treatment. Gradually, however, this conception changed and the general character of the tubercular infection was recognised. It is now known that wherever may be the seat of the trouble, the infection spreads throughout the body. As this fact came to be known, the line of treatment underwent an improvement that has amounted to almost a revolution in medical science. The old treatment by knife and plaster was replaced by the non-operative system of treatment called Helio-therapy.

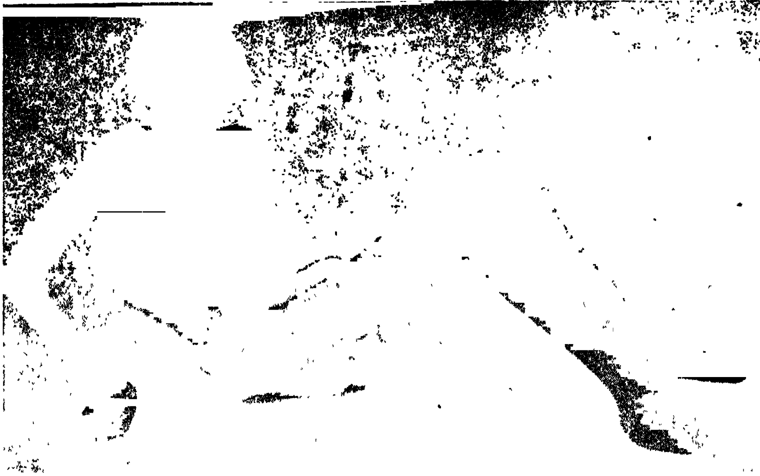
Extra-pulmonary tuberculosis is one of the saddest of the human afflictions. It presents a tragic picture of prolonged suffering with persistent and often excruciating pain and gradually progressing deformity. Add to that a constant and profuse discharge of pus through the sinus tracts leading from infected abscess cavities, and the cup of misery is filled to the brim. And then after months of agony death may follow due to degenerative changes in the vital organs of the body. Symptoms of extra-pulmonary tuberculosis, though very distressing and painful, do not as a rule involve immediate threat to life. And no doubt because of this



Lymph-adenitis



Cured by Helio-therapy



A case of osteo-articular trouble with multiple fistulæ with involvement of lungs and pleura

definitely convinced of the efficacy of the sun's rays in curing disease, particularly tuberculosis. With conviction firmly established, Surgeon Rollier left the knife and emerged as the gratest Sun Doctor of our age.

In 1903, Rollier started his first Heliotherapy clinic at Leysin for the treatment of 'surgical' tuberculosis mainly. So great has been the success of this non-operative treatment that out of the very modest beginning has grown up at Leysin the most wonderful treatment centre in the world. There in his thirty-two clinics Rollier has been saving life and limb of thousands who come up to him for help. A recent statistics state that under this system of treatment the rate of cure was eighty per cent of the total number treated. Of the remaining twenty per cent sixteen per cent were discharged considerably improved. Only three per cent remained stationary and death could lay hand on only one per cent. To be able to cure without mutilation, for that is one of the strong points of this treatment, eighty per cent of cases of extra-pulmonary tuberculosis is admittedly a notable achievement. No wonder Rollier is ranked amongst the greatest savants of our age. The remaining twenty per cent of

apparent timidity, it has been side-tracked and hardly receives the attention it deserves. But all the same, slowly but surely, this trouble continues on its career of destruction till it smashes the very frame-work of the body of the victim producing pronounced deformities and contortions which render the patient a miserable cripple, an object of pity. It is indeed, as says Percival Pott, " most melancholy to see, most miserable to bear."

The year 1903 is memorable in the history of the medical science. This year saw the birth of Helio-therapy in a small wooden chalet in a tiny village on the Swiss Alps. Let us for a moment go back to the beginning of this century. In the early months of the present century, a young Swiss surgeon, assistant to Kocher, one of the greatest of the then surgeons of Europe, was forced by circumstances to abandon his growing practice at Neuchâtel and to come upto Leysin, then a tiny village on the Alps, where he settled as a village surgeon. While attending to his professional duties Rollier—for that is the name of the young surgeon—often came in contact with astonishing proofs of the healing property of the sun's rays. This novel experience impressed him and encouraged him to pursue his studies further. Finally, he was



Same patient cured of all troubles after Helio-therapy treatment

the cases, it is interesting to note, were sent up to Rollier with super-imposed septic infection, and when all other treatment elsewhere failed. Tuberculosis complicated with secondary septic infection is always very intractable and difficult to cure.

In the treatment of tuberculosis, pulmonary and non-pulmonary, success depends on the vitality and resistance the patient can call into play. Along with local measures the general health of the patient must be attended to with a view to build up the resistance and to main-



Spinal tuberculosis with pronounced deformity

tain the same at a high standard of efficiency. The treatment of extra-pulmonary tuberculosis is sure to be ineffective if it limits itself to dealing with the local symptoms only. It must take care of the general health as well. Helio-therapy as introduced by Dr. Rollier satisfies both these requirements.

The main principles of Helio-therapy are :

(1) Application of sunlight and air directly on the uncovered skin of the patient,

(2) Preservation and restoration of the normal functions of limbs and joints,

(3) Improvement of the general health of the patient, and

(4) Replacement of knife and plaster by simple orthopedic measures which, without losing efficacy, permit only minimum of interference with light and air playing on the affected part and the body as a whole.

To sum up in the words of Rollier, this treatment

"by preserving maximum of articular function, developing musculature and restoring to the body the harmony of its outline,......gives back to the world individuals no longer maimed and deformed, but normal and vigorous and capable of working for their living."

Herein lies the superiority of Helio-therapy over the orthodox treatment by knife and occlusive plaster which cannot—as is known—



Same cured by Helio-therapy with definite correction of the deformity

avoid mutilation, deformity and atrophy of the affected part.

The initial step in Helio-therapy consists of very gradual exposure of the patients in bed to the direct sunlight and air. Gradual exposure ensures proper development of the pigment in the skin without which the body cannot tolerate sun's rays. Besides other functions, the skin with its pigment protects the body from violent reactions that result from excessive exposure to the sun's rays. When administered with care and caution and according to proper dosage, sun and air bath stimulate all the physiological functions of the body. Consequently, there is invariably a feeling of exhilaration and

well-being, both physical and mental. Dull appetite sharpens and the patient enjoys the food. Pain disappears and the patient has better and restful sleep—a real blessing after months of sleepless nights. The general health of the patient shows remarkable improvement. One looks with astonishment and admiration at the athlete-like development of muscles of patients at Leysin Helio-therapy Clinics, though bed-ridden for a year or two or more. Side by side with these general improvements the diseased focus also gets healed up.

It is wrong to assume that the value of the sun treatment depends only on the intensity and strength of the sun's rays. A great deal depends on the atmospheric condition of the place where it is practised. (Helio-climato-therapy is the proper and expressive nomenclature of this system). Different atmospheric conditions modify the sun's rays and the air differently. On that consideration higher altitude is the place of choice to practise Helio-therapy. The rays of the sun on the mountains are always pure and do not lose their efficacy as in the planes where much of their value is lost due to the beneficial rays being cut off by the suspended impurities, such as, dust particles, smoke, etc. Moreover, the air on high altitudes is tonic and stimulant. And air is part and parcel of Helio-therapy. It is not sun alone but an indissoluble combination of the sun and the air that is responsible for the wonderful results. The air in the planes is much inferior in quality and is hot, heavy and tiring. From this it is not to be concluded, however, that Helio-therapy cannot be practised but on the mountains. As a matter of fact, it can be practised wherever the sun shines, provided necessary modifications and adjustments are carried out in the dosage and the general procedure.

In conclusion, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that in Helio-therapy we have the ideal treatment for extra-pulmonary tuberculosis, commonly known as 'surgical' tuberculosis. If started in good time and kept up long enough, it is sure to bring about complete cure leaving no trace of deformity. Even in late and advanced cases with marked destruction of tissues cure is sure though in a few cases traces of deformity may persist.

In India the old orthodox treatment by plaster and surgical interference is still the only treatment of extra-pulmonary tuberculosis; whereas in Europe, Helio-therapy has been universally adopted, though one may hear of stray cases of surgical interference to be attributed to somebody's ignorance or indifference. In India we are, it seems, still lingering at an age that existed nearly half-a-century ago. This is deplorable and must be remedied. The clock's hand ought to be put at the right place.

It may not be out of place to mention here that various other ailments (besides tuberculosis) such as, rickets, osteomyelitis, rheumatism, chronic and obstinate ulcers, burns, etc., are also cured by Helio-therapy as has been demonstrated at Leysin, the greatest Helio-therapy centre in the world. Moreover, the prophylactic value of Helio-therapy, particularly against tuberculosis, is enormous. It is extensively used in Europe and America for the benefit of children, especially those with weak constitution.

Leysin,
Switzerland.



INSIDE THE U. S. S. R.

Fourteen Days Hard

BY PROF. SHYAMA CHARAN, M.A., M.SC. (*London*)

CHAPTER V

THE LEGAL LIFE OF THE COMRADES

MAY 29 (*continued*)

We first directed our steps to the Law Courts, as I was very eager to see the administration of Law in the country. From outside the courts looked just like any other several-storied building in the street. Inside justice was dispensed in various court-rooms on the different floors. There were waiting halls for the litigants and refreshment rooms on each floor. Every court room had a list of pending cases posted on a notice board in the corridor.

We were introduced to a tall Portia with a portfolio under her arm. She spoke beautiful English and took us over to the room of the President of the Lawyers' Association, where we had a very interesting and long conversation on several points that I wanted to clear up.

After the revolution, when the new Government was firmly established a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS was made. A few extracts from it are given here :

"The Soviet constitution, in contrast to those operating in Capitalist countries which are confined to the formal proclamation of political liberties—such as freedom of assembly, press and coalition—guarantees the working people the actual material possibility of enjoying such liberties."

All talk! There is no freedom of assembly, press and speech now-a-days anywhere in the world, more so in Russia. The press is muzzled and there is freedom only for the party in power to carry on any propaganda it likes through the radio, press and platform.

"The abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the complete *abolition of the division of society into classes,* the ruthless suppression of the exploiter and the establishment of a society organized on Socialist lines.

"The Declaration affirmed the termination of private ownership of land, the nationalisation of the banks, and workers' control of industry as the initial steps towards the conversion of the said property into State property. It proclaimed the principle of general compulsory labour, the complete disarming of the propertied classes and the formation of a Socialist Red Army of workers and peasants as an instrument to guarantee plenary authority of the workers and prevent the restoration of the exploiting classes to power."

In practice the complete disarming of the propertied classes meant their complete annihilation. The old classes have been ruthlessly cut down, but new ones have developed in their places. Partial ownership of land has been restored. A man may buy a house, car or anything as his personal property if he has *saved* sufficient money for the purpose.

Equality is only a dream. In the beginning every public place and room was placarded with the motto "Equal wages for all." It was soon discovered that no incentive for work or for producing better work was left if a living wage was guaranteed to all. So later these placards were replaced by a new proclamation "Everybody to be paid according to his work." Now there is a good amount of variation in the wages. Bonuses and privileges are given for better or more work. Sometimes it happens that bonuses make the earning power of a worker more than that of his supervisor in the factory.

A new bourgeoisie is rapidly growing. I had read in some books on Russia that whenever the Reds captured a town they shook hands with the citizens. All those found with soft hands—an evidence that they obviously did not belong to the class of manual workers—were either clubbed to death or shot. Believe me, I deliberately went out of my way and shook hands with hundreds of people on my long journey through Russia and found that most of them had soft hands. It was inevitable. It stands to reason that the persons who are quill-driving in offices cannot have the horny and hard hands of a peasant or a labourer.

Once I unfortunately made a remark in the presence of a comrade that bourgeoisie and bureaucratic classes were again growing amidst them. He felt very offended and said that all of them belonged to the proletariat and were good comrades. There were no classes among them. I apologised and said that perhaps I had used a wrong nomenclature in describing them. I should have said that now they had the aristocratic proletariat, middle-class proletariat, plutocratic proletariat, bureaucratic

proletariat and the working class proletariat. He smiled and shook me by the hand. My irony was lost on him. He did not have a sufficient command of English to appreciate what I had said.

Whatever little I could see of their economic life made me believe that there is no more any private enterprise left among them. The only word which can adequately describe their system is STATE CAPITALISM. It is possible to get redress from an erring individual capitalist, but from the State it is very difficult to get any, as the latter is merely a body devoid of all flesh and blood.

I asked what would happen to a man with a speculative bent of mind. As one is allowed to purchase and possess a house if one has money for the purpose, was it not possible that a clever person might purchase houses from people in need of money and later sell them at a higher rate to others ? Thus by alternate buying and selling he might amass wealth and become a capitalist. I was told that he might do so once or twice with impunity, but would be assigned to the firing squad if he persisted in such anti-revolutionary activities.

The phrase "Anti-Revolutionary Activity" is an excuse for all sorts of repression including the suppression of free expression of opinion.

All the political upheavals in any country originally aim at guaranteeing freedom of thought and speech but when the sponsors of upheavals themselves come in to power they are more ruthless in suppressing the freedom of those who do not agree with them than the authorities whom they replace.

There is recognised private property now in Russia as may be seen from its laws of Inheritance:

"Soviet Law recognises the right of inheritance irrespective of the amount involved.

"The right of inheritance is confined to direct descendents and adopted persons (children, grand-children, great-grand-children), a surviving wife or husband, and such indigent persons incapable of self-support as were actually wholly dependent upon the deceased for a period not less than one year before his or her death.

"The provisions of the law in regard to inheritance apply in all cases where no different provisions are contained in the will and to the extent that no such different provisions are contained therein. The law provides for a distribution of the estate in equal shares among the persons enumerated above, who are alive at the time of the death of the holder of the estate, as well as children conceived during his life, though born after his death. The persons who lived in the household of the deceased receive the household effects and articles of domestic use, with the exception of the luxury articles."

Loans from one person to another are officially recognised and interest is allowed on them.

"The Civil Code of the R. S. F. S. R. provides as a general rule, that wherever no specification as to the rate of interest is contained in law or contract providing for accrual of interest on a debt, interest shall be computed at the rate of six per cent per annum on the principal of the debt. In the event of non-payment of a debt at maturity, the debtor is required to pay interest at a rate not lower than this legal rate, unless a higher rate was specified in the contract. The regulation relating to promissory notes provides for interest payment on a protested note at the rate of six per cent per annum, and, in addition, for the payment of a fine at the rate of three per cent per annum.

"The charging of a rate of interest higher than the legal rate, when money or property lending is carried on as a trade, is liable to prosecution under the criminal law. It should be noted that no law fixing the maximum interest rate chargeable has been enacted so far. Any person who charges a remuneration which is obviously higher than the one prevailing in a given locality for the lending of instruments of production, cattle, seeds, or money funds, and who thus takes advantage of the difficult situation of the borrower, is subject to imprisonment for a term of not more than one year."

We visited a court room, where the judges had just retired to consider their verdict in a case in which the accused had borrowed four thousand roubles and was using criminal means to evade payment. We sat down on the visitors' benches. The room was decorated with the usual mottoes in white letters on red cloth, portraits of the Russian leaders and was furnished with the necessary equipment of a law court. The huge glazed windows opened on to a court and in one corner was a big stove to heat the room during the severe Russian winters.

A bell was rung, where upon everybody stood up and took off his hat. The judge, accompanied by his two colleagues, entered the room and read out his long judgment, sentencing the accused to two years imprisonment. As soon as the sentence was pronounced, a couple of policemen got on either side of the defendant and took him under their charge. There was no fuss or shouting—everything was taken as a matter of course. Even the prisoner marched off very quietly with the policemen.

The court room was now cleared. According to the Declaration :

"The legal system of the Soviet Republics is built on a common principle. The Court of the first instance is the People's Court, composed of a permanent magistrate elected by the executive committee or the urban Soviet and two jurors, called in turn to fulfil this duty from lists compiled by shop committees, military units and rural Soviet. All persons enjoying suffrage are entitled to nomination as public jurors.

"The next court, for dealing with more important

cases, is the Regional Court, composed likewise of a permanent judge and alternating public jurors.

"The supreme organ of surveillance and control is the Supreme Court of Republic.

"Judicial decisions are arrived at by a majority vote of a Judge and two associates (People's Assessors), both of whom are permanent and indispensable elements of the court and equally with the judge participate in the determination of all questions of law and fact."

The Soviet system is also noted for the fact that it has abolished the division between the legislative and the executive authority. Thus the Soviet is both a legislative and executive institution, which is contrary to what the other countries, specially India, are trying to bring about.

From the Law Court we walked to the Pole Zherto Revolustii (Field of Victims of the Revolution), formerly a huge military parade ground. It contains the graves of the victims (or heroes ?) of the Revolution. It is a very picturesque spot. In the centre is a circular lawn surrounded by a stone parapet and footpaths. On the lawn at several places the HAMMER AND SICKLE emblem of U. S. S. R. appears in the red gravel. Along the sides as well as under the lawn are the graves of the victims. Each one has a stone tablet giving the name and describing the deeds of the dead man.

We next went by tram to Luna Park on the other side of the river. The charge for a single ride—irrespective of the distance—is fifteen kopeks per person. We paid sixty kopeks each as admission fee to the Luna Park grounds which, thereafter, we entered.

The chief attraction seemed to be the Scenic Railway, which was built in an imposing manner in cement-concrete. From outside its walls looked like those of a gray fortress. It is in the neighbourhood of the Peter and Paul Fortress, and on the previous day, when I first caught sight of the structure from across the river I was under the impression that I had seen the walls of the prison.

There was another contrivance to test the nerves of the thrill-seekers. A huge iron bar about twenty-five feet long is pivoted at one end so that it can be rotated in a vertical plane. The pleasure-fiend is strapped to a seat at the other end and the rod is slowly rotated till the man is very high up. The rotation continues, but now the man descends upside down to the ground on the other side. The rod is then rotated back and the person returns to his starting position, when he is unstrapped.

There were huge queues waiting before these two thrilling contrivnces. A lot of others were drinking, eating and dancing in places provided for such things. The park abutted on the banks of the Neva. Row boats were provided for those who were inclined towards the sport and the citizens accompanied by their lady friends were rowing in the neighbourhood.

I had booked a seat for six roubles in the Musical Comedy which was being shown in the Light Opera House, next door to the park. I left my companions to their own devices at 7-45 and went to the show. It was a comedy of decadent Bavarian aristocracy. As I could not understand the jokes I found it dull and left the place after half time. I looked for a tram to go back to the hotel, but all the trams were so overcrowded, even at this time of the night, that I had to walk practically half the distance before I was able to get a seat in one.

CHAPTER VI

The Social Life of the Comrades

(May 30)

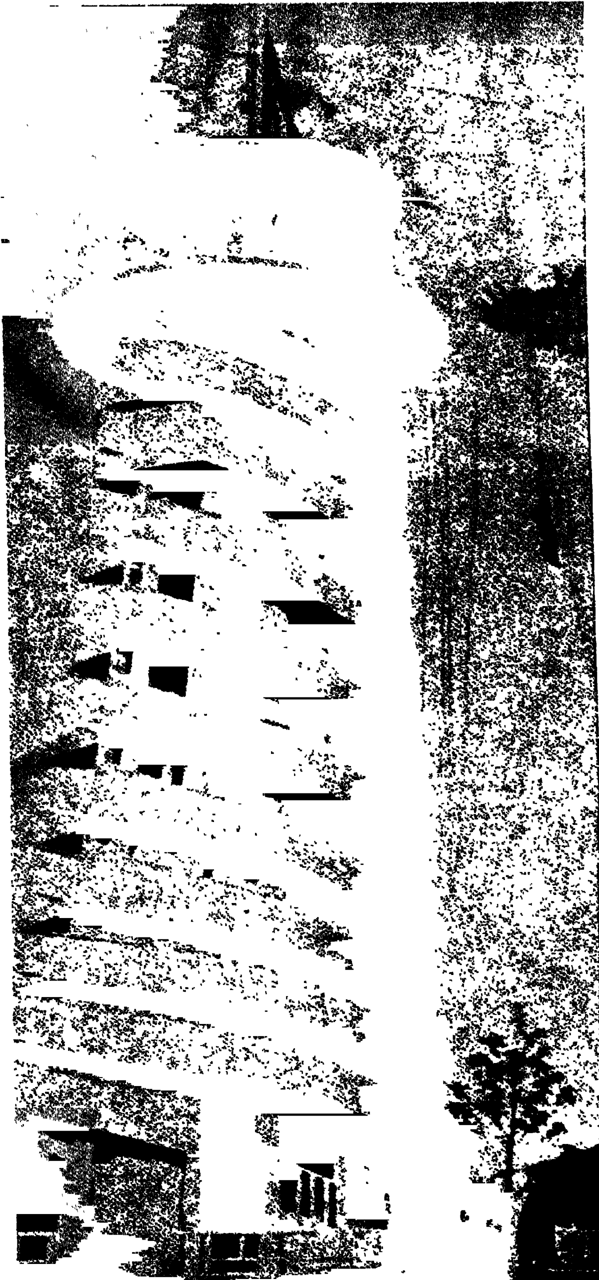
On this day I selected the trip to the Pushkin City, which is the latest name of the Tzareskoe Seloe (the Tzar's Village) where the Tzar usually resided after the troubles of 1905. For sometime after the 1917 revolution it was known as Dosteskoe Seloe—the Children's Village.

As the place was outside Leningrad in the suburbs two sight-seeing coupons were required. I had only one left, so I was asked to pay 5 roubles for the other. The American, Jesson, also elected to go with us. He had a fat book of coupons, out of which he handed over two for the trip.

From the hotel we walked down to the bus halt and found that the buses were passing by without stopping as they were overcrowded with passengers. It was a rest day and it seemed that all Leningrad was out to enjoy itself. Sundays are no longer recognised as holidays. Instead a six day period is reckoned as a week. After working for five days the sixth day is regarded as a day of rest.

The 6th, 12th, 18th, 24th, and 30th days of the month are thus the rest days of the workers. I could not ascertain what happens when there is a 31st day in the month or in February when there are only 28 or 29 days. Perhaps the one makes up for the other.

It is rather surprising that the comrades have not revolutionised their calendar also and made it more efficient.



Parachute tower
People go upto its top by means of a staircase inside. Glider flying and parachute jumping have become mass sports in the U. S. S. R.



Soldiers raining down from the skies with parachutes

The following is a list of holidays in the U. S. S. R.:

January 1:—New Year's Day.
January 22:—Lenin's Death Anniversary.
May 1 and 2:—Workers' Days.
November 7 and October 8:—Revolution.
December 5:—Constitution Day.
March 8:—International Women's Day—on this day women worker's work two hours less than usual.

Besides the above, the annual holidays enjoyed by the workers vary from fourteen days to one month or more according to the grade of work.

We missed several buses and trams. In the end Mlle. Zoya managed to find some seats for us in a bus, and at last we reached the Railway station. A huge crowd of men, women and children had assembled there to go to the suburbs for the day's outing. We waited in the hall while she went and purchased our tickets for the journey. The train also was very much crowded. However, we managed to secure standing accommodation in the vestibule of a carriage. People were seated on the top also. On the whole the crowd was in a cheerful mood and well behaved. In an hour's time, after frequent halts, we reached the end of our railway journey. Therefrom we again boarded a bus, which took us to the very gates of the Palaces.

These were nothing out of the way, but just like the ones at Versailles and Potsdam—from outside drab-looking buildings, in no way comparable with the architectural beauties of Rajputana and Northern India.

We were asked to put on felt and plush coverings over our shoes, so as not to spoil the polished floors. I think that the thousands of visitors coming here daily must have contributed not a little to the polish of the floors with their plush overshoes.

Inside we passed through room after room shewing the departed glory of the Tzars. The furnishings were arranged on the sides leaving a gangway for the visitors. Everything had been carefully preserved, numbered and catalogued. Personal relics, letters and knick-knacks were all there. The room of the ever-ailing young Crown Prince was provided with a slide and other amusements and games. The prince used to slide down from the top into the arms of the army officers stationed below ready to receive him.

We were shown the chamber and relics of Rasputin, the evil genius of the Tzar; the secret conference hall of the Emperor; the Royal bath room with a marble tank for bathing, and the secret passages and alcoves for spying purposes. The whole place looked gloomy, and seemed to be pervaded by an atmosphere of secrecy and intrigue.

We now passed through a series of rooms belonging to Catherine the Great. The bed chamber seemed rather small for the reception of her lovers, who numbered some sixty hefty soldiers a day, selected from the Guard Regiments. On the other side of the world in Peking was reigning her prototype—the Empress Hissi who spent the grant for the Imperial Chinese Navy in having a marble boat built on the waters of the Summer Palaces. Both the Empresses were very *Great* in every respect.

The palaces are surrounded by well kept gardens and in every shady nook and corner are Kiosks supplying refreshments to the weary amusement seekers. It seems that the comrades are now busy making up for the lean years of the previous famines. The time left over from refreshments is devoted to singing and dancing in the gardens.

We had a very interesting chat with Mlle. Zoya about the position of women in Russia. They have solved the problem in a wonderfully novel way.

Here are some extracts about their marriage laws and the status of married women in their society.

"Only civil marriage is recognized as legal under Soviet law. A marriage is legalized by registration at a registry office. Church marriages are not prohibited, but they do not have any legal significance, except those contracted before the Revolution. Persons who are in *de facto* marital relations, but who have not registered in the prescribed manner, have the right to formalize at any time their relations by registration, stating how long such *de facto* relations have existed.

"In order to register a marriage the following is required:

"(*a*) Mutual consent to register the marriage,

"(*b*) Attainment of the matrimonial age—eighteen years for both the parties.

"Those registering a marriage must present evidence of their identity, their family status and age, and must sign a statement that the marriage is being entered into voluntarily, that there are no bars to the marriage as set forth in the law, and also they are mutually informed as to the state of each other's health.

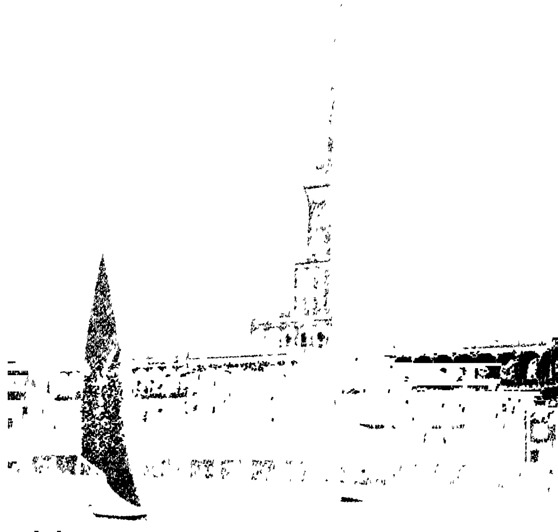
"Persons guilty of making false statements are liable to prosecution under the Criminal Law. A marriage may not be concluded between:

"(*a*) Persons, one of whom is already married, regardless of whether the marriage is registered or not;

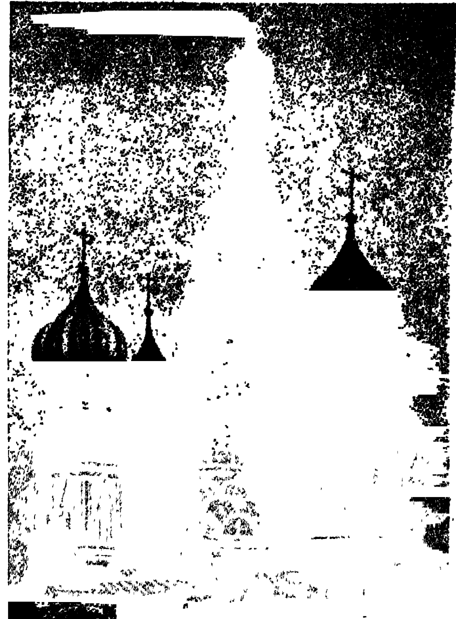
"(*b*) Persons, one of whom has been declared, in a manner provided by Law, weak-minded or mentally defective;

"(*c*) Relatives in a direct line of descent or between brothers and sisters.

"In registering a marriage, the parties thereto may either retain the surnames they had prior to the



Khimki Passenger Station
Moscow-Volga Canal, Moscow



St. Basil's Cathedral
in the Red Square, Moscow



Lenin's Tomb, Moscow



Winter sports on the frozen river



Rana Pratap Singh of Mewar
After an old painting in the collection of Mr. Haricharan Rakshit

marriage, or if desired, may adopt the surname of either the husband or wife as their common surname.

"Both parties to a marriage have full freedom as to choice of occupation or profession.

"Change of residence by one of the parties to a marriage does not impose an obligation upon the other party to follow.

"Property belonging to the respective parties prior to the marriage shall remain their separate property, which each party has a right to dispose of as it pleases, entirely independent of the other party to the marriage.

"Property acquired by the parties to a marriage during its existence is considered their common property. In case of dispute the share belonging to each party to the marriage is determined by the court.

"Married persons may enter into any mutual property contracts not expressly prohibited by Law.

"These provisions also apply to the property of persons living in unregistered conjugal relations.

"A party to a marriage, in a state of need due to incapacity to work, is entitled to receive support from the other party, provided the latter is in a position to render such support. This right of a spouse to receive support is preserved even upon dissolution of the marriage under the following conditions: if incapacitated for a period of one year from the date of the dissolution of marriage. The same regulations also apply to persons actually living in conjugal relations though not registered.

"As regards foreigners, marriage between foreigners and Soviet citizens, and also marriages between foreigners, contracted within the territory of the U.S.S.R. are registered according to the regular procedure.

"Married women in the U.S.S.R. enjoy equal rights with men. They may negotiate any property transaction, without exception, independently of the husband. They have equal rights with men to elect and to be elected to the public offices. They may hold official posts in any field of political and civic activity.

"In the case of the death of a husband who has not left a will, the inheritance is divided equally among the persons designated in the law. One of such persons is the widow of the deceased. The husband, however, may provide in his will that his wife be debarred from sharing in estate.

"A marriage may be dissolved during the lifetime of the parties either by mutual consent or at the desire of either of them.

"No grounds for divorce are required. Petition for the dissolution of the marriage is made at the registry office orally or in writing, in the district where one or the other of the parties to the marriage resides. If the petition for divorce is made by one of the parties only, the other party is entitled to a copy of the dissolution decree.

"At the time of recording the dissolution of a marriage at an office, it must be stated with which parent the children are to remain, which parent shall bear the expense of their support and to what extent, and also the amount of support for a party to the marriage who may be physically incapacitated and unable to work. Should there be disagreement on these points between the parties, the matter is referred to a court of law.

"If none of the parties are willing to keep the children, the State looks after them but the parents have to contribute towards the expense of their upkeep in a manner decided by a law court. The children are not neglected but carefully brought up whatever may be the fate of their parents."

Prostitution does not exist in Russia any longer. The yellow passports have disappeared as if by magic. The profession—called the most ancient profession in the world—is usually selected by women because of their economic dependence upon men. Not one of them takes to it by choice. Russia in giving full economic independence to women has removed the cause.

APPENDIX II

Condition of Travel in U. S. S. R.

All arrangements for travelling are made by the Intourist, the official tourist agency of U. S. S. R. They charge at an inclusive rate per day from tourists, and at special rates from transit passengers. For tourists the charges for I, Soft or II, and Hard or III classes are £3, £1-15 and £1 per day respectively.

Either itineraries may be arranged beforehand or an "Open Order" ticket taken for a given number of days. The latter is exchanged for a definite itinerary on arrival at the first town of U. S. S. R. If the full ticket is not utilized, or if the visa is refused, a full refund is made by the Intourist.

Before the travellers are given the Soviet visa it is necessary that their passports should be endorsed for U. S. S. R. by their Governments and that they should have the necessary permits for travelling through the country which they will enter after leaving U. S. S. R. The Soviet visa fees are all included in the charges.

Two application forms with five photographs are required to be submitted, which are sent to Moscow for permission before visas are given by the U. S. S. R. consulates. Here the application should be made at least a fortnight in advance.

In each town an agent of the Intourist escorts the traveller from the station or the wharf to the hotel and *vice versa*. The luggage, upto a weight of 32 kgms., in not more than two packages, is transported free. No payment has to be made to the porters for the luggage within the above limits. For excess the charges are about one and a half to two roubles per package. The agent then detaches from the folder of the tourist tickets the appropriate coupon for "Transfer to/from the Hotel." All the baggage is at the owner's risk, but may be insured against loss, theft, damage, pilferage and fire in U. S. S. R.

At the *hotel* the coupon for "Hotel" is

detached and tourist is given a room which has been reserved for him in advance, for the number of days indicated in the coupon. It has to be vacated before noon on the last day mentioned in the coupon.

For every *meal* taken in the hotel, dining car or steamer, a corresponding coupon is detached by the chief steward. The coupons that have been detached already are not accepted. They must be accompanied by the folder in which they were issued originally. All drinks are extra and have to be paid for in cash. So are other personal services like laundry, barber, etc.

Theatre and cinema tickets, and entrance fee for the places of amusement have also to be paid for extra. The hotel makes arrangements for reserving seats in advance.

During his stay in a town a tourist is entitled to a daily sight-seeing trip of two to three hours' duration accompanied by a guide interpreter. The service includes conveyance and admission fee to the places visited. The coupon for "Sight-seeing Trip" is thereupon detached from the folder.

In the hotel office a list is posted daily to show the excursions available that day. The tourist is entitled to select any one of them, but if the trip is outside the city limits then a supplementary charge has to be paid. In lieu of cash payment two or more "Sight-seeing" coupons may be given for the trip. (For the Hard class each coupon is reckoned at 5 roubles). If more than one excursion is taken daily then either supplementary payments may be made or extra sight seeing coupons given. This will of course mean that the tourist will be deprived of sight-seeing on the days whose coupons he has already handed over.

Transport with reserved sleeping accommodation for night journeys from one town to another is included in the daily tourist charges. The railway or steamer ticket is obtained by the hotel on receipt of the corresponding voucher for "Transport" for that section of the journey. On the day of travel the meals are taken in the dining car, but if none is attached to the train, the traveller is given his food by the hotel packed in a basket in exchange for the appropriate coupons from his book of meals. Many of the railway journeys are commenced at night and terminated in the morning, and so the trains do not have dining cars attached to them. In such cases the travellers are served with breakfast on arrival at the hotel.

No tips are to be given anywhere as the attendants are expressly forbidden to accept them. (Moreover the exchange given is so bad that even if the traveller hands over the equivalent of half a crown it will mean only about three pence to them in their money).

In I class service railway travel is by Internatioal Type Wagon Lit, accommodating a single person in each compartment. On some routes such cars are not available, and then the passengers are accommodated in I class sleeping cars, each compartment being for two persons, with bedding provided. Road journeys are performed in luxurious motor cars. I class cabins for two passengers are provided on the Volga, Dnieper and Black Sea boats.

Hotel accommodation is arranged in the best hotels and the best available rooms with private baths as far as possible. Four meals a day *a la carte* including tea are provided. The daily sight-seeing trips are in modern open or closed cars.

In the "Tourist Class" railway travel is in sleeping cars with bedding for the night journeys. I class cabins are provided on the boats and buses on the roads. Residence is arranged in good hotels and decent rooms with a bath or shower attached to them. Three meals a day are served, and the daily sight-seeing is by saloon motor buses.

In the "Hard Class" railway travel is in carriages with arrangements for sleeping. Bedding is provided in sealed bags. II class cabins are allowed on boats, accommodating four or more persons, and road journeys have to be performed in antibuses.

If the train journey is by an Express train in U. S. S. R. or by a higher class an extra charge has to be paid in the hotel office. Such supplementary payment is not possible abroad when purchasing the tickets. For transit passengers such payments are made beforehand.

In the hotel a room accommodating two or three persons is given. Three meals a day are provided.

The tickets do not provide for transfort or meals from the Soviet frontier to the first town on the itinerary, or from the last town to the exit frontier. The transport of the luggage at the frontier stations is also not included. The changes of trains in the through journeys from one station to another in the same town are also to be paid for extra. (The latter costs in all about 27 roubles or a pound approximately). However, tickets for such transports and meals may be purchased in advance at a specially reduced rate when buying the other tickets.

(To be continued)

LABOUR UNREST, COMMUNISM & CONGRESS

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,

Head of the Department of English & Fellow, Calcutta University; Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal; President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

THE Westerner is never satisfied with things as they are, the Indian, on the other hand, is averse to any kind of change. The typical attitude of our masses may be summed up as follows: "What was good enough for my father, is good enough for me." This explains why millions of cultivators prefer to eke out a miserable existence on very small holdings which they have inherited from their ancestors, rather than adventure forth in search of more remunerative employment though they have been starving for generations.

The industrial workers are, for the most part, ignorant and disorganized. Strikes are more common now than they were before and, in nearly every case, they reflect the demand for better wages and better living conditions which is all to the good, for the standard of life in India is miserably low. It is true that they are better paid now than in the past but, what is pitiable is that, except for an individual here and there, they are quite content to accept their lot as mere drudges.

According to the Employers' Federation of India, on the average 96,64,000 working days were lost every year in India in the last decade through strikes. These affected about 650,000 workers. These strikes, some sporadic and others prolonged, were not confined to a particular province or provinces but were distributed all over India. It is of course true that they may have been due at least partly to the new consciousness of power conferred on the masses and that the enlargement of franchise and the introduction of provincial autonomy have naturally led to a demand for better standards of living.

Every patriotic Indian cannot but deplore the immense loss due to strikes. These must have caused reduced output and unemployment among a class of people who are probably the least able to stand the economic strain put on their resources by industrial disputes. They must also have affected the prosperity of the industries concerned directly and the prosperity of the country as a whole indirectly.

Leaving aside the direct loss in the shape of wages, there is also what by analogy may be called " invisible " loss. This takes the form of bitterness on both sides occasionally leading to victimisation and sabotage. Even if such regrettable effects do not manifest themselves, we have, in nearly all cases, a general slackening in the tempo of production, defiance of authority and a general indiscipline. The attention of the public was drawn to this matter in the report drawn up by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru on the dispute between the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Tata Workers' Union.

As I understand it, the genuine strike is for the redress of grievances regarding wages, hours of work, treatment or for improving working conditions. If that is so, it should ordinarily be capable of amicable settlement. It is lack of education which renders it practically impossible for the labourer to realize that he must share both in the prosperity and adversity of the industry in which he is engaged. He cannot as yet appreciate fully the difficulties of industrial capital in India faced by foreign competition on the one hand and by increasing burdens in the shape of new taxes on the other. It must, however, be said in fairness that though there has been change of heart among employers and, as a whole, though industrial labour today is better off than in the past, it does not always share in the prosperity which has followed to the extent it deserves.

The tragedy of industrial labour in India has been that it is illiterate and unintelligent. It has yet failed to understand that the strike is its last resort and that this method of ventilating grievances should be adopted only when every other means of obtaining redress has failed. On the whole, it has not as yet been able to appreciate fully the possibilities of collective bargaining through well-organized trade unions. And it is to the interest of both capital and labour that the growth and development of strong and healthy trade unionism should be encouraged in all possible ways. Matters must be adjusted in such a manner

that there will not be even the slightest suggestion of the employer having any influence on its internal working. I do not for a moment suggest that this has happened on any large scale but what I desire to emphasise is that nothing should be done which may have the effect of rousing the distrust of labour.

Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru in a speech she made at Madras late in July, 1939, said that she knew of one place where people were paid to picket a mill. The money collected for the purpose was paid to the picketers. "Such strikes," she observed, "are bound to fail and they only end in disorganizing society. They do no good to workers and vitiate the relations between the employer and the employed." Such things are possible only from lack of healthy trade unionism.

Every one who has come into contact with industrial labour has to admit, however unwillingly, that at least now and again the cordial relations which ordinarily exist between the employer and the employee have been and are being disturbed by selfish outsiders who seek to exploit their position either for financial reasons or for the sake of notoriety. At the same time, let us not forget the very valuable services rendered to workers by outside leadership of which the case of Mr. N. M. Joshi is a good example. The pity of it is that whereas labour leaders like Mr. Joshi are disposed to adjust industrial disputes peacefully, the labour leaders of the objectionable type do not welcome such settlements. They prefer to exacerbate feelings and to encourage strikes for one or other of the purposes mentioned above.

No one would describe Mr. Gulzari Lall, Parliamentary Secretary to the late Minister for Labour, Bombay, as one inimical to the interests of labour or partial to those of capital. And yet, while referring to the undesirable activities of selfish labour leaders, he was compelled to observe that cases had come under his notice where an offer of, say, a 15 per cent increase in the wages recommended for acceptance by reasonable leaders of the type of Mr. Joshi, was turned down by selfish leaders. He analysed the situation thus created in the following way. The selfish leader would say to himself that if the offer of a 15 per cent increase in the wages was accepted, the leader who had recommended it would come to be regarded as *the* leader and then where would he be. He would, therefore, press for an increase of say 20 per cent which, he was aware, the industry could not bear and which could never be granted. As extremism flourishes on ignorance, he would be hailed as the true friend of workers. Negotiations would break down and a strike follow. He would be in the lime-light and, in addition to the notoriety he seeks, he would, if he is selfish and knew how to play his cards, profit financially.

In these circumstances, it seems desirable that something should be done to check the activities of such mischievous or rather dangerous men. The future of Indian industry is indeed very dark if no restraint is placed on men of this type. I would go even so far as to suggest that the work of the National Planning Committee in which every province is taking so great interest would be largely stultified unless we can ensure peaceful conditions of work.

Let us admit that in many cases strikes have been engineered by selfish leaders and by designing politicians. But surely if the grievances complained of are genuine and, in a majority of cases they must have been so or else where was the necessity of removing them, the unworthiness of the leaders can, by no means, be regarded as a justification for retaining them. If from the side of the workers it is said that, without the application of pressure, grievances are not ordinarily removed, one can hardly blame them if, in the absence of leaders among themselves which again is due to lack of education, they come to rely on selfish and interested politicians to fight their battles.

I am not prepared to acknowledge that, in each and every case, strikes have been engineered by outside influence or that, in every case, the leaders have encouraged them for political or selfish ends. To decide whether such a view is correct or not, one must be omniscient. I do some social service and religious work in a very humble way among the Indian Christian jute mill workers in suburban Calcutta and I can, without stepping outside the bounds of truth, state that there are many cases of petty tyranny and exploitation which, by their very nature, can never come under the notice of the burra sahibs. In many instances, strikes represent the flaring up of the passions of ignorant men who have suffered long from petty tyranny, redress of which appears an impossibility with them. In fact, I have myself found it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to make my people listen to reason when once their feelings are excited. At the same time, I shall not deny that strikes have been utilized, now and again, for purely political ends.

Having no sympathy whatsoever with communism with its anti-religious attitude, its

appeal to violence and class hatred and its declared policy of encouraging insurrection and blood-shed on a mass scale or personal contact with communists, it is impossible for me to say how far these strikes are due to communistic influence and assistance. I do not, however, have much doubt that communism is being preached both among agricultural and industrial labour and the only reason for its appeal for them is their misery. It further seems to me that unrest among the agriculturists is primarily due to uneconomic holdings, the unremunerative prices of agricultural products and the landlessness of many persons who, by heredity and training, are not qualified to earn their living in any other way.

It is admitted that communism may be fought through legislation and that the more law-abiding, and the better-off section, whether European or Indian, has the right to seek its protection. This, however, is only a palliative. There ought to be sound counter-propaganda, in order that the insidious propaganda in favour of communism may be checked. Industrial workers must be made to realize the economic futility of strikes and specially that it should be a weapon to be used only when all other methods of settling disputes have failed. But even this I do not consider enough. To kill communism, we must see that the poverty and the economic uncertainty which are most favourable to its propagation are fought as far as possible.

May I also point out that half the battle would be won if once we could get intelligent workers capable of appreciating the difficulties of the employer and also that it is ultimately to his interest to see that his men are afforded some facilities for acquiring a certain measure of education? I can never forget the rebuff I received from the Scotch manager of a jute mill somewhere in the Howrah district who stated that he would never give any chance to literate Indian Christian workers in his jute mill because he was afraid that they would act as leaders in any trouble that arose. He failed to see that literate workers, provided they are sufficiently large in number and are really intelligent, are likely to be more amenable to reason than illiterate workers whose passions are easily roused and who can be more easily exploited than their comparatively educated brethren.

A general grievance with industrial workers is the want of regular employment. When I was in the Central Provinces and Madras, I heard demands made for unemployment relief and provision for old age. In these places, improved housing accommodation has been provided, co-operative societies introduced, schools and welfare centres started. These are making an appeal to workers and I am looking forward to the time when, as in the countries of the West, we shall have a class of skilled industrial labour sufficiently intelligent and educated to enter into collective agreements with employers. I am not such a visionary as to imagine that all the demands of labour can be met at once or even in the near future; but I must say that though there are almost insurmountable difficulties in the way, these will have to be overcome and also that till they are overcome, industrial disputes will occur from time to time.

The difficulties of employers have to be explained to their men and hence the necessity of having tactful labour officers everywhere. Efficient machinery or arbitration has to be set up. This has been done at Ahmedabad under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi with the most satisfactory result. Let me quote the figures which I have been able to gather. I am sorry that they are not up-to-date. There are three principal centres of the textile industry in Western India. These are Bombay, Sholapur and Ahmedabad. In the eight years from 1926 to 1933, the time lost in Bombay was 32 million days, in Sholapur over 1 million and in Ahmedabad 13,800 only. In terms of wages, Bombay was a loser to the extent of over 427 lakhs, Sholapur about 10 lakhs and Ahmedabad less than 2 lakhs. The success achieved at Ahmedabad is very largely due to the influence which Mahatma Gandhi exercises over labour and the workers abide by his findings because they have absolute reliance on his sense of fairness and justice. It is for the employers to establish a similar machinery in their mills and factories all over India.

It cannot be denied that indiscipline is a growing menace in our industrial organisation. This is a very serious handicap, specially in the case of small and medium size industries in which the capital is small and resistive powers weak. More often than not, these do not enjoy any kind of protection. Any dislocation specially if it is timed in such a way as to interfere with their activities when they have to work under high pressure in order to fulfil contracts which do not come with much frequency in their way, is not only unfortunate but sometimes disastrous. I know of more than one small engineering concern which has been practically ruined in this way.

Of course, industrialists must change their attitude towards labour and, above all, forget to regard it merely as a factor of production to be used and cast aside when no longer required. They must remember that labourers, though poor and ignorant, are none the less human beings with human feelings and human wants and also that they have the right to claim subsistence wages if nothing else. It is therefore that there should be more intimate contact between the employer and the employee than in the past. A constructive policy for the amelioration of labour with due regard to the welfare and prosperity of the industries concerned has to be formulated and given effect to systematically. It is only then that labour will come to realise that it is a partner with capital in industrial enterprise in which both are equally interested and, it is only under these circumstances, that the problem of industrial unrest can be solved to the satisfaction of all concerned.

One of the requisites for the development and prosperity of industry in India is industrial peace. There has been injustice against labour in the past; even today labour does not always get even-handed justice in every case. But mutual recriminations of wanton and irresponsible attempts at the disturbance of the relationship between capital and labour do not appear likely to improve the condition of the latter at a rate more rapid than what may be expected to normally result from collective bargaining carried on through the agency of strong, well-organized and healthy trade unionism.

Let me also in this connection draw the attention of my readers to the wise advice given by Sir William Benthall to European captains of industry when he spoke at the conference of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in India in December 1938. He said :

> "The more the management is able to establish contact with the workers, the better is it able to diagnose what are the workers' real troubles, and so to effect that fundamental contentment which if it exists, is the surest safeguard against industrial unrest . . . . It cannot be too often stressed that justice and a fair deal for labour is not only the only right but also the only safe policy for employers to follow."

In a previous part of this article, I have made an attempt to analyse what I consider the legitimate causes of industrial unrest suggesting ways of removing them and establishing peace and harmony between the employer and the employee. I am more than willing to admit that there have been and are instances where the strike is used as an easily available instrument for the attainment of ulterior political or economic objectives. Naturally, such cases cannot be dealt with by any of the methods previously mentioned. I would go so far as to say that in such cases these strikes, sporadic though they may appear to the careless observer, are really parts of an organized and carefully planned campaign for the realization of definite aims. Here individual employers are helpless for, under these special circumstances, no understanding between capital and labour by the method of discussion and democratic approach is possible or will be permitted by the leaders who are at the back of undesirable movements of this type. Illiterate labour in India is made the cat's paw of designing men and cannot be saved from their clutches till we have liquidated illiteracy, imparted a minimum amount of education and made life worth living for labour. Till this is done, labour will continue to be exploited by ambitious men desirous of acquiring political importance and penniless adventurers who would like to make a profession out of labour leadership. But these I would not regard as ultimately so dangerous to the peace and prosperity of India as those others, Marxists and Communists, whose one purpose in life is a fanatical desire to overthrow at any cost the present social organization in the hope of building a better one on its foundations.

I think it my duty here to clear up one matter about which I know there is some misunderstanding among our European friends. I have no desire to conceal from any one the fact that I am nationalistic in my outlook with a bias in favour of what has been called the Right Wing of the Congress party. I have heard the Congress as a whole criticised more than once as being the happy hunting-ground of communists. But actual facts tell a different story.

It has been authoritatively stated that the communist party in India has no more than a few hundred members. What these lack in number is made up by their energy and activity. It is held by many that they are insidiously penetrating the Congress organization disguising their real objective under the cloak of legitimate agitation. That the accredited leaders of the Congress have recognized this danger is evident from the following extract from a recently published statement of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru.

> "There are a few, somewhat new to the Congress, who, while apparently agreeing plan differently. They realize that there can be no national and nation-wide movement except through the Congress. All else would be adventurism. They want, therefore, to utilize the

Congress and at the same time to break through it in directions which are opposed to Congress policy. The proposed technique is to embed themselves in the Congress and then to undermine its basic creed and method of action. In particular, the continuance of the technique of non-violence is to be combated, not obviously and patently, but insidiously and from within."

This conclusively proves that the Congress has set its face sternly against any encouragement to communism. The reaction of the communists to this attitude of the Congress may be inferred from the programme of work which they have outlined in the following terms :

"From our past experiences we know that while top leaders of the Congress are suspicious of Socialists and Communists, the rank and file is generally sympathetic. And after a few weeks of struggle it will be the rank and file that shall in many places control the war-councils. If we win their confidence today and start anti-war activities with them, we shall be soon able to more and more influence the movement."

Europeans, broader in their outlook, have accused the Leftist Congress group of being communists. It is more than likely that with millions of members in its ranks, there are communists in the Congress Left who have joined this All-India political organisation merely with a view to propagating their political ideas in the most progressive group in the country. It is also equally probable that they hope to convert such large numbers to their ways of thinking that they will be in a position to capture the Congress organisation in order to use it for their own purposes.

It would not, however, be correct to assume that every section of the Congress Left has been infected with communism. Only the other day, four leading Congress Socialists—Massani, Asoke Mehta, Lohia and Achyut Patwardhan—resigned from the executive of the Socialist party as a protest against the infiltration of communism which, in their opinion, was tending to interfere with the normal and healthy development of the national movement. They stated :

"There are many fundamental differences between our principles and approach and those of the communists. Such, for instance, are the attitude towards the Congress; the adherence to peaceful and legitimate means; and the attitude towards the Soviet Government."

It therefore follows that while the Indian National Congress under the leadership of sober-minded, wise men like Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and others seeks to utilise all legitimate opportunities for constructive work for our country as a whole, these other men, working underground, are making a definite attempt to utilise our All-India organisation which has built up a reputation for itself by the self-sacrificing devotion of thousands of our countrymen, and countrywomen, to bring about a bloody revolution as a prelude to the acceptance of communistic principles by India.

The only logical way of fighting this menace by the Indian is not to keep away from the Congress, but to strengthen the moderate elements in it; not to refuse to admit new members but to see that only the true blue Congressmen are admitted. This, I contend, is the motive underlying Mahatma Gandhi's move to purge Congress of members not pledged to "non-violence and truth."

I would also draw my reader's attention to the resolution presented last year at the All-India Working Committee deploring the abuse of civil liberties as exemplified in speeches and articles printed by certain sections of the press and declaring that the Congress Governments would no longer allow such efforts to encourage violence and hatred to go unpunished. In this connection, the Premier of the United Provinces said that it was the duty of all established Governments, including the Congress Governments, to maintain law and order and that society, life and property are synonymous with the preservation of civil liberty.

I am referring to this instance merely to prove that the Congress Governments clearly recognised their duty. The Bombay Government had to face opposition both in and outside the Congress ranks on account of the labour legislation it undertook. The Madras Government was quite clear on this matter in its communique dated the 9th August, 1938, in which it referred to the subversive activities of the communist party. I shall quote only two sentences from it :

"The Government have in their possession copies of certain pamphlets which are being circulated amongst members of the Communist Party in India. As these show the extravagances to which the Party is committed and the disorders and chaos which the party hopes to introduce into the country, the Government feel it their duty to give publicity to these intentions so that members of the public may be on their guard against becoming unwittingly involved in a movement the motives of which are wholly opposed to the culture and traditions of India."

If it is said that it is only recently that the Congress has changed its policy, I would refer my readers to a publication of the Communist party which, translated into several vernaculars, was distributed widely in India and specially at the Karachi Congress in 1931. This document mentioned the various aims of

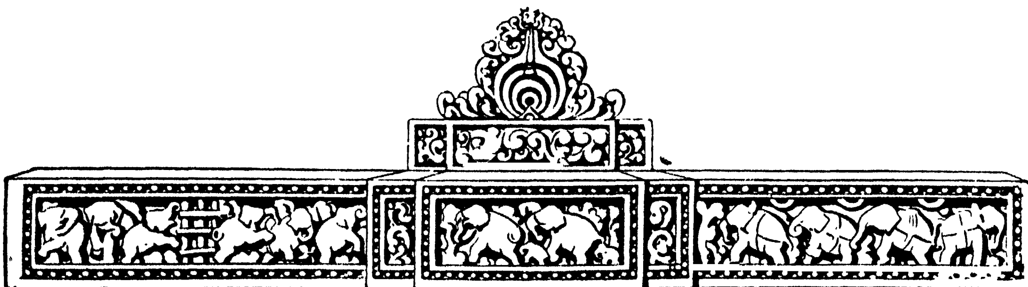
the Communist party and made a very vigorous attack on Gandhism and the Indian National Congress maintaining that Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress were formidable impediments in the way of India's attainment of freedom.

If it is argued that only the Right Wing of the Congress is attacked and the Left Wing left untouched because it contains only the subversive elements, I would refer my readers to the section in which the authors discuss the means to be adopted for winning freedom. After pointing out the utter futility of individual acts of terrorism or any ordinary revolutionary armed insurrection, it recommended a general national armed insurrection against Britain and concluded by saying that the most dangerous obstacle to the victory of this revolutionary movement was the Leftist element in the Indian National Congress and very strongly recommended that a ruthless war should be waged against the Left Nationalists.

Another communist programme for India based on a paper submitted to the Communist International in 1932 was published in 1933 the very first item of which reads as follows: "The liberation of the masses from the influence of the National Congress."

I am thankful to find that there is at least one European industrialist, I mean Mr. H. Horseman (Upper India Chamber of Commerce) who collected some of these facts from sources not ordinarily available and who had the fairness to place them before the public in December, 1938, when he moved his resolution against Communism in the last meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India.

Napolean said that an army marches on its stomach which is true not only of armies but also of the masses. They will follow the leader or the party which promises to fill their stomach and to improve their lot generally. It cannot be said with truth that 100 per cent of the masses understand the programmes of different political parties. In the language of one of their leaders what they want is "bread, more bread, cheaper bread. Give them a square meal, and they would scorn the pomp of kings." Today contentment, peace and joy have fled from the land. The so-called leaders who are all intellectuals are offering various panaceas. Some are for the old regime, some for Congress and Purna Swaraj, some for Marx and Communism. But whatever political opinion they are preaching, slowly the hitherto inert masses are being inoculated with new aims and aspirations. A general restlessness is observable all over India. They are no longer satisfied with things as they are. By its mass contact movement, the Congress is calling them to join and strengthen its ranks and so far its efforts have been crowned with success. And the reason why it, more than any other organisation, can claim to embody the national will is that it makes certain demands which concern us as Indians irrespective of the religion we may profess individually and also because the ameliorative programme the High Command is seeking to implement is calculated to benefit all classes of people. The one way to combat Communism in India is for employers and capitalists to co-operate with the Congress and not to fight for retaining all the privileges and advantages they have been enjoying so long.



DEMOCRATIC THEORY IN ITS APPLICATION TO INDIAN POLITICS

By Professor BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA, M.A.

Introductory : The Eclipse of Democracy

The Great War of 1914-18 brought about a re-arrangement of the map of Europe, but very soon in a world supposed to have been made 'safe for democracy' military despotism, absolute rule and autocracy began to entrench themselves, throwing democratic systems of government more and more in the defensive. The economic blizzard of the thirties of the century was another test for the democratic systems. A more direct challenge however has appeared in the last decade or so by the emergence of the totalitarian idea, clad in armour, with its 'youthful insolence' and novelty.

The democratic thesis has also been assailed from recent scientific and pseudo-scientific quarters. While biology, psychology and ethnology have advanced their discoveries of arrangement against democratic postulates, sociologists like Pareto and Michels have appeared with their learned tomes to prove the impossibility of actualising democracy. Democratic practice and theory have naturally come in for fresh appraisal under the circumstances. Thomas Mann, the Nobel Laureate and victim of Nazi wrath, tersely puts the urgent need in matters concerning democracy of

"memory, reflection, re-examination, the recall to consciousness of a spritual and moral possession of which it would be dangerous to feel too secure and too confident.[1]

Passionate as is his plea for democracy as "a form of government and of society which is inspired above every other with the feeling and consciousness of the dignity of man,' he recognises some of the contrariness of democratic faith and practice in the world of today, without a 'social reform' aiming at spiritual as well as an economic freedom.

Democracy and India

Under the canopy of a socio-economic revolutionary atmosphere relating to the preservation of democracy, it will not be inopportune to consider the issues which confront democracy in Indian political life.

At the present moment, Europe and, for the matter of that, the western world is convulsed with what is described rather equivocally as an war for the preservation of freedom and democracy in Europe. The demand for India's collaboration in the war evoked the counter-demand for the declaration of war aims and their application to India. In the course of this constitutional and political controversy democratic tenets and practice have once again come in for a good deal of searching examination. The quickening of interest in India in problems of democracy and representation may further be ascribed to :

(a) Efforts at the mobilization of public opinion by such bodies as the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc.,

(b) Extension of the franchise for elections to Provincial Legislatures and local self-governing institutions,

(c) The minorities' demands for protection against alleged grievances and their formulation,

(d) The rise of totalitarian states in Europe, and

(e) The metamorphosis of certain politicians and political groups after having tasted the cares and responsibilities of power.

I shall take up certain themes of topical reference for discussion in this connection.

Congress Attitude

Democracy and parliamentary government have always received the allegiance and homage of leaders of public opinion in India, notably of the Indian National Congress. While publicists generally sought to discover traces of corporate activities and parliamentary traditions in Indian history, and Islam's proclaimed adherence to democratic practices (specially in social matters) were being recalled, the goal of parliamentary democracy for India was an accepted basic idea in Indian political discussions. The British reaction to the early agitation of the Congress was largely aimed at establishing the unsuitability of democracy to India and to prove the impracticability of introducing British institutions in India. Congressmen and Indian nationalists generally, even now, hardly fail to pay their homage to democratic ideals and to swear by the grammar of democracy.

Since the assumption of office by the Congress in the majority of Indian provinces

1. *The Coming Victory of Democracy*, 1938.

there has been a marked change in the attitude towards some of the accepted tenets of parliamentary democracy in certain high Congress quarters. The creation of a central Parliamentary Sub-Committee prior to the elections, with ultimate directing authority throughout British India in implementing and co-ordinating the parliamentary programme of the Congress, had roused protests from several quarters. There is the difficulty of reconciling one's allegiance simultaneously to the provincial electorate and the all-India High Command, a position of contradiction inherent, however, in any rigid party-organization. First, there are the difficulties arising out of distance,—the possibility of the High Command being influenced by one-sided presentation of the cause of a dispute and mis-representation. Secondly, there is the anomaly of a situation where a ministry from its formation to the execution of policy have got to satisfy both the local party—and for the matter of that local legislature—and also the Congress High Command and the All-India Congress Committee.

The whole issue came to a head at the time of the Khare episode. Significant statements were made by Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in that connection. It may be recalled that apart from regional and personal issues, the Working Committee, while condemning Dr. Khare, also passed judgment on the Governor of C.P., as Dr. Khare's resignation

'was the first direct cause of the exercise for the first time since the acceptance of office by the Congress by a Governor of his special powers whereby Dr. Khare's three colleagues were dismissed.'

But, this constitutional issue apart,[2] the whole episode involved the use of methods which could not be justified by normal democratic practice.

We should, in all fairness, take into consideration the explanation of the action of the Working Committee. Dr. Sitaramayya, in addressing the A. I. C. C. (in December 1938, Delhi) claimed that the Congress had developed a heirarchy of administration comparable to the British administrative structure in India, and observed :

"If there is any person who imagines that our structure should be subordinated to the flimsy notions of democracy and parliamentary conventions, let that person remember that we are in a stage of transition. Those goody goody notions of constitutional propriety are not applicable to the Congress in the present conditions prevailing in the country . . . ."

Mahatma Gandhi also, in a similar strain, defending the position of the Working Committee wrote in the *Harijan* :

"For internal growth and administration, it is as good a democratic organization as any to be found in the world. But this democratic organization has been brought into being to fight the greatest imperialist power living. For this external work, therefore, it has to be likened to an army. As such it ceases to be democratic. The central authority possesses plenary powers enabling it to impose and enforce discipline on the various units working under it. Provincial organizations and Provincial Parliamentary Boards are subject to the central authority."

He repudiated the charge that the Congress was trying to shape itself after the Fascist Grand Council because the former was anchored in non-violence though it might talk the language of war.

Since then, as is well-known, charges of caucus-rule in the Congress using the shibboleth of discipline, of secret negotiations and connivance at jobbery have been made even by a retiring President of the Congress. The question naturally arises as to the limits of democratic behaviour on the part of an organization aspiring to usher in democracy. Whether it is the argument of discipline or 'war'-conditions, which is used to defend the High Command's position, there can be no denying the fact that by its recent attitude the Congress has converted itself into a party aspiring after power, and ceased to be a democratic platform for the interchange of views leading to the emergence of national public opinion.[3]

One is tempted to find an analogy between the Congress approach to the problems of democracy and liberty until independence is

2. The Governor acted on the advice of his Prime Minister and the propriety of his action stands on a par with the events leading to the formation of the National Government in 1931 in Great Britain. Further, there was the "Instrument of Instructions" issued for the guidance of the Congress Ministries and in an indirect manner of the Governors of provinces, by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as Chairman of the Parliamentary Board on July 30, 1937, soon after Congress Ministers assumed office, which stated, *inter alia*: "In view of the collective responsibility of the Cabinet and in view of the present position of the Congress Party which is naturally not very strong, the Governors should be requested to deal with the Prime Ministers. The practice of the Governors calling individual Ministers should not be started or must be discouraged. On special occasions individual Ministers may be called with the consent of the Prime Ministers." (Vide : *The Indian Annual Register,* Calcutta 1938, Vol. II).

3. With regard to provinces under non-Congress administration also most of the above arguments will substantially be relevant. The dictation by a Central Body, though in a general way only, and the placing of obstacles to free discussion either inside or outside the legislature have been the occasion of complaint, also in Bengal and the Punjab.

realized, and the communist approach during the transition to the goal of communism.[4] Only the dictatorship of the proletariat is here substituted by a benevolent dictatorship for the emancipation *of* the masses *by* a coterie. And that is a distinction with a difference. Because underlying the objections to Congress dictatorship there is the criticism which must be aimed at all manifestations of authoritarian rule—the exercise by "sinister" economic interests of the power behind the throne and the attempt by self-seeking groups to use high-sounding phrases and patriotic movements for their own purposes. The dictatorship of the proletariat seeks to usher in a regime to end all forms of tyrannical rule and exploitation, not only in the national but also in the international sphere. Thus observed the Communist Manifesto :

> "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

Are the army regimentation, dictatorial control and other measures of the transition in our public life intended also to bring about the consummation of the decay of a senile Imperialism, the forces of world finance-capital and the feudal remnants in our country? Or will the entrenchment of nationalism again usher in a period of struggle between those who have come to power and the political and economic proletariat? Congress professions in the matter are well-known and should have satisfied progressive political thinkers, but Congress in office has brought to the notice of many the incompatibility of professions meant for another socio-political order being mimicked under totally different conditions and circumstances. The morale of a progressive political organization is bound to be affected by even these "transitional" measures, even though applied in a "non-violent" environment.

4. The phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is attributed to Blanqui. It is interesting to find Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, the scientist, seeking to find an analogy between the Greek idea of democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. "I do not know," he says, "whether Plato and Aristotle would have been more surprised to find the word democracy applied to a State like Great Britain with a hereditary monarch and peerage, and no direct rule by popular assemblies, or to find such undemocratic bodies as the Roman and Anglican Churches denoted by the word ecclesia (*eglise*). They might, however, have described the Soviet Union as an ecclesiastical organization !" (*The Marxist Philosophy and the Sciences,* Ch. 6, New York, 1939).

Minorities and Democracy

But the democratic case has been seriously assailed from another quarter. The minorities in India—which include religious, class and opinion minorities—have been expressing themselves through some of their spokesmen against the introduction of mere majority rule. It is not my purpose to enter into an enquiry on the origin of communal demands and consequent safeguards. The published correspondence and papers of John Morley and Lord Minto and the Nair Committee's investigations on the "command performance" of 1st October, 1906, have laid bare the genesis of Musim demands : [5] similar revelations might also be forthcoming with reference to the claims by other classes and communities. Yet any impartial observer will agree that there is uppermost in the minds of several minority groups in the provinces a sense of insecurity and an apprehension that justice as a democratic postulate was hardly to be realized under a mere majority rule under Indian conditions. Recently Mr. M. A. Jinnah startled even many of his co-workers and colleagues by his candid and aggressive criticism of democratic rule in India.

Lurking behind the minorities' distrust of democracy, however, may be discovered a conflict of aspirations and motives. Undoubtedly, mere numerical justice would not be accepted until and unless as some have argued, the conditions of social and economic equality are secured. I would go farther and suggest that in India some of the basic institutions of social and religious customs predicate a situation which for some time to come make assimilation of conflicting class and communal claims impossible through the merely politico-constitutional process. The argument in favour of proportional justice, on the other hand, has even the support of Karl Marx. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx dissents from the democratic slogans of 'equal rights' and points to the natural inequalities of men and envisages a society where ultimately identical amounts of labour and reward shall not be enforced. I do not, therefore, find anything really objectionable to progressive minds in allowing weightage in favour of minorities.

The question naturally follows on what grounds can such weightage be allowed ? Without going into a learned digression over systems of minority protection one can suggest that the claims of interests in the shape of commercial

5. *Vide* a paper by T. Chakravarti read at the Indian History Congress, 1939 (*Calcutta Review,* January, 1940).

privileges, caste privileges or feudal privileges do not come under any democratic formula—except the distorted early democratic and liberal slogan of sanctity of property rights, which has recently been carried to excessive lengths in confronting President Roosevelt's recent experiments. Communities claiming special safeguards and assurances relating to their culture, language, social and religious practices must be satisfied in full—so long as some of these barriers to a closer community-life are not obliterated by the emergence of newer social and economic conditions.

Nationalism, Communalism, Provincialism

Provincial autonomy has also ushered in a new problem. Democracy and nationalism have been the 'Siamese twins' of our political ideology. Recently, we had exhibitions of the curious spectacle of an anti-democratic totalitarian approach to political problems being coupled with an ardent faith in national glorification and destiny.

Nationalism in recent years, it is well-known, has assumed a narrow and militant aspect and has been characterised as a 'breeder of wars.' As a recent writer remarks: it

"proclaimed the right of a nation not only to *be* but to *grow,* to gain 'a place in the sun,' to fulfil its 'manifest destiny,' to 'take up the White Man's Burden,' to carry on its *mission civilizatrice* . . . . The most uncompromising of reactionaries became the most ardent of nationalists. Big business and propertied interests were not slow to see that the national state could be an invaluable ally in the struggle for survival and expansion. So nationalism grew into economic nationalism which in turn flowered into economic imperialism . . . . . It was the new nationalism that fought the war and made the peace. And it is the new nationalism, beyond any question, which now propels the world toward another general massacre."[6]

In India also we have been feeling the impact of this 'new' nationalism in our political life. Vested interests have not been slow to take advantage of the situation. What is worse still, 'Provincialism' of a bitter and unedifying variety has appeared almost as a corollary to this false nationalism. The democratic approach to Indian problems has also thus been assailed as a result of the partial introduction of an all-India constitution in the provincial sphere only, which as many people prophesied would lead still further to the blurring of a common outlook in public affairs. A Marxist might rejoin by quoting *The Communist Manifesto* :

"The working men have no country . . . . we cannot take from them what they have not got . . . National differences and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto. The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster."

But it would be unreal to ignore the forces which have appeared on the surface after a quasi-democratic experiment albeit tinctured by the virus of exotic influences. Talking of Euro-America Prof. Laski has sought to explain the emergence of anti-democratic forces by drawing attention to the fact that

"the motives of production in a capitalist society are in contrast with the theoretical end a democracy seeks to serve."

A consequence has been the emergence of Fascism resulting in the dissolution of the

"uneasy marriage between capitalism and democracy . . . . . by the simple expedient of forcing the masses, by terror, to renounce their claim to increased material welfare."[7]

Are not some of the forces behind communalism and provincialism traceable to the same impact of interests masquerading under respectable doctrines, and gradually seeking to leave aside democratic, open-air, responsible methods in favour of authoritarian control to which the "new nationalism" drags capitalist democracy even in its developed stage ?

Non-Party Government

Another line of approach to meet the situation in India has become familiar to many. This may be described as the plea for an all-party, all-community, coalition system looking up to the Swiss executive—if not the constitution itself—for a model. Much was heard of it during the Simon Commission, the All-Parties' Conference and the Round Table Conference discussions. Recently, the demand for a representative executive at the Centre has been followed by an influential press agitation in favour of Congress-League Coalition in the Centre and the provinces also. From another stand-point, but agreeing with this premise, is the plea put forward by Srinivas Iyengar, an ex-President of the Indian National Congress.[8] Democracy of the Anglo-Saxon brand with its wire-pulling, party caucuses and unreality, has not been a boon to the Indian country-side at least. More at the bottom but virulently at even the top, in the opinion of the present writer, the venom of the exotic plant of party-government has

6. Chester C. Maxey : *Political Philosophies,* New York, 1938.

7. H. J. Laski : *A Grammar of Politics,* Introduction to the Fourth Edition, pp. xiii-xv.

8. *Problems of Democracy in India,* Madras, 1939.

been steadily corroding the body-politic of India. The central features of these proposed departures may, therefore, be discussed.

It should, however, be recognised that such an arrangement pre-supposes certain conditions. Do they exist in India today ? Dr. Bryce in enumerating the causes of the comparative weakness of party-government in Switzerland alone among modern democracies points out that[9]

(1) For a long time there has been no vital issues before the Swiss nation dividing the country: the form of government was long settled and the bed-rock of democracy reached. These are not fulfilled in the case of India, faced as we are today with the stiff opposition of minorities.

(2) Class hatreds have been absent and there had been little economic discontent in Switzerland for a long time. The Indian experience is that in certain provinces the political situation is darkened by the landlord-*kishan*, *mahajan*-debtor, capital-*majdur* and provincial jealousies based on economic or pseudo-economic issues.

(3) Personal leadership is less conspicuous, hero-worship is foreign to the Swiss nature, politics are a serious matter, a business matter, not a game (as it is described in English-speaking countries). In India personal adulation is almost a national trait; if not for the people at least for ambitious politicians—alas, their number is not few ! . . . . politics offer a pastime or sometimes a sport to use the "millions" of their followers for the advancement of pet schemes or group leadership.

(4) Patriotism, a patriotism which puts the interest of the nation above all democratic differences, holds all the Swiss together, in spite of the various linguistic, religious and other sectional differences. Can we boast of such a standard in our approach to public affairs implying as it does an absence either of parochial or extra-national affiliations ?

The views of Dr. Bryce relating to the "tone of public life" in Switzerland may be regarded as somewhat out-of-date and overdrawn. But it must be apparent that the field in India is not yet clear for anything but a patch-work coalition. Without a well-knit community-life broad-based on a common economic out-look and a unity of mind in regard to essential standards and values in public life, the dream of reproducing the Swiss system or any of its equivalents will remain only a dream unrelated to realities.

9. *Modern Democracies,* Vol. I, Ch. XXX.

Conclusion

This may appear pessimistic. But behind the problems of Indian politics today there is the accumulated debris of a short-sighted policy followed by the agents of foreign imperial power in matters relating to mass education,[10] economic development and the nourishment of institutions of self-government which had existed even though in an embryonic stage. On the top of a crumbling structure, came the impact of organized finance-capital and the emergence of a political power to back up that economic system. Everything became topsy-turvy and it is only recently that India is in a position to consider seriously the planning of her national life in a comprehensive manner. This leeway of decades, the wiping out of earlier traditions in corporate life and the economic and religious complications of the present century—all these are heavy handicaps. Democratic theory today urges a re-orientation of the socio-economic order as a *sine quanon* of the emergence of a new and real democratic system. So far as India is concerned, sooner rather than later she should be led into that process and at the same time mould her institutions in a manner more suitable to the genius of such a system. If, however, the excrescences and anachronisms, like communal and class-representation, high-property franchise, safeguards in favour of vested interests, etc., are admitted as principal features of our public life, a democratic system can never flourish in India. Drastic and revolutionary changes are therefore to be welcomed by all those who cherish the cause of democracy and the dignity of man, for in India they have long been neglected and an analytic study of the complex situation should be followed by determined action. For in the critical stage of our civilization and national development, the slogans for all lovers of liberty should be to follow the significant message of Bergson to a recent Philosophical Congress: "Act as men of thought, think as men of action." Democratic thought awaits its full idealisation in life and action, in India no less than elsewhere.

10. This was fully acknowledged by Lord Hailey in a recent speech.



GREATER GROWTH OF THE MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL : IS IT ENTIRELY REAL ?

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

[The population problems are engaging the attention of the scholars in India. Although the writer has doubts about his conclusion, he presents the same in the hope that it will receive adequate treatment at the hands of statisticians.—*J. M. D.*]

SINCE the introduction of the synchronous Census in 1881, the Hindus in Bengal have increased by 22·9 per cent during 1881-1931; while the Muhammadans have increased by 51·2 per cent during the same period. The variations per cent during the several intercensal periods are shown in the table below :

	1881-1891	1891-1901	1901-1911
Muhammadans ..	+ 9·7	+ 8·8	+10·4
Hindus ..	+ 5·0	+ 6·2	+ 3·9
Excess in favour of the Muhammadans ..	+ 4·7	+ 2·6	+ 6·5

	1911-1921	1921-1931	Increase + Decrease —
Muhammadans ..	+ 5·2	+ 9·1	
Hindus ..	— 0·7	+ 6·7	
Excess in favour of the Muhammadans ..	+ 5·9	+ 2·4	

The average decennial increase of the Muhammadans is 8·6 per cent; that of the Hindus is 4·2 per cent, very nearly half of that of the Muhammadans. That the Muhammadans are increasing faster than the Hindus is no doubt true; but part of the apparent greater increase (4·4 per cent) seems to be due to the season when the censuses are taken.

A Census is but a demographic photo at a given point of time; it shows the condition of a given society at the instant the census is taken. From this we may infer the real and normal condition. We shall explain what we mean by an extreme example. Suppose in a given community *all* the widows re-marry a year after the death of their husbands without any exception. But still if we confine ourselves to the Census figures alone, we shall always find a certain proportion of females to be widows, namely those who have become widows within a year of the census and have not as yet remarried. We find, say 2 per cent to be widows in 1901; the same or almost the same per cent in 1911, 1921, 1931, and so on. But we shall not be justified in concluding that about 2 per cent of the female population in that community ever remain widow.

Similarly, if the censuses are taken at a time when the rate of growth of population is the greatest—both in the case of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, the disparity in growth between the two communities will appear at its greatest, much greater than the average figure.

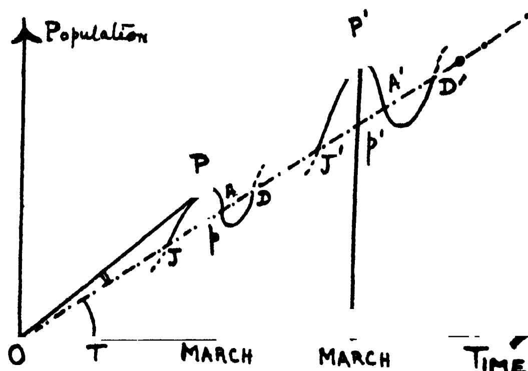
The last six censuses took place on the following dates :—17th February, 1881; 26th February, 1891; 1st March, 1901; 10th March, 1911; 18th March, 1921; and 26th February, 1931. The average date of Census may, therefore, be taken to be the 3rd of March.

In Bengal the growth of population is not uniform month by month, as there are seasonal variations in both the birth- and death- rates. We give below the average birth-rates and death-rates for the decade 1921-1930 month by month; and calculate therefrom the rate of increase month by month.

Month	Average per mille. (1921-1930) of— Birth-rate	Death-rate	Rate of Increase
January ..	2·8	2·4	0·4
February ..	2·5	1·9	0·6
March ..	2·9	2·1	0·8
April ..	2·6	2·0	0·6
May ..	2·5	1·8	0·7
June ..	1·9	1·5	0·4
July ..	1·7	1·4	0·3
August ..	1·7	1·5	0·2
September ..	1·9	1·6	0·3
October ..	2·5	2·0	0·5
November ..	2·8	2·4	0·4
December ..	2·9	2·7	0·2
Total ..	28·7	23·3	5·4

It will be seen that the rate of increase varies from 0·8 per mille in March to 0·2 in August and in December; and further that the rise in the rate of increase is uniform from December to March. As these are monthly figures the maximum is reached by the 16th of March. The average monthly rate of increase is 0·45; and the excess rate of increase in March is 0·80—0·45=0·35. This *excess* is some 77 per cent of the average monthly rate of increase.

Let us see what is the effect of taking the census *in the month of March, when the rate*



of growth of population is at its maximum. The diagram is self-explanatory.

The population is not growing *uniformly along the straight line Opp′ in the above diagram*, but along the wavy line JPAD..J′P′A′D′. Had the population increased uniformly its rate of increase would have been given by the angle pOT. But what we observe are the populations at points P and P′; and the rate of increase calculated therefrom is given by the angle P O T. Now this angle P O T is greater than the angle p O T by the small angle P O p, (very much exaggerated in the above diagram for the sake of clearness), which is 7·7 per cent (*i.e.*, 77 per cent divided by 10—the interval in years after which censuses are taken) of the angle p O T approximately.

The average excess of population growth in favour of the Muhammadans over the Hindus is 4·4 per cent per decade. This has, therefore, got to be reduced by 7·7 per cent, *i.e.*, 0·34. The *net* excess growth of the Muhammadans over the Hindus is, therefore. 4·4—0·34=4·1; and not 4·4 as found before.

THE KHONDS

A Tribal People of South Orissa

By L. N. RAO

"There is something in this cheerful, truthful, frank and humorous people that strikes a responsive chord."

—*M. W. M. Yeatts.*

Far away in the interior of the uplands of southern Orissa lives a race of people in a world of its own, enjoying the freedom of the woodland country and the least worried about the puzzling political and social problems that sweep over the vast plains of India. They have lived in this primitive condition all these centuries while the people down in the plains were experiencing whirling changes in their social and political life.

Half-naked, living in little stuffy homesteads built of wooden sleepers, sharing the same room with their cattle, always under the grip of malarial fever, living for some months in the year on merely a liquid prepared out of boiling tamarind seeds or mango-stones with water, illiterate and ignorant, these tribal people, called Khonds, pass their lives in a rugged way. The book of knowledge is closed to them, and the comforts of a civilized life are denied to them. As the slave, by a long process, grows to love the very chains that hold him in bondage, so the Khond clings to his uncomfortable and unhealthy habitation and seems to be apparently content to remain in the darkness of his forests.

The Khonds are 3,47,237 in number, according to the Census of 1931, and their chief habitat is Ganjam agency and Koraput agency, which forms the southern districts of Orissa. They are a hardy race. But unfortunately, they are lazy like most hill people and would prefer the less troublesome, though less comfortable, living in forests to going down to the plains for hard work and better prospects of living. They hack and burn the forests on the hill-slopes and raise crops there. This method of cultivation, known as Podu, is a very bad custom entailing loss of forests, consequent upon which we get less rainfall, and lesser yield from the land and the growth of laziness of the Khond. The Khond requires very little trouble to grow crops by this Podu cultivation. He just puts the grain seeds in the ground and leaves them to the mercy of the gods.

The Khonds below the hills have come under

the influence of the Oriyas,—some under the influence of the Telugus. A handful of them in the low country have taken to education and are very slowly merging themselves into Hindu society. But very little has yet been done to educate and civilise these people and to preach to them "discontent", which is a sign of growth. Here is any amount of need and possibility for social uplift work. These woods and hills cry out for help and their cry is yet unheard except by a few scattered Christian missionaries. They are inaccessible to the plains due to the many unbridged mountain streams, the heights and the rough forest tracks.

A week spent among the Khonds in their native home, the lovely hills, opens our eyes to a new world, to a mass of humanity neglected by us, to a people rich in their pristine innocence and love of freedom.

An intensely enjoyable sight is the war dance of the Khonds. The dress of the dancers consists of a picturesque and flowing cloak, a gown in graded and tastefully arranged folds, a bison-horn head-dress, bow and arrows and an axe. In tune with the horn and trumpet, the dancers dance, making war-like gestures at each other, while the village folk stand by and admire.

The Khond women can easily be recognized anywhere by the lines of tattoo on their faces. Practically the whole face, from the top of the forehead down to the neck including the cheeks, is tattooed in the form of "U" s. There are two allusions to this custom. One is that once upon a time the Khonds took to this practice to make their girls look ugly, so that they might not be molested by their king who was said to be very immoral. Another allusion is that when Hanuman introduced the Khonds to Sri Ramachandra as his own people, Sri Ramachandra blessed them with a gesture of his hand, and so in remembrance of that act the Khonds have adopted this custom. The Khond women pierce ten or twelve holes at the edges of their ears, the married ones using brass rings in those holes and the unmarried pieces of broom.

The administration of the Khonds is said to be a problem. Like all hill people, these Khonds do not like much interference by outside authority. They love freedom and live as lords of the forests. Any compulsion means a revolt. So, a bullying government can never hope to succeed in making the Khonds law-abiding citizens. Fraternising, love and sympathy alone can conquer their hearts. They do not pay any land or other tax to the British administration either in kind or coin. The pity is they cannot pay. They do some labour on Government roads or some similar work for about 30 days in a year on small remuneration.

In most of the bigger Khond villages of Ganjam, there is a large proportion of Oriya population and naturally the Khonds are coming under the influence of Oriya culture and civilisation. Trade is entirely in the hands of Oriyas and Panos. The little clothing that the Khonds can afford to buy is supplied by the Oriya Panos, an intelligent Harijan community whose caste-occupation is weaving. In the villages of the hills, the Khond employs the Pano to carry his corn because he considers it infra dig. to carry loads on the head ! Some of the Panos have been Christianised. There is a Baptist Missionary centre, with a fairly big establishment, and a large hospital at a place called G. Udayagiri.

It will be unjust if this note is closed without a description of a Higher Elementary School, situated in a village called Barokhoma, 128 miles from the railway line of the east coast, in the interior of Balliguda taluk, which is said to be the real home of the primitive Khonds. The school stands amidst lovely landscape. A neatly laid out garden growing cabbage and papya, a play-ground for playing badminton, a well-ventilated thatched shed measuring 52 by 17 feet are befitting the institution. 89 children, bright-eyed cheerful little ones, welcome the visitor. There are three trained teachers working—2 Lower, and 1 Higher. At present there are only 8 Khond boys in this school. May the school prosper and draw more and more Khond children—will be the prayer of all who come into touch with Khonds.

The purpose of this short note is a call to service. Will the people of the plains respond to the cry of the wilderness ?

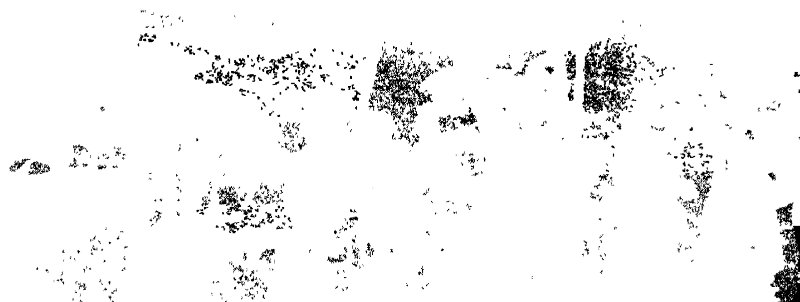




The Pipe of Peace
By Sudhir Khastgir



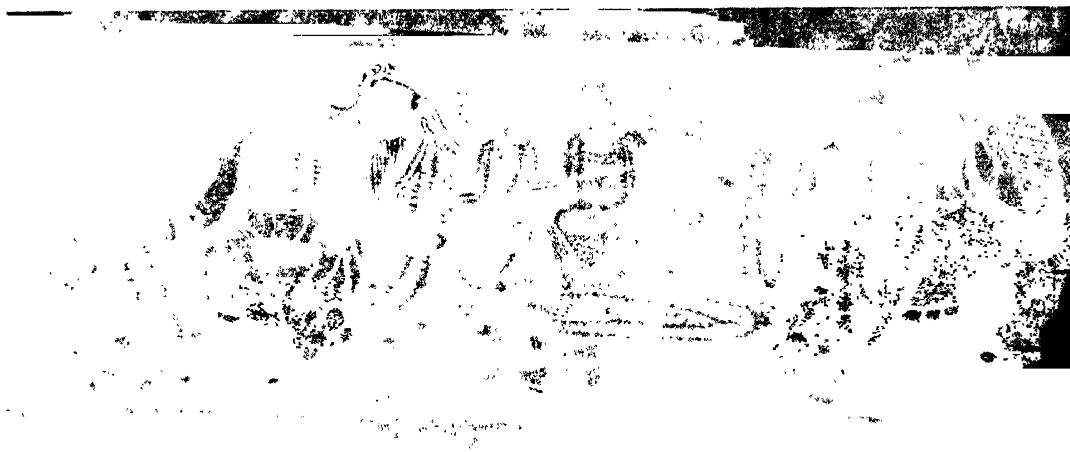
Ordeal of Sita
By Sudhir Khastgir



`. Vaishnava festival procession with two leaders carrying *Khuntis* or *Asa-dandas*



Panel from a scroll painting from West Bengal depicting a Unicorn



Another Unicorn in a panel of a scroll painting relating to Rama-lila

INDUS CIVILISATION FORMS AND MOTIFS IN BENGALI CULTURE

By G. S. DUTT, I.C.S.

II

In my article on the above-mentioned subject in *The Modern Review* for November, 1939, I expressed the view that certain forms and motifs which are found in the living traditions of the folk-arts of Bengal at the present day furnished fairly convincing evidence in support of the view that the basic traditional culture of Bengal is a living and unbroken continuation of the pre-Aryan civilisation represented by the relics found in the excavations at Mohenjo-daro which flourished in India in the Chalcolithic age, although it could not be stated with certainty as to whether the descendants of the people who lived in the Indus Valley region in the Chalcolithic age were pushed eastward into the Bengal area by the Aryan or other invaders or whether the same type of civilisation flourished at the same time both in the Indus Valley region and the Bengal region. For the purpose of convenience it will not, I think, be inappropriate to designate the civilisation which flourished in the Indus Valley region in the Chalcolithic age as the "Proto-Indian" or "Adi-Bhārat" civilisation, the word 'Proto-Indian' being used here not in an ethnological sense but in a cultural sense, implying that this is the oldest Indian civilisation that we as yet know of.

Since writing the above-mentioned article, a mass of important materials has come into my possession which furnish adequate evidence in support of the following conclusions :

1. While the Proto-Indian civilisation has not left any direct traces of its continued existence in the Indus Valley region or its vicinity, certain elements of it appear to have continued in an un-interrupted succession right down to the present day in the Bengal region in the form of beliefs, practices and traditional cult-forms and art-forms.

2. The basic civilisation, culture and art-forms of Bengal furnish a key to the understanding of many of the objects found among the Indus Valley relics, the significance and meaning of which have hitherto proved either difficult or impossible to comprehend.

3. Conversely, the rudiments of the various aspects of the basic Hindu culture of Bengal are found to have actually taken shape in the Proto-Indian civilisation discovered in the Indus Valley region.

I now propose to give an account, as brief as possible, of the materials which, in my opinion, justify the above conclusions. In the present article I shall deal with the following aspects of the subject, leaving the remaining aspects for presentation in a future article :

(1) The persistence of the Asa-danda or Metal disc standard.

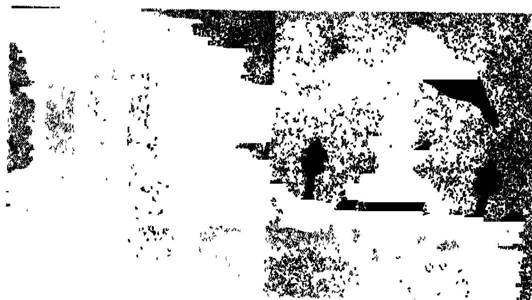
(2) The continuity of the Unicorn tradition.

(3) Continuity of the traditional form of the Goddess Sree, Lakshmi or Kamale-Kamini ("The Lady in the Lotus").

I shall now deal with these heads seriatim.

1. The Asa-danda or Metal disc Standard

In my last article in *The Modern Review*, I expressed the view that the form of the metal disc with two convex ends and two concave sides which is now used in Bengal as the standard of the Gāzi and which I found on the Shiva Temple at Dakshineswar, appeared to have

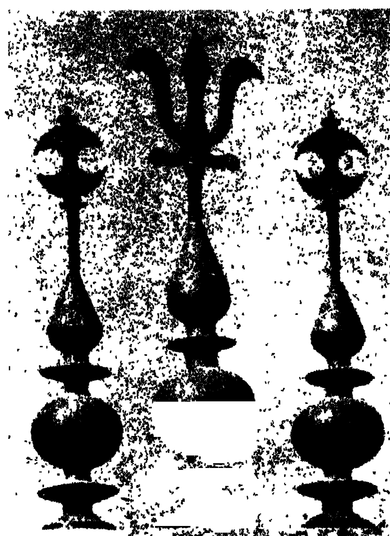


Left : Two Asa-dandas at the Radha-Gokulchandji Temple in Calcutta
Middle : Another standard at the same Temple
Right : Asa-dandas on a Vishnu Temple, the Viswa Baishnava Temple

been originally derived from that of the standard of the Unicorn of the Proto-Indian civilisation of the Indus Valley. The standard of the Unicorn was, as I pointed out, in itself derived by combining two separate objects, *viz.*, a feeding trough of earthen-ware, wood or metal which formed its lower portion and a wicker basket for holding straw or grass which formed

its upper portion. In some of the seals found in Mohenjo-daro as represented in the works of Marshall and Mackay, the wicker basket is shown as having a lid. This is not inconsistent with the theory of its having represented a basket for keeping straw and grass for the sacred animal, as it was perhaps natural that the basket used to be covered by a lid during the intervals between the feeding times and this fact was represented by a lid in some of the seals. But the feature of the standard of the Unicorn that specially requires explanation is the convex outline of its upper end and the tapering ends of the upper object as represented in most of the seals. The explanation of this convexity of the upper end of the basket as represented in the majority of the seals found at Mohenjo-daro is, in my opinion, to be found in the fact that this was intended to represent masses of feeding straw heaped on the basket after it was filled to the brim. In fact, the technique employed in representing the basket in most of the seals was evidently meant to depict several layers of straw heaped upon one another in succession. Now it is obvious from the internal evidence furnished by the Mohenjo-daro relics that although the standard of the Unicorn was undoubtedly three-dimensional, the two-dimensional form, *viz.*, that of a metal disc with convex outlines at the top and bottom ends and two concave curves on the two sides, was gradually evolved from it even during the period of the Indus Valley civilisatiin. There can be little doubt that the metal disc in fig. 37, Plate CXXV of Mackay's *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro* represents such a conventionalised metal disc standard and not a *razor* as supposed by Mackay. The same conventionalised form appears to have been used with slight embellishments in the piece of painted pottery from Mohenjo-daro reproduced in fig. 22, Pl. LXIX of Mackay's *Further Excavations at Mohen-daro.*

In my previous article I showed that disc forms of this shape are being used at the present day not only as the Asā-danda of the Gāzi cult but also as cult objects on Shiva Temples at Dakshineswar. Since then I have discovered that the use of this disc form with double concave sides on the pinnacle of Shiva temples is fairly extensive throughout Bengal. While investigating into the origin of the use of this form of the standard on Shiva temples, I was informed that this disc form was really a standard of Vishnu and was used in Vaishnava processions; and its use on the top of Shiva Temples, was attributed to the fact that Shiva was a *Bhakta* (admirer) of Vishnu. This led me to the discovery of the fact that whereas, in connection with the cult of Shiva, this form of standard is now only used as an architectural emblem on the temples, its use in connection with the cult of Vishnu is actually of a more significant and, in all probability, of a more ancient character. For, in connection with the cult of Vishnu I discovered that this very form of the metal disc standard was being used in present-day Bengal both as an architectural emblem on the temples as well as a processional standard. This last mentioned fact in regard to the use of this form of metal



Two Asa-dandas with ornamental wavy outlines on the convex edges from a Shiva Temple in Calcutta

disc standard as a processional standard has an obviously pregnant significance from the point of view of continuous traditional relationship with its use in the civilisation of the Indus Valley and other parts of Northern India in the Proto-Indian period.

It should be mentioned here that the actual name which is applied to this metal disc standard by the worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu in present-day Bengal is *Khunti*, which literally means a flat digging hoe. Sometimes it is described as *Tridhār Khunti* or "the three sharp edged hoe," no doubt from the fact that while the lower convex edge of the disc to which the handle was attached, was left blunt, the other three edges, *viz.*, the upper convex edge and the two concave sides were made sharp. This expression—*Tridhār Khunti*—actually appears in

the work *Shunya Purān* of Ramāi Pandit in describing the standard carried by the deity Dharma who was worshipped in the middle ages in Bengal.[1] The *khunti* of the metal disc standard is used in Shiva temple on two sides of the *trishul* (trident). In the Vishnu temple the *trisul* is replaced by the mount of *Vishnu, viz.*, the bird Garur. In some Shiva as well as Vishnu temples, the two brass *khuntis* are placed at the two ends of a long, slender and flat horizontal brass cross-bar placed across a brass *Chakra* (wheel). From the illustration given here of the form of this type of brass *Khunti,* used on the Vishnu as well as Shiva temples, it will be seen that its form is identical with that of the metal disc in the Proto-Indian relics in Mohenjo-daro as represented in fig. 37, Pl. CXXV of Mackay's work mentioned above. It is also obvious from this illustration and the description given of the disc in Mackay's work that at the lower end, it must have been fixed to a stand exactly in the same manner as the *khunti* on the Vishnu and Shiva temples[2] in Bengal at the present day. While at its top and bottom ends the *khunti* usually has a plain convex outline, I have come across one case, *viz.*, the Shiva temple in Calcutta, in which an ornamental wavy outline has been imparted to both the top and bottom convex edges. This wavy outline of the lower edge has a distinct similarity with the ornamental lower edge of some of the standards of the Unicorn found at Mohenjo-daro; for example, the seal in fig. 20 Pl. XIII of Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*. It is also an interesting fact that each of the two metal disc standards of this temple bears a cross pin a little distance below each *Khunti* exactly in the same manner as in many of the standards[3] (*Vide* seal in fig. 38 Pl. CIV of Marhall's book) in the Mohenjo-daro seals.

The more significant use of the *khunti* in Bengal at the present day, however, as I have already mentioned, is in connection with the processions in the periodical Vaishnava festivals. In these processions it is usual to carry two *khuntis* surmounted on the long poles of either wood or bamboo. I have discovered two Vaishnava temples in Calcutta where such *khuntis* are kept and where they are taken out in periodical processions at the time of *Māghi-Purnimā, viz.*, the Rādha-Gokulchandji Temple and the Viswa Vaishnava Temple. The first mentioned temple has a tradition[4] connecting it with the time of King Hossain Shah. In the case of the *khuntis* at the Viswa Vaishnava Temple, the two ends on each concave sides have been actually joined together in construction and in the *khuntis* manufactured by traditional braziers at the present day for use in Vaishnava processions, this type, with the ends joined, is in vogue. It is noteworthy that even among the Mohenjo-daro seals, we find at least one example in which this form with the concave ends touching each other was adopted. (See Seal No. 24 Pl. XII in Marshall's "M. I. C.").

The Swami in charge of the Viswa Vaishnava Temple very obligingly showed me the manner in which the two *khuntis* in his temple are carried in procession, and the photograph which I took of the informal procession was arranged by him on the occasion of



Lakshmi on an earthen Sara of East Bengal

my visit to his temple. He explained that at the time of the actual procession on the Māghi-Purnimā and other festivals, a picture of the deity is carried in the procession between the two āsā-dandas or metal disc standards. In the photograph the reader must therefore supply in imagination the figure of the deity carried by another person between the carriers of the two āsā-danda standards in order to obtain the complete form for the procession. A comparison of the picture of this procession,

1. "बाम दिगे कान्चन्ति परमुर तिधार खन्ता" pp. 161, Edited by C. C. Banerjee.
2. Mackay's F. E. M., pp. 468.
3. Marshall's M. I. C., pp. 383.

4. The predecessors of the Mohant of the temple originally lived in rural Bengal and their successors came to Calcutta and built the present temple.

subject to the proviso I have just mentioned, with the sacred procession represented in Seal No. 5 and 8 Pl. CXVI in Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation* will, I think, be sufficient to bring home to us the fact of the striking family likeness of the two processions and to demonstrate their close traditional relationship with each other and will leave little doubt that the Vaishnava procession with the two *khuntis* or metal disc standards in present-day Bengal is a survival of a cult practice dating back to the period of the Proto-Indian civilization of the Chalcolithic age.

The association of the *khunti* with the cult of Vishnu in modern Bengal is obviously an ancient one. The question now arises whether any clue can be obtained connecting the use of the metal disc standard in connection with the cult of Vishnu in modern Bengal with the cult of the Unicorn in the Proto-Indian period. In this connection I have recently made an important discovery regarding the continuity of the Unicorn tradition in the folk culture of Bengal which appears to indicate a definite connection between these two cults.

2. The Continued Survival of the Unicorn Tradition

The survival of the Unicorn tradition in Bengal is established by evidence furnished by two old traditional scroll paintings recently collected by me from Western Bengal. I have elsewhere described the continuous survival in rural Bengal of the ancient class of traditional painters known as *Patuās* who paint scroll paintings on the subject of traditional legends and display these to the accompaniment of chanting of ballads relating to the subject-matter of paintings.[5] From the legend which forms the subject-matter of the ballad chanted by the *Patuās* while displaying one of the scroll paintings bearing the picture of the traditional Unicorn in Western Bengal at the present day, we find that it relates to the cult of Satyanarayana and Satyapir which is the popular Bengali form of the cult of Vishnu. The story of an one-horned beast or Unicorn which appears to have been conceived as an agent or messenger of the deity is portrayed both in the legend and in the painting, thus definitely establishing a traditional link between the cult of Vishnu and that of the Unicorn. The Unicorn depicted in this scroll painting has its horn pointing straight backwards, instead of being bent forward as in the Mohenjo-daro seals. The Unicorn in the Mohenjo-daro seals has the form of a bull in all its features and limbs. The Unicorn in this Bengal legend and painting is a composite or synthetic animal with the head, horn, hump and body of a bull and the legs of an elephant. In the legend the animal is actually described as *Agniswar Gandār* or the "Fire Deity Rhinoceros."[6] It has actually no resemblance whatever to a rhinoceros; and its horn arises not from the snout but from the head near the base of one ear. That the placing of the horn on the head instead of on the nose (as in the case of rhinoceros) is not here merely accidental, is proved by the fact that in the same scroll painting, exactly the same form with the solitary horn on the head close to the ear is employed in two separate picture panels and the same form is employed in both the old scroll paintings on this subjects which have come into my possession. In fact the term 'Gandār' appears to be used in this connection to signify a one-horned beast or unicorn and not a rhino. I have also discovered another specimen of a scroll painting in the same region where the same form of this composite animal occurs under the name of "Agniswar Gandār" in connection with a Ramayana story.

It is important to note that in the Mehenjo-daro period there was a distinct tendency among the people to produce a composite cult animal and among the composite animal figures reproduced in Marshall's book, we actually find a composite animal with the trunk of an elephant, the horns, body and hind legs of a bull and the front legs of a tiger (M. I. C. Figs. 378, 380 and 381 in Pl. CXII). It is therefore evident that the transformation of the pure Unicorn type of the Indus Valley Civilisation of the Chalcholithic age to a synthetic Unicorn in the later ages with the horn, hump and upper part of the body of a bull, the legs of an elephant, is only a natural development of a tendency which had already manifested itself in the Indus Valley Civilisation period. It is worthy of note that in the representation of the Unicorn in the above-mentioned scroll painting, the esoteric mark of a *Chakra* in the form a round disc enclosed in a circle occurs on the haunches of the Unicorn, thus showing its sacred character and its connection with the discus of Vishnu.

Another very significant feature in connection with the Unicorn tradition is furnished by the fact that one of the Sanskrit names of

5. See *Patua-Sangit* by G. S. Dutt, published by the Calcutta University and 'The Art of Bengal' in *The Modern Review*,' May 1932.

6. In another version, the animal is described as the 'Maya Gandar' or the 'Musory Unicorn.'

Vishnu is 'Ekashringa' or the 'one-horned'. At what period of Indian civilisation the deity Vishnu first came to acquire this name it is difficult to say. In Sanskrit literature this name is associated with the fish incarnation of Vishnu in which he is said to have put out a single horn sticking above the waters of the great deluge and furnishing support and guidance to the boat which held Manu.[7] But it is obvious from the materials given in the present article that this name (Ekashringa) of Vishnu was in all probability connected with a much older folk tradition dating back to the Indus Civilisation period and continued among the folk painters of West Bengal down to the present day. In any case this name appears to furnish an important clue to the probable association of the Mohenjo-daro Unicorn with a cult corresponding to the Vishnu cult of the subsequent periods among the folk in West Bengal My view that the conception of the form of the Unicorn in the folk culture of Western Bengal is a direct continuation of that of the Unicorn in the Mohenjo-daro seals, receives very striking support from the representation of the Unicorn in the Ram-lila scroll painting mentioned above which I have recently collected from some of the Patuās of Western Bengal. For it will be observed that the Unicorn in this picture is represented as having a band of marking on the shoulder which was obviously meant to indicate some kind of trapping, having, in all probability, an esoteric cult significance. Now, it is observed, that most of the figures of the Unicorn in the Mohenjo-daro seals have curious markings on their shoulders Marshall has observed[8] that these markings appear only in the Unicorn in the Mohenjo-daro seals and on no other animal, and he has also observed that these markings probably represent trappings of some kind rather than muscle or wrinkle in the skin or wire ornaments. This view is strongly corroborated by the nature of the markings on the picture of Unicorn in the Ram-lila scroll painting from Western Bengal which leaves no doubt that these markings were meant to represent trappings rather than wrinkles or wire ornaments.

3. Continuity of the Traditional Form of the Goddesses Sree, Lakshmi and "Kamale-Kamini" ("The Lady in the Lotus")

In my last article on this subject in *The Modern Review* of November, 1939, I expressed the view that the proto-type of the popular Bengali form of the Goddess Lakshmi was to be found in the deity represented in Fig. 18, Pl. XII of Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation.* I shall now adduce further evidence in support of this view.

It appears on closer scrutiny that the flat round pedastal on which this deity in the Mohenjo-daro seal is depicted as standing represents not a lotus but a lotus leaf and the



Kamale-Kamini
("The Lady in the Lotus") in an old scroll painting from West Bengal

two plant forms between which she stands represent conventional lotus creeper forms. Marshall and Coomaraswamy have described this composite plant form as a *peepal* tree, presumably because of the pyramidal shape of the shoots which are represented as springing from each of the two branches. In their opinion this pyramidal form of the shoots establish their identity with *peepal* tree leaves. These pyramidal forms appear to me really to represent lotus buds which throughout all ages of Indian art are depicted as having a roughly pyramidal

7. Satapatha-Brahman, 1, 8, 1.
8. M. I. C., Vol. II, 382.

form with a pointed end and a wide base. This will be evident from an examination of all the representations of the lotus in the sculpture of Sanchi and Bharhut.[9] The point of importance to remember is that in the Mohenjo-daro seal under reference No. 18 in Pl. XII, the somewhat flat appearance of these buds is due to the employment of the wire technique. Even there, however, it is obvious that the shoots on the right hand edge of the plate have a distinctly roundish bottom, proving that they are meant to represent buds and not leaves. The doubt is entirely resolved if we refer the seal of the same deity reproduced in Fig. 7, Pl. CXVIII of Marshall's 'M. I. C.' Here one branch of the plant is quite intact and it has three buds shooting out from the plant which ends in a lotus leaf at the top. Now this convention is consistently employed in the traditional popular Bengalee form of the lotus plant in connection with this deity. In all representations of the deity Sree, Lakshmi and Kamale-Kamini in popular Bengali art throughout the middle ages and at the present day, made by the rural Bengali women, potters and potter-women, whether in *Kānthās*, in scroll paintings or Lakshmi *Sarās* (earthen saucers) employed in the popular worship of the Goddess Lakshmi, the deity is always depicted as standing or sitting between two conventional lotus creepers. The lower object from which the two lotus creepers spring is either a full blown lotus or a lotus leaf. (Fig. VII, *Indian Art and Letters*, Fig. 4, Vol. X, No. 1). The branches sometimes have only buds shooting out from their sides or sometimes buds as well as blooms of lotus; and the branches generally end at the top with a full blown lotus or a lotus leaf. In later Bengali tradition, the Lakshmi on the *sarās* is often represented as holding one ear of corn in each hand instead of clutching branches of the lotus plant. Sometimes the two conceptions are combined and the ears of corn are represented as ending with a lotus or lotus leaf at the top, whereas the object on which the deity stands is sometimes represented as a lotus, and sometimes as her mount, the owl,[10] and sometimes both.

It is interesting to note that this traditional form of representation of the Goddess Sree or Lakshmi is not confined to popular art only but was also adopted in classical Indian art at various periods, *Vide* Fig. 121 Pl. XXX of Coomaraswamy's *Indian History & Indonesian Art*, (here the lotus pedastal appears to be missing) and *Bharhut*—Book III by B. Barua. In scroll paintings by Patuās of Western Bengal of the deity Kamale-Kamini or the "Lady in the Lotus" we find this tradition of two conventional lotus creepers springing from a lotus leaf being represented as the seat of the deity Kamale-Kamini, who is said to have been seen by the merchant Sreemanta Sadagar in the course of his voyage through the Bay of Bengal. Here this Deity, holding the elephant-headed Ganesh in her arms is represented as sitting on a conventional form of the lotus plant. The lotus creepers in the scroll painting representation of *Kamale-Kāmini* abound with lotus leaves shooting out from them, but they also have two buds. Now it will be observed that the similarity of the general form of the plant in this representation of *Kamale-Kāmini* in the scroll painting which is only about 200 years' old with the representation of the same motif in the Mohenjo-daro seal (Fig. 18. Pl. XII, M.I.C.) mentioned above is most striking, particularly in respect of the form of the lotus leaf at the base and of the way in which the two lotus creepers are made to spring directly from it. The similarity of the general pyramidal form of the buds in the two representations is also noticeable.

Here a remarkable fact should be noted. In the classical representation of the Goddess Sree or Lakshmi, although she is made to stand or sit on a full blown lotus, the stems of the flowers and of the buds of the two sides of the deity spring not as shoots branching out from a creeper, but separately from the ground on the two sides. In the Mohenjo-daro seals, however, as well as in the popular Bengali tradition, the seal of the lotus deity is represented as a two branched tree growing on a lotus or lotus leaf at the base and with lotus buds, blossoms or leaves directly springing from the two branches at regular intervals. The fact of this representation of the plant as a tree form no doubt led to its being taken to be a *peepal* tree instead of a lotus plant by Marshall and Coomaraswamy. The popular artists in the Indus Valley Civilization as well as those of the present-day Bengali tradition however appear to have had no doubt in their minds as to what they were or are depicting. What they depict is a conventional lotus plant growing out of a base of lotus leaf or lotus blossom and with two branches from which lotus buds, leaves and blooms are represented as springing. This view

9. See for example the two representations of the lotus plant in Fig. 23, Pl. VI of Coomaraswamy's *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Fig. 52 in Pl. XIV of *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* by Coomaraswamy and Pl. VII in *A Hand Book of Indian Art* by Havell.

10. *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, June, 1934, pp. 28.

is supported by the actual words of the ballad which is sung by the Patuās or traditional painters of Western Bengal when they display the Kamale-Kamini picture drawn by them. The words used are as follows :—

कमलेर डालपाला कमलेर लता

" A lotus creeper with lotus branches and lotus shoots."

This implies that the motif deliberately employed was that of two creepers springing out of a common pedestal at the base and of shoots, leaves and blossoms of lotus springing out of the creepers. The fact of this striking similarity between the traditional form of representation of the lotus plant in the representation of the deity in the Mohenjo-daro seals and in the Bengal folk art tradition furnishes, in my opinion, very strong evidence in support of the view that the Proto-Indian tradition of the Indus Civilisation has come down in an uninterrupted continuity in Bengal in regard to this motif.[11]

11. The lotus motif as a creeper does indeed appear in the sculptures of Sanchi and Bharhut and in the Ajanta frescoes, but only as a formal and stereotyped decorative motif and not in connection with the seat of the lotus deity as a self-contained plant with two branches springing from a common base.

INDIA'S WOMEN SCIENTISTS

By R. D.

THE progress of science in India is not very slow now-a-days. In the Universities and in various Institutes and Government departments research problems are taken up and solved. Previously men were engaged in these research works. Recently, women of our country with the spread of education among them have been taking up important items of research work and solving them.

How far it is true will be evident from the following facts. In the last Indian Science Congress, held in the first week of January last, the undermentioned papers were read and discussed.

In the Section of Mathematics :

(*a*) On the order-type of Cantor's discontinuance, by Miss Mary N. Thomas, Madras.

(*b*) The specification of projective geometry as a lattice, by Miss S. Pankajam, Madras.

In the Section of Chemistry :

(*a*) Dispersion of dielectric constant of organic liquids, by S. K. K. Jatkar and Miss Nagamani Shama Rao, Bangalore.

(b) Absorption from binary mixtures, by Miss Nagamani Shama Rao and S K. K. Jatkar, Bangalore.

(*c*) Halogenation, Part XXIX. Nitration and bromination of 2:3 dimethylnapthalene, by P. P. Varma and Miss Gyaneswari Goil, Benares.

(*d*) Studies in the Friedel-Craft's reaction, Part V. The action of acetic anhydride and benzoyl chloride on Methyl β-resorcylate, by R. D. Desai and Miss K. S. Radha Iyer, Bombay.

(*e*) Studies in the Friedel-Craft's reaction, Part VI. An evidence of γ-substitution in some resorcinol and orcinol derivatives, by R. D. Desai and Miss V. M. Vakil, Bombay.

(*f*) Heterocyclic compounds, Part XVI. The Kostanecki reaction with isoresacetophenone (2:6-dihydroxy-4-methylacetophenone), by R. D. Desai and Miss V. M. Vakil, Bombay.

(*g*) Nitration of 8-methoxy-and 8-hydroxy-coumarins, by Miss V. Ammalukutti and B. B Dey, Madras.

(*h*) Synthesis of polyhydroxy-aldehyde acids, Part I. The synthesis of 2:4-dihydroxy-5-aldehydo-benzoic acids, by R. D. Desai and Miss K. S. Radha Iyer, Bombay.

(*i*) δ-and γ-Quinolyl-1-isoquinolines, by Miss B. S. Alamela and B. B. Dey, Madras.

In the Section of Botany :

(*a*) The myxophyceæ of the Travancore State, India, by Miss P. R. Parukutty, Benares.

In the Section of Zoology :

(*a*) Preliminary observations on the animal communities of the level sea-bottom of the Madras coast, by Miss M. Samuel, Madras.

In the Section of Anthropology :

(*a*) Mother and child combinations of blood groups and blood types in Calcutta, by Mrs. E. W. Erlanson-Macfarlane, Calcutta.

In the Section of Psychology :

(*a*) A study in the correlation between practical curve for a simple type of muscular work and mental work curve, by Miss Monmohini Sukla, Lucknow.

The abovementioned items of research show that the women scientists of our country are not lagging behind. Government and the research institutes should offer them more facilities and encourage them by the award of special scholarships and fellowships. We are confident that they will prove worthy of the honour done to them.

A PUNJABI PATH-FINDER PASSES

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

FOUR decades ago a psychological cyclone struck the Punjab. It was caused by a raging, tearing propaganda. The man who engaged in it had, till then, been practising as a lawyer, mostly in Jālandhar (the Jullunder of the Survey of India maps and railway literature). He had taken it into his head that the mode of education pursued, at the time, in the province and, for that matter, the country was wholly wrong. The surroundings in which the boys lived, moved and studied were unhealthy—unwholesome. He wished to rescue them from going to perdition. Having done that he would teach them in consonance with the Aryan (noble) tradition.

Many persons deemed that the propagandist—Lala Munshi Ram, as he then was—had gone mad—stark, staring mad. Some, however, believed that he had seen the light. Such faith did he inspire in them, indeed, that they promised him the wherewithal to revive the ancient educational institution—the *gurukula*.

Among the persons whom this man with a message shook to his depths was Rama Deva, then serving as a headmaster in a school in Jullunder Cantonment. Born in Bijwara, a small village not far from Hoshiarpur, he had grown up in an atmosphere of scholarship and was himself destined to play a part in the revival of Vedic culture, particularly through the *gurukulas*, that would render him immortal.

II

While the nineteenth century was tottering towards the tomb that its own progenitor—Father Time—had dug for it, I, then residing with my parents in Hoshiarpur, came upon him. His father, or may be his uncle, brought him to our place one day.

Both brothers, as I remember them, were learned in Oriental lore. They were fine scholars, particularly of Urdu and Persian. One of them (I forget which) had been a tutor in Majitha, a village in the Amritsar District of the Punjab. How well he had done his work is patent to anyone who has met either of his former pupils—the Sardar Amrao Singh, one of the most erudite scholars anywhere in the world, and his brother, Sir Sardar Sunder Singh, the Revenue Minister of the Punjab and one of the foremost Sikh leaders.

Reared in such surroundings, Rama Deva had, in his boyhood, the good fortune to come

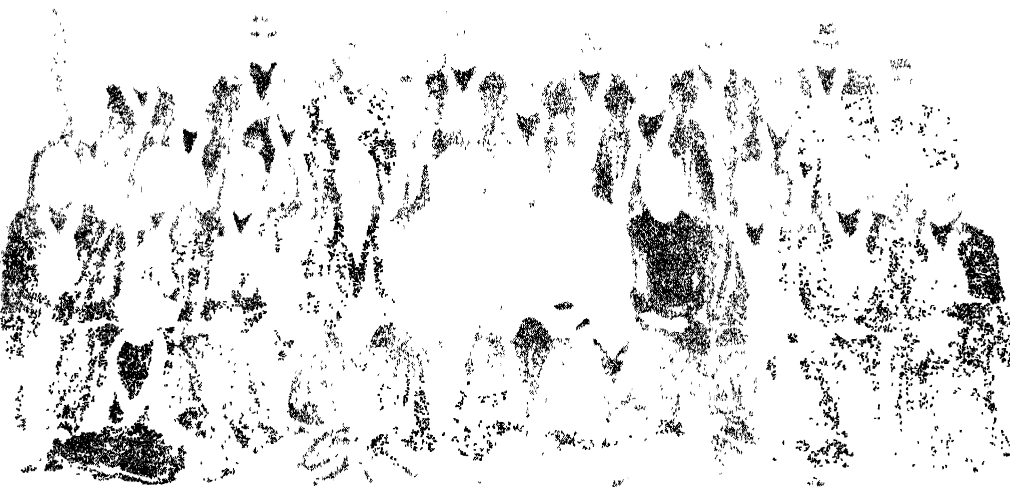


The Acharya Rama Deva
who devoted the bulk of his life to the Vedic revival

in contact with the Pundit Guru Dutt. That shining light had fired the lad's imagination. He would be great, the boy vowed.

Within a few minutes of meeting Rama Deva I came to the conclusion that he thought no end of himself. I, too, I fear, suffered from that complex.

His ambition was, however, different from mine. Rama Deva fancied himself an orator while I aspired to be a writer. With the world's



[Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

A convocation at the Gurukula Kangri

In the centre the Author, who delivered that year's Convocation address. To his left the Acharya Rama Deva. The youngmen in gowns are the Snatakas (graduates) upon whom the degrees had just been conferred

prizes thus divided between us, we, in our teens, instantly took to each other.

This acquaintance would have soon ripened into friendship but for the fact that shortly afterwards Rama Deva appeared for the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University and moved to Lahore. Two years or so later, when I, too, went there, I would have met him had he not left the D. A.-V. College in a huff.

The trouble was that Rama Deva had his own ideas as to how that institution should be run. These did not coincide with the views the Principal (Lala Hans Raj) held; nor was he disposed to be harangued by an undergrad as to the fundamental purposes for which the institution had been founded.

According to Rama Deva, his *alma mater* was only a copy of the older institutions. It manufactured graduates, as they did, only it did so without taking as much money out of the parents' pockets as the others did.

The people whose donations had made it possible for it to be set up, he argued, had wholly different purposes in view. They had designed it, he held, to train young men as missionaries filled with zeal to re-usher Vedic culture into India.

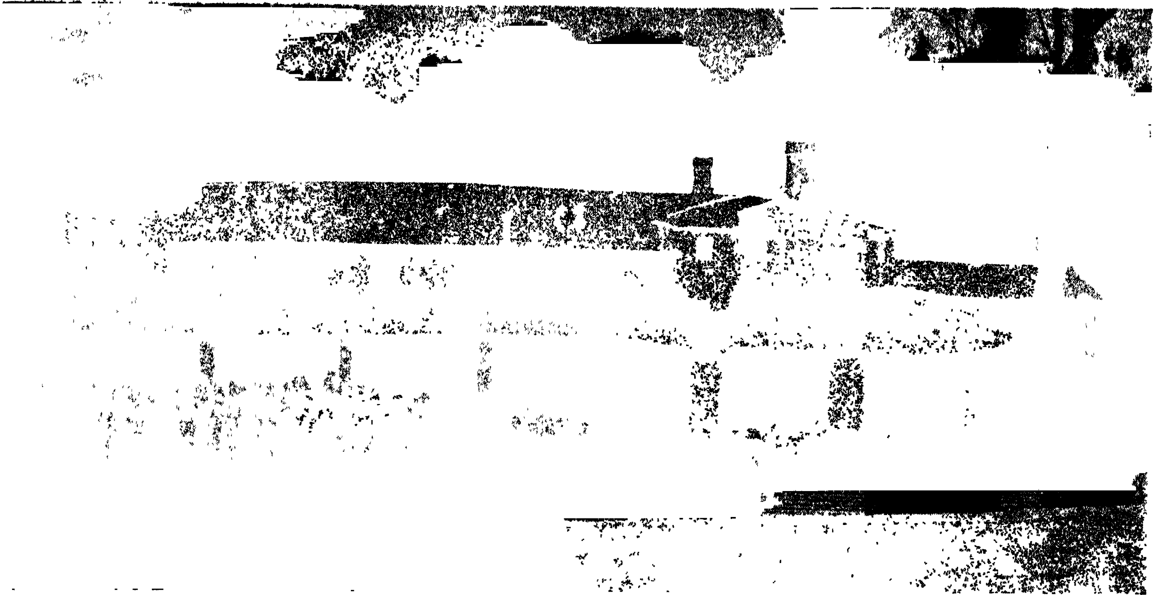
There was much in what the young man said: but he said it raucously. By repeating his message without troubling to see whether the Principal had the time or was in the mood for it, he alienated sympathy.

Had not much the same blood flowed in their veins, the two might have been able to adjust matters. First cousins—sons of sisters—the Principal, some 15 years older, must have despaired of maintaining any sort of discipline in such a circumstance. Temperamentally they must have been poles asunder—the Principal cool and collected, master over his emotions, while Rama Deva, impulse-driven, was eager to drive others into the vortex of his own enthusiasm of the moment.

No one who saw the two together or who knew them both, was surprised when Rama Deva said that he had had enough of Hans Raj, picked up his books and left. The wonder was, in fact, that the break did not come earlier.

III

Soon after this scrap the young man sought work and obtained it without much difficulty. While he taught school at Jālandhar he kept up his studies and in two or three years passed his B.A. So struck with his work was the Inspector who, in the usual round, went to this institution, that, at his recommendation, the



[By courtesy of the Kanya Gurukula

Gurukula boys at drill

young schoolmaster was awarded a scholarship to the Teachers' Training College at Lahore.

Diverting were the stories that Rama Deva told of his days there. In some subjects—mathematics, for instance—he was a duffer. In others, however, he knew far more than the teachers. They taught him a little and learnt from him a little more. He had the shrewdness to "wangle" matters so that he obtained "pass marks" even in Mathematics.

To any one who casually saw him schoolmastering, it no doubt looked as if he was smugly satisfied with his life. In moments of elation he would exult over the prospects that lay ahead of him.

Beneath the exultation over things material, there were forces at work of which even Rama Deva seems to have been unconscious, except possibly at times. There was, for instance, an occasion when feeling ran pretty high. It was over a test he had prescribed for the sincerity of persons desirous of aiding in the Vedic revival.

Let every married man who attended the *samaja* (assembly) he had established bring his wife along with him and let her come with her face unveiled. So he demanded.

Purdah in the Punjab nearly four decades ago was rigid and the strictness with which he tried to enforce this rule created ructions. In his own family, too. He had finally to issue an ultimatum to his own wife. She must choose between her in-laws, where she could lead the life then regarded as respectable, or join him and go, "horror of horrors!" with her face unveiled. Young as she was and wholly lacking in experience, she elected to be at her husband's side.

Psychological storms over principles that Rama Deva held dear furnished a sure indication as to where his heart was. Things of this world may have captured his fancy—but never his soul. When the call came he was, therefore, able readily and completely to renounce his position and his prospects. Fortunately for him, the little lady who, after stepping out of the shadows, had been entered as a student in a girls' school at Jālandhar, did not exert a pull to hold him back.

IV

This second rupture was in the nature of a judgment upon the first. He who had taunted his cousin and co-workers with wasting golden opportunities by engaging in work that others could do—were, in fact, doing—equally well and even better than themselves, had himself been guilty of equally eggregious crime. The products that he had been shaping according to a pattern not of his—not of any Indian's—making, were, at best, only half-baked youths. The scroll they carried was merely the en-

trance examination certificate issued by the Punjab University. The D. A.-V. College that he had left in high dudgeon because it would not swing around from the making of Bachelors and Masters of Arts, was engaged in manufacturing products of the same species, it was true, but of much higher voltage—much greater power.



[Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh
The kanya gurukula at Dehra Dun
The photograph shows one of the buildings and in front of it some of the students

An emotional earthquake was needed to shake Rama Deva out of his self-complacency of the early years of the twentieth century; That convulsion came, as I have noted, while this century was yet in its infancy. It was caused by Lala Munshi Ram. Undeterred by irony and opposition, he had gone ahead with his Gurukula programme. A man owning many broad acres along the eastern bank of the Ganges as she clears the Siwalaks at Hardwar, had provided him with the site. He soon had a little clearing made and a few huts run up. Pandits filled with the zeal to revive the ancient modes of teaching had come to him almost unasked. Men who had faith in him placed their sons in his safe-keeping, hard though it was for them and even more so for the boys' mothers to part with their children for the long period of *brahmacharya,* re-prescribed by that revivalist.

Needing workers, Munshi Ram had been touring the Punjab propagating his ideas on Vedic education. His eloquence that had in it the vehemence of Niagara, uprooted Rama Deva from his schoolmastering career.

V

Soon after renouncing his position and prospects in the Punjab and beginning work on a pittance in Kangri, as the trans-Gangetic site was known, he raised a storm. The surroundings were ideal for the study of Vedic lore. The methods that were being pursued were not to his liking. So wedded to them were the pandits, however, that only through a series of brainstorms upon his part could the reforms that he deemed imperative be effected.

Lala Munshi Ram had never been a teacher nor had he ever passed through the portals of a pedagogic college. Rama Deva's fluent and persuasive advocacy, however, soon made him realize the need for edging the ancient educational way with the cemented sidewalks of modernity. A few pandits declared that they would not soil their feet by treading these pavements. They left the Gurukula. No difficulty was experienced in filling their places with men devoted no less whole-heartedly to the Vedic revival but possessed of a sense of perspective that enabled them to see that the world had not stood still since the Vedic fathers pushed their way across the Sarasvati into the Gangetic valley. They were desirous of assimilating the new with the old-time educational methods.

Under the scheme as it emerged by degrees, largely from Rama Deva's fertile mind, a pandit ceased teaching a group of students the subject of his choice, without regard for the flight of time. Nor was predilection permitted to over-emphasise a subject at the expense of another or others.

Under the new dispensation life in the Gurukula became orderly. The *brahmacharys* awoke at a certain hour and after ablutions congregated in the *yajna-shala* and performed *sandhya* (morning devotions). Adjourning for a light breakfast and a little rest, they divided themselves into groups appropriate according to



[Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

All that was mortal of the high-souled worker lying ready for the sacred fire, surrounded by his widow, sons, daughters and sons-in-law

age and intellectual progress. Each formed a class under the shade of a noble tree or, if the weather was inclement, in a thatched hall. Studies were carried on for the prescribed period or periods in the rotation laid down in the time-table.

VI

By little and little the Gurukula activities were developed and supplemented. Soon after the beginning of the second decade of this century there were separate faculties of (Vedic) Divinity and the science of safeguarding health (Ayurveda) in addition to the ones that prepared boys for the ordinary avocations of life. The mode of teaching in them was an amalgam of the old and the new.

Such was the case even in respect of the Veda in the three parts—Rik, Yajur and Sama—which Lala Munshi Ram, Rama Deva and their colleagues firmly believed to be of divine origin. Religions that moved aggregations of human beings in this and other lands were studied side by side with them.

In the teaching of history it was realized that men had travelled far past the folk-lore stage. The old chronicles known as the *Puranas* were, therefore, subjected to the higher (but constructive) criticism. All that was of a historical nature was culled from them.

Rama Deva himself did a prodigious amount of work in this connection. The three volumes that he produced (in Hindi) occupy a prominent place on the bookshelves in my library.

To the philosophic section, too, he made a very important contribution. The various systems evolved by our people were supplemented with those worked out in Europe and America. Psychology in its more modern aspects, including psycho-analysis, had a great fascination for this experimenter in education.

The teaching in the medical faculty did not ignore the progress that had been made since Charaka's and Susruta's days. The discoveries made in the East and in the West were, on the contrary, eagerly studied and taught.

VII

Of the squabbles that marred the next few years I have no need nor desire to enter into details. They resulted in Rama Deva leaving the Gurukula Kangri and kept him away from that institution for two or may be three years. Then he returned to it and once again

single-mindedly applied his keen intellect and combative personality to its development.

To me the wonder was how he found the time and energy to manage, in one capacity or another, a vast institution almost all the time rent by jealousies and even feuds and yet could engage in teaching, editing (by fits and starts but nevertheless editing) the *Vedic Magazine*, writing books and articles, compiling propaganda literature and, during vacations, touring about with the beggar's bowl in hand or (often and) actively engaging in the Vedic revival. He was a veritable human dynamo in those days.

Rama Deva was fortunate in two respects:

Firstly, he had a sweet nature. It was brilliant and at times turbulent: but never vindictive. The man had a large heart. He could forgive.

He was fortunate also in his wife. She was by no means a lady of learning: but she was an essentially good woman—true as steel—practically all heart. In that heart there was really room only for her man and the children she had borne to him. The overflow of emotion, however, was enough and more than enough for her husband's friends and guests for whom she slaved morning, noon and night, ever without a complaint.

VIII

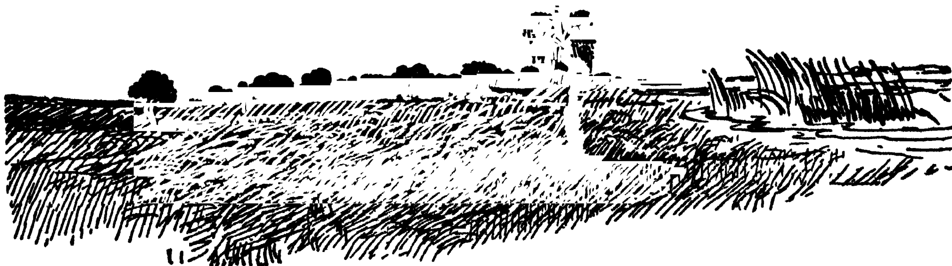
Perhaps it was just as well that the last few years of Rama Deva's stay at the Gurukula Kangri were not as happy as they had been previously. Had they been so India would have been somewhat poorer: for after leaving that institution he engaged in work that, in itself, would have earned for him the esteem of his contemporaries and the gratitude of posterity.

For years after the Gurukula had been started at Kangri an institution conducted on the same lines exclusively for girls was mooted. Nothing was actually done, however, till a lakh of rupees were promised by a merchant. Of this amount only a modicum was received. Nevertheless a girls' school was started at Inderprastha (better known as Delhi). Asked to work out a scheme of studies suitable for girls, Rama Deva readily produced one.

After he left the Kangri Gurukula to engage in non-co-operation that kept him in jail for upwards of a year, he really never went back to it. All that remained to him of energy—and it was abounding till he had a stroke of paralysis some three years ago,—he largely devoted to building up the new institution, which was shifted to Dehra Dun at the foot of the Himalayas, a decade or so ago. That stroke was hastened, if not caused, I fully believe, by the additional work and, what was worse, worry entailed by his acceptance of the Presidentship of the Pratinidhi Sabha—a coveted office.

It was fitting that his end towards the close of last year should come at the Kanya Gurukula. It will be long before the Arya Samaj or any other Samaj, for that matter, produces a man of his vision and versatility, deep and varied reading, forensic and organizing ability, to take his place.

Fortunately for the institution he, years ago, discovered a girl who, under his inspiration and considerable tutorial help, was graduated from the Lucknow University, the first non-Christian girl to do so. No father ever trained a daughter with greater care than did he bestow upon Vidyavati Seth to fit her to occupy the Acharyaship of the Kanya Gurukula. In her devotion to the educational cause she has remained a *brahmacharini* (celibate). Her shoulders are, I think, broad enough to bear the heavy responsibility of efficiently running this unique, all-India institution that grew up under the fostering care of Rama Deva, and that was his pet project from the day it was founded.



THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT OF WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

THE Sessions of the fifth International Parliament of Faiths will be held in New York this summer at the time of its World's Fair. It is also contemplated to hold sessions in India, Geneva, and other cities of Europe, in the later part of this year and in the beginning of 1941. The Preparatory meetings are now being held in England and Wales. At the recent meetings of the World Fellowship of Faiths at the Dorchester Hotel, London and Llandrindod Wells, Wales, Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta, the General Secretary said, that the central theme of this International Assembly would be "World Peace through Spiritual Awakening".



The members of the organizing committee of the meeting of World Fellowship of Faiths in Llandrindod Wells. *Left to right* (sitting) : Kedarnath Das Gupta (founder and General Secretary), Mrs. Indira De, Cannon Griffith Thomas (Chairman), Master Barun De, Mrs. Pramila De, Dr. Hywel Hughes. (Back row): Mr. Sidney Bolsom, Rev. T. Jenkins, Mr. Indranath De, Mr. J. Herber Evans (Local Secretary) and Mr. Basanta Kumar De

In a manifesto issued by World Fellowship of Faiths under the signatures of two officials, Mr. Laurence Housman, Chairman, Mr. Rhys J. Davies M.P., Vice-Chairman, and Kedarnath Das Gupta, General Secretary, it is stated that the main objects are to pave the way for

(1) A World Conference for an equitable and enduring Peace.

(2) A Federation of Nations.

(3) A New Social Order, with no racial or religious prejudices.

(4) A better and happier World through Spiritual Awakening.

Many encouraging responses have already been received from leaders of many convictions and countries.

One of the reasons of planning to hold some sessions in India is that delegates from other countries may be unwilling to come to Europe during wartime. It will also be an additional inducement for Aemrican tourists to visit India. Any constructive suggestions will be thankfully received by World Fellowship of Faiths at its Headquarters, Savoy Hotel, London, W.C.2. or Hotel New Yorker, New York City, U. S. A.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE DANGERS OF BEING A GENTLEMAN : *By Harold Laski. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. Price sh. 7-6 net.*

The first essay in this new book of Harold Laski's, from whence its title is derived, is so charmingly and amusingly written, and with such subtle irony beneath the surface, that the reviewer is tempted to begin to quote immediately sentences which have delighted him. But here it will only be possible to do this sparingly, and to leave the rest for the reader himself to enjoy at leisure.

Laski's amusing thesis is that the masses of the British people never wanted Swaraj or self-determination at all. They were much too lazy. They could not be bothered with such difficult and complicated political affairs, which interrupted sport. So they left these to the few favoured ones who were brought up as 'gentlemen,' and possessed the gentleman's code of honour, in which they themselves believed.

Now, he tells us, all this is passing away. The English snobbery, which revelled in the rule of the 'gentleman' and distrusted the rule of any one else, has been disturbed out of its complacency. The 'democratic spirit' is at last beginning to appear above the surface! To what effect ?

"English snobbery," he writes, "is a collective inferiority complex. It is the result of two hundred years and more of instruction in the thesis, that only the gentleman is fit to govern . . . . . Like most prisoners, the English have become accustomed to their chains; when they are struck off, they are bewildered and act as though they were still bound."

Then comes a passage, at the end, that I cannot refrain from quoting almost in full; for it gives both the charm and the irony of the essays, combined with what is after all good common-sense.

"Yet no one," he writes, "will see the passing of the gentleman without a brief annotation of regret. In the period of his apogee, he was a better ruler than any of his possible rivals. I, at least, would rather have been governed by Lord Shaftesbury than Mr. Cobden, by the gentlemen of England than by the Gradgrinds and Bouderbys of Coketown. There was something picturesque about his thick-headedness; something monumental about his complacency. Compare him with the elegant trifler, who was the gentleman of the *ancient regime;* or the rigid disciplinarian whom the German aristocracy provided, and he shines in the comparison. He was often capable of the generous gesture; he was frequently tolerant; there would be about him a fine quixotism which it was difficult not to admire. He threw up odd men of genius like Byron and Henry Cavendish, statesmen of public spirit like Lord John Russell and Hartington; he would found great public galleries and establish the British Museum. He was very costly, and, in the mass, depressing and dull. Yet, through it all, he always had the saving grace of a sense of humour."

"Nor is it certain that we shall replace him by a more admirable type. The new Renaissance bravo like Mussolini, the new Jesuit writ large like Stalin,—those new plutocrats of whom Mr. Barron's Diary has been giving us so striking, because so innocent, a picture; are we certain that these represent a change for the better ?"

But the whole essay must be read over, if one wants to enjoy the humour of it here in India, where the 'gentleman' idea has had its strange expressions in those who have been ruling over us for so long. The disturbing question arises whether the *Plebs Indica,* the mass adult suffrage voter of India, will not go on voting even after full Swaraj has been won, for a type of character in their rulers which will only be another form of the 'Sahib' over again. I fervently hope that it will not: but all will depend on whether the great bulk of the masses in India have really got the 'democratic spirit.'

I have not space in this review to do more than mention another essay in the book on the dangers of nationalism as a political creed. There is no other chapter which is of more importance at the present juncture.

C. F. Andrews

POLITICAL ARITHMETIC : *By Prof. Lancelot Hogben. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.*

This remarkable collection of papers on the trends of population edited by Professor Lancelot Hogben obtains its title from the work of Petty, whose inductive method of enquiry might have given a fruitful direction to studies in demography. Malthus's Essay on population illustrates, on the other hand, the beginning of a wrong methodology from which economics has not yet rescued itself. It need not be stressed that Malthus depended upon certain implicit assumptions in psychology and technology, and since Malthus these assumptions have been tacitly accepted and assimilated into the corpus of economic theory.

In his Introduction, Professor Hogben discusses the methodology in economics which is of particular significance for the present state of the development of

teaching in economics in India. Throughout India wherever economics is taught it is sought to be taught as an "exact" science whose presuppositions and hypotheses, derived as these are from Western social history, have no relation to the realities of the Indian economic situation. Hogben rightly contends that true science is *par excellence* such knowledge as has practical applications. "A Scientific Law," he observes, "embodies the recipe for doing something and its validification rests in the domain of action." Due to the influence of the Cambridge and London School of economics as adumbrated in the Colleges of India usually spins out speculative schemes or symmetrical systems, and thus the gap between the academy and planning for abolition of poverty has continued to increase leading to intellectual futility, on the one hand, and visionary economic reform, on the other.

Marriage, fertility and mortality trends over a number of decades have been presented in the volume in the specialist contributions of Kuczynski, Enid Charles and Glass. The problems in India are far different. Here we have universal marriage, a higher birth-rate, a higher death-rate and a higher net reproduction rate, and all moving in harmony with the condition of harvests. But the methods and techniques of study should be followed up in India for population research and evolution of a sound population policy, which the country with her 400 millions and chronic and increasing malnutrition and unemployment so urgently demands.

In India some of the less literate and backward castes and communities are increasing much faster than the literate and the professional castes and classes. The dysgenic trend is more evident in India than in the countries studied by Gray and Moshinski (Chapters VIII and IX). Intensive enquiries have to be undertaken in the different provinces with a view to find out the percentage of individuals of different socio-economic status who attain various selected levels of ability and of the socio-economic composition of the total school and college population at these levels of ability, and, generally speaking, to investigate the causes of the disparity between ability and educational opportunity.

Not merely the caste factor which prevents the equalisation of educational opportunity but also the inadequacy of existing educational facility for the majority of the children belonging to the lower economic and social orders are sources of class stratification. It is also to be investigated whether the disparity of education is due to institutional agencies or differences in opportunity, which may be socially corrected and controlled, or to genetic inequalities. The need of such and other investigations following up the methods and techniques adopted under the supervision of Hogben is far greater in India where mispopulation is a more acute problem and class stratification more rigid than in most civilised countries.

In 1937, Professor Hogben prepared a draft of Heads of Enquiries into the growth of population in Great Britain which was later on modified by Carr Saunders, Cole and others. These will be so helpful for demographic enquiries in India that it is worthwhile to reproduce them with certain new items in brackets which the special population situation in India suggests.

I. Agencies Influencing the Growth and Distribution of Numbers in a Community

1. Biological and social agencies related to—
   (*a*) Fertility differentials.
   (*b*) Changes in character of marriage and in structure of the family group.
   (*c*) Differential mortality.
   [(*d*) Effect of caste endogamy and hypergamy on fertility.
   (*e*) Effect of widows remarriage and polygamy on fertility.
   (*f*) Effect on the age of marriage, of the consumation of marriage and of the disparity of ages of the married couple on fertility and mortality.
   (*g*) Causes of the disparity of the sex ratio in different castes.]

2. Resources available for maintaining population of a given size:
   (*a*) Basic material resources (biotechnical and metallurgical).
   (*b*) Unused physical productive capacity.
   (*c*) Unemployed human resources: their transferability and adaptability.
   [(*d*) Effects of density on intensive farming and rotation of crops, and on the dietary.
   (*e*) Effect of fractionalisation of holdings on nutrition and employment.
   (*f*) Unemployed, uneconomical and superfluous cattle.]

3. Regional distribution of population with respect to—
   (*a*) Location and localisation of industry.
   (*b*) Agencies determining present distribution of population, intra- and inter-national movements of population growth of large towns.
   (*c*) Social consequences of increasing density of population and of occupational specialisation.
   [(*d*) Social consequences of decline of small towns and villages.
   (*e*) Effects of mass migration and agricultural colonisation, seasonal and permanent.]

4. Aggregate consumption of the community and demand for various types of labour as affected by regional and occupational distribution of population:
   [(*a*) Effect of rural exodus on essential agricultural and rural services.
   (*b*) Effect of industrialisation on the standard of living of the rural community.]

II. How Resources of Gifted Social Personnel are Biologically Conserved and Socially Utilised

1. The educational recruitment of social classes.
2. Relation of maximal to initial earnings in the wage-earning and salaried classes.
3. Changes of occupation at various ages of life.
4. Vertical, horizontal and regional mobility within industrial and social units (including the recruitment of administrative and political personnel).
[5. Social mobility as illustrated by modification of caste calling and rise of new sub-castes.]

III. Inter-Relationship of Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects of the Population Problem

1. Growth and delimitation of social classes.
2. Relation between total and employable population.
3. Effect of urban concentration (housing policy to be taken into account) and of occupation upon fertility and public hygiene.
4. Relation of population density to administrative and industrial efficiency.

5. Change in general standards of health, education, and social efficiency.
[6. Social composition of the pauper, vagabond and religious mendicant classes.
7. Criminal tribes and castes, their reclamation and economic improvement.
8. Social and family attitudes towards the feeble-minded insane and other socially inadequate classes.]

This realistic study of different kinds of population problems by a number of experts represents an invaluable source book in methodology as well as material, and will contribute towards inspiring demographic researches on practical lines and the development of sound population policy in different countries in the world.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

INDIA'S NATIONAL INCOME (1925-1929): *By V. K. R. V. Rao. Published by George Allen and Unwin, London. 1939. Price 6s. net.*

This essay is a praise-worthy attempt to estimate India's National Income for the period, 1925-1929. The method adopted is scientific, but the data utilised are official statistics as well as guess-work. A large element of guess-work is, of course, inevitable in the estimation of our national income, as the necessary statistics are wanting. But this guess-work must be based upon wide as well as long experience, which the author evidently lacks.

The author puts the national income of British India for the period at Rs. 77·9 per head. This figure appears to be an overestimate in view of the fact that the author includes the entire military and administrative costs of government in the valuation of national income. He has also over-valued the prices of certain commodities and services. Milk, for instance, has been priced 6 seers per rupee. This betrays gross ignorance of rural India. Practical experience of rural prices in various parts of India cannot allow milk to be priced at higher than 10 seers a rupee, (12 seers a rupee is probably a more appropriate figure). This alone would reduce the National Income by 123 crores. Secondly, there is grave objection to inclusion of "Public Force and Administration" in national income, especially of a subject country like India. "Following Mr. Clark" (p. 145) does not appear to be a sufficiently scientific reason. National Income represents and ought to represent only the value of the current economic goods and services enjoyed by the nationals. It should not include political services like defence or military goods like arms and ammunition. An imperialist country like England may include her military goods or political services, because these are indirectly responsible for the employment of her capital as well as of nationals in civil, military or commercial services in countries under her subjection or "influence." But it is ridiculous that a subject country like India will reckon the very services that keep her under subjection and slavery as "satisfactions" or "utilities" enjoyed by her people! Again, even in the case of England, Mr. Colin Clark never includes the income of the foreigners earned within the country in the national income of the British people. (No student of statistics can). But the author does not deduct from the cost of defence the whole of India's payment to Non-Indians. He only deducts the expenses incurred in England, but not those in India. Nearly half the cost of India's defence probably goes to non-Indians. I am here subject to correction.

Even "following Mr. Clark," the above corrections for milk and defence would alone reduce India's total income by Rs. 123 *plus* Rs. 30, *i.e.*, Rs. 153 crores, and the *per capita* income by Rs. 5·9. The income per head would thus come down to Rs. 72. More corrections for guess-work would reduce it still further.

There is very great objection, however, as already noted, to the inclusion of Government cost in the estimation of national income of a subject nation. How meaningless this estimation may prove for practical purposes, will be seen if we sub-divide this estimate under two heads:

(*a*) Income arising from economic services, and
(*b*) Income arising from political services.

Now with the continuous growth of military expenditure, our country may actually grow poorer economically year after year, although politically, *i.e.*, by the enjoyment of defence or military services she may be shown to grow richer. The aggregate estimate as given by the author would not show this anomaly. We, the common people of India, are interested to know only how rich or poor we are by the enjoyment of economic goods and services year after year—the goods and services that we pay for voluntarily by our efforts and sacrifices. If the author is interested in showing us how rich we are growing militarily by our British connection, or by the peaceful enjoyment of our political subjection in terms of the money value of the services of British brains and brawns—the services that we have to pay compulsorily, we shall certainly welcome his learned researches, provided he points that out clearly and separately.

In the absence of reliable statistical data, an estimate of the National Income of India cannot but depend upon a large amount of guess-work. But this vitiates the estimate. In these circumstances one careful figure may be treated almost as good as another. No reliable idea of India's progress in poverty or prosperity can be formed from these conjectural money estimates. A more tangible as well as intelligible picture of the conomic condition of our masses can be obtained from the real income studies of some carefully selected samples of families, typical of each important industry, trade or profession, both urban and rural; and from the relative change in their condition from year to year, or better from decade to decade. To obtain an idea of the average economic condition of the country as a whole, it is better to rely upon the standard of living most widely prevalent among the people on the one hand and upon the typical state of their health, strength and longevity on the other. Wide divergence between so many estimates so carefully done by so many brilliant minds illustrates the futility of the attempts in India to estimate her national income authoritatively in terms of money.

P. C. GHOSH

EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA: *By Nagendranath Ghosh, M.A., Head of the Department of History and Civics, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, and Author of "The Growth of the Indian Constitution" and "An Early History of Kausambi." The United Book Company, 94, New Bairana, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. Pp. 348. Clothbound. Price Rs. 3.*

This book is meant primarily for college students. But it will serve the purpose of those readers also who want to know in broad outlines what modern research has enabled historians to ascertain about the early history of India. The author has studied all the

materials on the subject available and prepared a readable digest of them.

We have found a few typographical mistakes not mentioned in the corrigenda.

D.

ELEMENTS OF HINDU CULTURE AND SANSKRIT CIVILIZATION : *By Prof. Dr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, I.E.S., Allahabad University. Pp. 184. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author is a veteran worker in the field of Sanskrit research and from his tabular analysis of the ancient Indian learning, we feel that he has given years of thought to the proper presentation of the problems of Indian literature, orthodox as well as heterodox. His is the shortest guide to the intricate maze of Hindu culture. He summarises in broad outline the family life, the social life, the political life and the moral and spiritual life and in every case he gives for the benefit of his readers the important technical terms together with their Sanskrit equivalents. The pictures of material civilization represented by architecture, ornaments, furniture, etc. are no less important and thought-provoking. Barnett's *Ancient India* is long out of print and Macdonell's book is somewhat expensive. So we consider Prof. Acharya's *Elements of Hindu Culture* as the most moderately priced and the best book available to students for whom it is primarily intended.

KALIDAS NAG

INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON INDIAN CULTURE : *By Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon). Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad. 1936. Pp. 327 (with 61 plates).*

Friends and admirers of Dr. Tara Chand have always regretted that a scholar of his calibre has not cared to give out in print the fruits of his wide reading and sound judgment for the benefit of his country. It is evidently under their pressure that the learned doctor has at last published what he had written in 1922. He says, "I publish it as it was written, because no longer I entertain the vain hope that I will be able to devote in near future adequate time and attention to fulfil my original plan of writing a history of Indian civilization during the middle ages."

The book under review consists of 13 chapters—not designated as such in the book—each of which has the merit of a well-written essay complete by itself. First three chapters, namely, Pre-Muslim Hindu Culture, the Advent of the Muslims in India and Mysticism in Islam are introductory in treatment. Specialists in Hindu and Muslim cultures may not quite agree with the author in his views on evolution of religious ideas in Islam and Hinduism. Nevertheless, these chapters have merits of their own and they will prove useful to the average reader on account of a mass of facts gleaned from reliable secondary sources.

Dr. Tara Chand's sketches of Ramananda and Kabir and their teachings are not to be easily surpassed either in elegance of style or in historical accuracy. Guru Nanak's life perhaps admits of improvement. He quotes a saying of Guru Nanak from Mr. Khazan Singh's work in which the imagery of the Lord's Government is taken from Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, a work which was not certainly available to Guru Nanak born in 1469 A.D. The occurence of such words as *Karoris, Fotedar*, and *Ahadi* ought to have proved sufficient to the learned historian for rejecting this saying as a later interpolation, a fact which the Sikhs would not perhaps admit (p. 171).

Dr. Tara Chand's treatment of the Reformers of Bengal has not been a success for no fault of the author; because much information regarding religious movements in Bengal was not available to him in English. His main source is Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen's "monumental history of Bengali language and literature," which, however, seems to be crumbling down under the shock of more scientific research and criticism. About Shri Chaitanya, Dr. Tara Chand remarks, "The simple faith and the democratic ideals of Islam infringed upon this society and produced a ferment which was focussed by Chaitanya......it is undoubted that his teaching was affected by the Yavana's ideas" (p. 219). There is, indeed, a closer parallelism between the life and teachings of Chaitanya and those of Muhammad than it has hitherto been suspected. At Nadia Adwaita was the representative as it were of the Hanifs; Jagai and Madhai Abu Jahals; the house of Srinivas was to the early converts to the creed of Chaitanya what the house of Akaram had been to the Prophet of Arabia. Sankirtan in congregation was a sort of mass worship, or more exactly like the Sama of a Sufi brotherhood. Both the Prophet and Shri Chaitanya took the path of Bhakti, preached kindness to creatures and worship of the Lord without any cumbrous rituals and without priesthood, and may be said to have appeared as saviours particularly of women (Stri), the down-trodden (Shud) the ignorant and the illiterate (Ajna). Religion like pure water is without colour but it receives from the people among whom it is preached. If Bengalis had been the Bedouins or the predatory and warlike tribes of the Panjab, the Vaishnavism of Bengal would have been as militant and aggresive a creed as Islam or Sikhism. If the Muslim government took to the policy of persecution and the Vaishnavas had possessed the stamina and zeal of the first followers of the Prophet or of the Gurus, this religious movement, like Islam and Sikhism would have assumed the same political character. But even admitting that "historical conditions" did exist and the parallelism is close, the theory of indebtedness, direct or indirect, proves fallacious in most cases. As regards the religious movements of India, Barnett's theory of "internal causes" seems to be more plausible that the theories of "indebtedness" either to Christianity or Islam in most of the cases cited by Dr. Tara Chand.

It will be unfair to say anything about Dr. Tara Chand's treatment of Indian Architecture and Painting. This part of his book, as the author will perhaps admit, require thorough revision in the light of researches after 1922. Though we have taken the liberty to differ from some of the views of the author, we must admit that his is a thought-provoking book which deserves a careful and patient perusal. Dr. Tara Chand's book is a vast storehouse of facts useful and interesting for every class of people, scholars, politicians and propagandists. The publishers also deserve a sincere compliment for the neat printing and excellent execution of 61 plates on Architecture and Painting.

K. R. QANUNGO

WAKE UP, HINDUS : *By Shiv Kishan Kaul, 29, Lawrence Road, Lahore. 1937. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a book advocating the cause of Aryanism, which, it holds, is the cure for most of the ills Hindu society is suffering from. The emphasis is to be placed

on the mass religion if the regeneration of the Hindus has to be effected. The dynamic forces are always at work, but they have to be organised and focussed on the evil spots. Caste-system in its present rigidity in point of birth has to go, and the natural laws of elimination and assimilation, recognized in the hey-day of Hinduism, have again to be respected. These observations are sure to find general and sympathetic acceptance.

But "the clarion call" deserves to be more carefully examined. The divergence between mass religion and select religion is doubtful truth; and the valuation of philosophy as having developed in us, along with great achievements in thought and feeling, "an exaggerated notion of theoretical values, imbecile dogmas and unhealthy bigotry" is bound to scare away the student of the cultural history of India.

Thirdly, it is difficult to understand the ultimatum issued against Hinduism in the following passage (p. 179) : "If Hinduism will allow Aryanism to go the way of humanity as it did and as it should, we are with it; but if it chooses to go the other way there comes the question (*sic*); and if we be true to our analysis our way will come the future religion of the world, whether it emanates through Hinduism or another." Militant or dynamic Hinduism has much to speak in its favour, but a scorn of philosophy, a cleavage of life into water-tight compartments, a tendency to let off squibs to frighten "the mild Hindu"—cannot be described as fine or healthy or far-sighted.

P. R. Sen

JAPAN, THE HUNGRY GUEST: *By G. C. Allen. Published by George Allen and Unwin, London. 1938. Pp. 261. Price 10s. 6d.*

Professor Allen who spent several years in Japan and is closely acquainted with the Japanese way of life, their national outlook and ideas, records in this book in a popular style and with a fair degree of completeness—the economic, sociological and political developments that Japan has attained since the middle of the last decade.

Of its twelve Chapters, the interesting economic chapters review the industrial evolution, structure, organisation and emphasise the prevalence of small scale units in manufacturing industry and agriculture which are marked characteristics of the country. In addition to giving a picture of the conditions Professor Allen puts an analytic criticism of those supported by recent Statistical data and careful documentation. These facts furnish conclusive evidence and traces the industrial and trade development in Japan since 1929 which attracted the world's attention. The Author terms Japan as hungry guest for her aggressive foreign policy and present struggle in China which are closely linked with her economic developments.

The deep insight and well balanced judgment of Professor Allen is likely to clear the economic position of Japan and correct the tendency of the Western countries to underestimate her strength and the wrong notions about her economic weakness. "The capacity of Japan's industrial system, immature though it may be, is underestimated by those critics who are so mistaken as to imagine that the small size of the technical units in many industries is necessarily an indication of insufficiency or of inability to provide the equipment needed for Japan" (p. 247). The economic chapters are excellent as regards treatment but the Sociological discussions are often based on casual incident and not always of very high order. The volume contains many tables, with data generally brought down to 1936 and an appendix.

It is a genuine contribution. The book is an acute and carefully documented study asd somewhat free from the denunciatory tone that are found in some of the English publications on the same topics. The economists and students interested in economics should take interest in this publication.

Jibananda Saha

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AND ITS ABOLITION : *By An Advocate with a foreword by Mr. M. N. Roy. Pp. 44. Price Re. 1.*

A well-written and well-printed little brochure on a great subject from the particular partisan point of view. The usefulness of the book is marred by occasional printing mistakes.

RES NULLIUS : An Essay on Property : *By I. S. Pawate, M.A., LL.B. Published by the Author, from Harapanaballi Oni, Hubli. 1938. Pp. 208.*

It is an honest attempt at independent thinking with considerable success on an abstruse legal theory. The author has approached his self-appointed task with a certain mental bias; this detracts from the value of his otherwise good essay. The writer seems to have neglected the modern Americans with apparently no reason. It is, however, refreshing to find that our scholars have began to turn their attention to the theories of Law as opposed to its mere application or explanation; and we hope the author will continue to carry on his researches and analysis on the fundamentals of juristic concepts. The author is a Sanskrit scholar; and he may with profit have developed the *three* aspects of *Dana* (which is usually not very happily translated as Gift) under the Hindu Law. It is by the acceptance of a gift that the ownership of the previous owner ceases; and until acceptance and the complete extinguishment of the legal rights of the previous owner, Uttarapratipatti (translated as the right of subsequent gift or subsequent control) is in him. This *Uttarapratipatti* is an interesting field of research in the domain of Hindu Law.

J. M. Datta

SAYINGS OF BASAVANNA : *By M. Venkatesha Iyengar, M.A. Published by Veera Shaiva Taruna Sangha, Gadag.*

The Publishers inform us that Basavanna was a great social reformer. But of his activities as reformer, very little is said in this book. He was born a Brahmin, changed to the Veerashaiva faith, and, was appointed to a high post in the court of Bijjala in Kalyan, and wielded considerable power in that capacity. That is about all the information regarding his life and activities that the author has cared to give us.

"The Sayings," like other sayings, certainly contain wisdom and express experience. We have here a selected array of these sayings in original with an English rendering below. Adorers of the hero will certainly appreciate this publication.

In recent years, we have had a plethora of books like this. One more added to the list, will not make much difference either way.

CONCEPTION OF DIVINITY IN ISLAM AND UPANISHADS : *By Wahed Hussain, B.A., B.L.*

Published by Bengal Journals, Ltd., 14, Clive Street, Calcutta.

The author only institutes a comparison between the two faiths in this booklet. It is not his ambition to prove the superiority of one religion over the other. His endeavour is intended to help mutual understanding and, as such, deserves commendation. The topics for comparison have been well selected, but the arrangement of chapters and sections could be improved. Still, it is a well-timed publication and is worthy of praise.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN INDIA: *By V. Sundara Rajan, M.A., Department of History and Economics, Baroda College, Baroda.*

The subject of economic planning has long remained a live topic in the forefront of public discussions. The purpose of the present author is not to throw new light on the discussions that have already been held, but to present the problem of economic planning in its true perspective to the general reader so that a better understanding may be possible. There is no doubt that ideas about economic planning are not always very clear in public mind and very often the real implications elude the common understanding. Mr. Rajan has, therefore, done well to bring out this handy book outlining the various aspects of India's economy and indicating the lines along which planned endeavours should be made. Economic planning is the conscious regulation of the economic life of the community with a view to secure maximum social advantage. From this standpoint he has approached the subject and within the short scope of his book he has brought into bold relief all the issues that should claim consideration. As an advocate of economic planning, he is not an Utopian but wants to plan within the existing scheme of social environs. He, therefore, argues in favour of a "Planned Capitalism" for India.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

ALL-INDIA INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DIRECTORY, 1939-40: *Edited by M. G. Desai and G. R. S. Rao. Published by The All-India Industrial Federation, Lakshmi Building, Sir Phirozeshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.*

Like its predecessors, the third edition has also kept up its reputation as an useful compilation. In different sections the following topics have been dealt with: review of commercial houses and industrial establishments, insurance and banking, commerce and industries in Indian States, general information, different industrial concerns and commercial houses.

The papers contributed by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sir M. Visvesvaraya and others are quite interesting and instructive.

SOUREN DE

GERMAN

DER FOROISCHE DICHTER PALL NOLSOY UND SEIN VOGELLIED: *By Von Ernst Krenn. The University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1939.*

This book which has a purely academic appeal should interest all those engaged in research work on the literature and languages of Scandinavia. It deals in particular with the songs and dances of a small Norwegian island. As it is the work of a scholar its appeal must necessarily be limited.

A. ARONSON

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SAUNDARYALAHARI WITH TRANSLITERATION, ENGLISH TRANSLATION, COMMENTARY AND AN APPENDIX ON PRAYOGA: *By Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri, F.T.S. and T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar, B.A., L.T., Retired Head Master, Kalyana-Sundaram High School, Tanjore. The Adyar Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This edition of an important and exquisite Tantric hymn attributed to the great Sankaracharya is a welcome addition to the list of not a few existing editions of the work. Of special interest to students and followers of Tantras is the scholarly commentary which besides giving valuable explanatory notes on important and difficult words, refers to the various and often interesting esoteric interpretations suggested by different commentators. The Prayoga or ritualistic application of individual stanzas has been indicated in the form of an appendix, while Tantras or symbolic diagrams relating to them have been reproduced under every stanza.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDAVYAKHYA-MADHAVAKRITA: *Edited by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon). Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 472+xiv. Cloth bound. Price not mentioned.*

The distinguished editor of this important Sanskrit work under review who is an eminent Vedic scholar, is Reader in Sanskrit and Head of the Oriental Research in Madras University as well as the curator of the Adyar Oriental Library. Dr. Raja is well-known as the translator of the Bhamati and a Mimansa-work called "Manameyodaya" and also as the editor of a good many rare Sanskrit works published by the Madras University and the Adyar Library.

This commentary on the Rigveda complete only for the first Astaka is based on a very old single palm-leaf manuscript written in Grantha script, now in possession of the Adyar Library. No second manuscript of this is so far available. Dr. Raja had a very difficult task to perform in deciphering and editing this worm-eaten, damaged and decayed manuscript all the leaves of which are full of holes made by insects and some leaves. many words and letters of which are broken. It has been only possible for a profound Sanskrit scholar like Dr. Raja, with his life-long specialised study of Vedic Texts and commentaries, to correctly and completely prepare the present work. Only the first part of the work is now issued and the remaining portions will appear in due course.

It is to be noted that this commentator of the Rigveda named Madhava is one of the four Madhavas, all of whom were South Indian Vedic commentators. Vedic genius has found a very congenial home in South India from where Sankara and Sayana, Madhwa and Madhava, and a host of commentators of the Vedas and the Upanishads have come. The first of the four Madhavas just mentioned is the celebrated Sayana Madhava who alone of all the Vedic commentators wrote, on all the four Vedas, Bhasyas called Vedarthaprakas. The second is Madhava Bhatta, son of Venkatarya who has a Bhasya only on the Rigveda and who is referred to by Sayanacharya in his Vedabhasya. There is a third Madhava, son of Narayana Suri, who has a Bhasya only for the Sama-Veda. The fourth Madhava is the Madhava whose commentary is now

published. No further information about him is known except that he belonged to a village designated Gomati as found in the Colophon. He says in his Bhasya that he is the author of several Anukramanis, two of which, the Akhyatanukramani and Namanukramani, are now available and published in the Madras University Sanskrit Series.

Dr. Raja in an informing article in Vol. V of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, shows on the evidence now available that Devaraja in his Nirghantabhasya (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal) refers to this Madhava and not to the second Madhava as is wrongly supposed by some. The learned scholar further says that one very ancient Vedic commentator, Skandaswamin (whose Rigveda Bhasya has been published by the Madras University) really quotes from the Anukramanis of this fourth Madhava as Sayana quotes invariably from the Sarvanukramani of Katyayana. Dr. Raja finally concludes that this Madhava may be placed at about 600 A.D. and that he is one of the earliest Vedic commentators, about a thousand years, that is, an age earlier than Sayanacharya. Hence this ancient commentatary of the Rigveda under review, has among values, great classical worth.

The commentary of Madhava Bhatta called Rigarthadipika is printed in this book in smaller types after the commentors of the fourth Madhava for the sake of comparison. The erudite editor has taken infinite pains to locate the rare quotations in the commentary of the last Madhava from the Srutis and other shastras. Though this commentary is a running paraphase of the stanzas of the Rigveda with some occasional notes, the commentators has raised many points very interesting and useful to students of Vedic literature.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

BENGALI

DUHKHIRA : *Translated from Victor Hugo's Les Miserables. By the late Dr. Hem Chandra Sarkar and Miss Sakuntala Sastri, M.A., B.T. (Oxon), Vedatirtha, and published by the latter. Crown 8vo., pp. 300. Price Re. 1-8. To be had of the Publishers at 17, Beltala Road, Calcutta.*

Victor Hugo's famous novel *Les Miserables* requires neither introduction nor commendation. The present abridged translation of the book in simple Bengali will be found very interesting. Juvenile readers will read the book with eager curiosity.

The book has been very moderately priced.

D.

BIJAYINI : A Book of Poems : *By Sj. Surendranath Das Gupta. Published by Sj. Gajendra Kumar Mitra, Messrs. Mitra & Ghosh, 10 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Pp. 103. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author is an eminent scholar of international repute. His works on Philosophy have earned worldwide recognition. In this neat, attractive volume of poems, he appears in a new role, and here again he fulfils our expectations. The poems reveal an imaginative soul. The influence of Sanskrit literature and of Rabindranath are traceable in the sweet elegance of expression. *Fireflies, Remembrance,* and *A Discovery* are some of the charming pieces that the book contains. What pleases us most in these is their refreshing simplicity of language, tinged with a quiet emotion.

Dhirendra Nath Mookerjea

URDU

ANMOL KAHANIAN : *By Shaukat Asmani Publishers, Bharat Publishing House, Agra. Price annas twelve. Ten stories written for the propagation of Socialist ideas among the working classes.*

There is little literary merit in them. They have been written by an ex-conspiracy case Prisoner, and therefore give interesting peeps into that life which remains always hidden from the public eye.

Balraj Sahni

HINDI

FIJI DIG-DARSHAN : *By Pandit Ram Chandra Sharma. Published by Shree Ram Chandra Pustakalaya, P.O. Mandawar, Bijnor. 1937. Price Annas eight only.*

Pandit Ram Chandra Sharma had gone out to Fiji in July, 1930, as a religious missionary of the Sanatan Dharma Sabha and had stayed there for about five years and a half. The Indian community there is now estimated at about 85,000 of which the Hindus number 71,000, out of a total population of two hundred thousand approximately, inhabiting 250 islands of which the Fiji islands are composed.

The writer gives an account of the life in the islands—Hindu and Moslem festivities, marriage customs, physical features, etc. The Indian population has now secured the right of representation on the Council of Administration and the dark days seem to have been left behind. An account of eminent lives of local interest is given at the end- -lives of men like Dr. Manilal and Vasistha Sadhu. There is also a glimpse into the disagreement between the Arya Samaj and the Sanatanists, which is sometimes felt on the islands. The writer incidentally mentions that the vocabulary of the original inhabitants contains many words taken from Sanskrit, and he surmises that the Fijians may have been drawn from the Hindus at some remote period of history. This is worth inquiring into.

Pandit Ram Chandra Sharma has supplemented the work issued about thirty years ago by Tota Ram Sanadhya who, taken to Fiji as an indentured labourer gave out his experiences in his book in Hindi, "Twenty-one years in Fiji," which the reviewer had translated and published in a Bengali weekly sixteen years ago.

P. R. Sen

RAJNITI-VIJNANA : *By Messrs. Sudhir Kumar Lahiri and Benoyendranath Banerjea, M.A. Translated by Messrs. Maheswari Singh 'Mahes' and Onkar Sankar Gupta. Published by the Visva-Bharati Book-shop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 1939. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-8.*

This small book is a good introduction to the science of politics and it is lucidly written. The authors are well-known as writers on the subject—Mr. Lahiri is a renowned journalist and Prof. Banerjea a renowned teacher. The book is based on their English work called "An Introduction to Politics.' College students and the general public will find here all the topics very ably treated in a clear and interesting way. Politics now claims the attention of even ordinary men and this book will help them to form their own ideas about present-day political aims and methods and the international relations. Besides the main topics, the four appendices on Fascism, Sovietism, short sketches of the poltical writers, and the glossary of political terms will surely be appreciated.

Ramesh Basu

PUNJABI

SAVE PATTAR (GREEN LEAVES), SONGS AND POEMS : *By Prof. Mohan Singh, M.A., Punjabi Pyare, Amritsar. Re. 1-4.*

KUSUMBARA, POEMS : *By Prof. Mohan Singh, M.A., Punj Darya Publications, Lahore, Re. 1-4.*

One at once approaches Prof. Mohan Singh, after seeking out the poetry of Bhai Vir Singh and Lala Dhani Ram Chatrik, the two well-known, living poets of the Punjabi language. Bhai Vir Singh's name will be remembered in the history of Punjabi literature for the great uplift he gave to its verse as well as prose; and the long range of his books is alive with mysticism; even today he writes with ease and sublimity and the call of the divine. Chatrik is honoured for his idiom even more than the ideas he has to offer. Himself a business-man, he is never a mystic; his laughter belongs to the matter-of-fact world; his sigh, if he has any, fails to embrace the tears of the weak and poor; his *Chandan-Vari,* or Sandal Forest, however, opened a new chapter in the renascence of Punjabi poetry. And Mohan Singh has his own colour, fire and sparkle. He loves the poetry of the peasant, and folksongs seem to have blessed his genius. His is a poetry of suggestion mostly. A breath out of a wind-swept countryside that touches his songs and poems at once wins for him the admiration of all. He comes from *Pothohar,* Rawalpindi, and his poetry embraces the *pothohari* idiom, which has a peculiar music about it. Unlike Chatrik, he seems to have experienced love; and he has his own story to tell. His poems are progressive, whereas Chatrik has a set world of his own.

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THE recent pronouncement of the Viceroy declaring that "Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety" is the objective of British policy in India, has once again pitchforked the issue of Dominion Status *vs.* Complete Independence to the forefront of Indian politics. Although the largest and the most powerful national party, the Congress, as well as influential communal organizations like the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha have laid down complete independence as the goal to be striven after, yet before rejecting the Viceroy's description of India's political goal, it should very carefully be scrutinised and analysed what is exactly meant by Dominion Status, and how far in practical application it differs from complete independence. For, if Dominion Status should give India the substance of independence, I for one would consider it unwise to make a fetish of complete independence, particularly if there are any incidental, but valuable, advantages of free and voluntary membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I would urge that our approach should not be either academic or merely sentimental, but in accordance with some definite principle. And I believe the principle which Deshbandhu Das had enunciated in his famous Faridpur Speech would hold good even today. He had said that the answer the Congress has always given to the question whether India should remain within or without the Empire is "within the Empire, if the Empire will recognize our rights", and "outside the Empire", if it does not. We must have opportunity to live our life,—opportunity for self-realization, self-development and self-fulfilment. If the Empire furnishes sufficient scope for the growth and development of our national life, the Empire idea is to be preferred. If, on the contrary, the Empire, like the Car of Jagannath, crushes our life in the sweep of its imperialistic march, there will be justification for the idea of the establishment of Swaraj outside the Empire.

IMPLICATIONS OF DOMINION STATUS

In elucidating the concept of Dominion Status, let me start with the report of the 1926 Imperial Conference. This report defined the position and mutual relationship of the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions as

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This legal definition of the Status of a Dominion may now be examined in relation to

two important issues: First, does it give a Dominion the power to repeal its own constituent Act? And secondly, is the right of legislation to effect secession implicit in this definition?

As to the first issue, the power of repealing its constituent Act is, under S. 7(1) and 8 of the Statute of Westminster, withheld from each of the Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand only. This limitation, however, was put in only because the provinces of Canada and the states of Australia were anxious to preserve their autonomous status which they apprehended might be intefered with by the federal legislature. This provision was thus incorporated only at the express request of the Dominions concerned. It is thus really self-imposed. Other Dominions, like the Irish Free State and the Union of South Africa, have unfettered power to act locally.

The right of legislaton to effect secession is, however, a more doubtful issue. But before I examine it I may enumerate certain instances showing how the Dominions have acquired full liberty to enact laws as they like. In two recent cases (*Moore and others vs. A. G. of the Irish Free State,* and *British Coal Corporation and others vs. the King*) the power of altering the royal prerogative, especially in relation to appeal to the Privy Council without express statutory power, was recognised. This constituted in fact an express recognition of the right of the Dominion to enact laws repugnant to an Imperial Act. Again, the Irish Free State has abolished the office of the Governor-General and has also deleted the King's name from all internal affairs of the State. The British Government have accepted all these pieces of legislation and enactments without any protest as inevitable concomitants of the growth of Dominion independence.

A further restriction on the legislative authority of the Dominions was also removed. This was the former inability of the Dominions to make laws having extra-territorial operation. It is an essential attribute of real independence to have this power. Thus when a Dominion could not normally penalise bigamy or murder committed beyond Dominion limits or enforce Dominion laws on vessels on the high seas, they could not claim that they possessed the essence of independence. Now, however, this power is enjoyed by them. In future they may pass any law they like dealing with their registered shipping or coasting trade and these measures will become operative immediately. In addition the Dominions will be legally free from the restriction that they must accord to British ships engaged in coastal trade equal treatment whether locally registered or registered in some other part of the Empire. As further examples of the power of the Dominions to negotiate treaties and conventions with foreign powers may be cited the following instances. In 1934, an arrangement regarding Belgian trade with Australia was concluded at Canberra between the Australian Minister for Trade & Customs and the Consul-General of Belgium. In 1935, the Union of South Africa made a Convention with the Portuguese Republic on railway matters, commercial intercourse and the question of native labour from Mozambique. In 1935, again, Mr. Coates, the Premier of New Zealand exchanged notes with the Swedish Minister in London arranging most-favoured nation treatment pending the conclusion of a treaty.

Under the Preamble of the Statute, no law of the Parliament of the U. K. could extend to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion without the request and consent of that Dominion. The Abdication of King Edward VIII provided an opportunity of further proving the equality of status and complete autonomy of the Dominions as laid down in this preamble. As the Dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand were not then in a position to pass immediately the necessary legislation, they expressly and in the proper legal procedure, requested the Parliament of Great Britain to pass the necessary legislation. But the Irish Free State and the Union of South Africa enacted their own Abdication Acts.

It is thus evident that the Statute of Westminster has conferred upon the Dominions not only an equality of status with the mother country, but for all practical purposes the status of a sovereign state. In certain other matters, such as the appointment of the Governor-General, his power of disallowance or reservation of bills for His Majesty's signification, the Dominions enjoy full supremacy. The Governor-General is no longer appointed by or acts as the representative of the British Government. He is a representative of the King and is appointed by the King on the advice of the Dominion Government. The power of disallowance or reservation has long ceased to be operative and it may be taken as no longer existing.

As for the actual right to secede from the Empire, some may make hair-splitting arguments about the exact legal position, but as Mr. Keith observes:

"What is obvious and is never denied is that, if any Dominion should really decide to sever itself from the Empire, it would not be held proper by the other parts of the Empire to seek to prevent it from doing so by the application of armed force."

As early as 1920 Mr. Bonar Law recognised the validity of this doctrine and it has often been admitted since. Most recently it was made clear in the discussions on the attitude of the Irish Free State in the matter of the oath and withholding of the land annuities and other payments due to the British Government that, if the Irish Free State should determine to declare itself a republic, the British Government would not make war to prevent such a result.

Dominion Status & Complete Independence

It may well be asked now what exactly is the difference between this Dominion Status and complete independence. As regards their internal affairs, the Dominions have as much sovereignty as any completely independent state. Now it remains to be seen whether even in respect of their external affairs the Dominions have similar rights and privileges. An examination of the main aspects of the external affairs of a State will furnish an answer to this question. Has a Dominion the right to make treaties, wage war, remain neutral or be diplomatically represented in other countries? A Dominion can negotiate any treaty whatsoever in its own right and does not have to proceed through or use the instrumentality of the British Government; and the Dominions have on many occasions actually done so. The most well-known is the Halibut Fisheries Treaty in the Pacific in 1923 negotiated by Canada. The only convention is that if it is a matter of concern to other Dominions or Great Britain, they ought to be consulted beforehand. The right of diplomatic representation on the part of the Dominions has also been recognised. The Irish Free State has her own representative in Washington, Paris, Berlin and the Vatican City. Canada and South Africa have also appointed Ministers to places which they deem to be of special economic and political importance to them. The foreign governments concerned have usually reciprocated.

Whether the Dominions have the legal right to remain neutral or wage war on their own is a matter on which opinions differ and is of rather academical interest for constitutional lawyers. The Irish Free State by remaining neutral in the present war has, however, established the political right of a Dominion to neutrality. As for waging war, it is now-a-days rather a doubtful privilege for weak nations even when they are independent. The right to defend one's own integrity is, of course, inherent in every State. It may be of interest to note in this connection that in the present war, each Dominion has separately adopted a resolution declaring its state of war with Germany and that the Dominions were not automatically at war as soon as Great Britain was at war.

India's Present Position & Dominion Status

All these powers, internal and external, will accrue to India as soon as she acquires "the Status of a Dominion of the Statute of Westminster variety". What a world of difference this will mean contrasted to the present political status of India will become evident from an examination of the innumerable limitations now imposed on the Federal legislature, even under the new constitution. I do not intend to enumerate these at length. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to state that we have no control over such important matters as external affairs, defence, ecclesiastical affairs, the Civil services, public debt, the appointment and salary of the Viceroy and Governors, etc.

Further, the restrictions put upon the Federal Legislature are numerous. Any measure or any Bill which is introduced, and is repugnant to an Imperial Act of Parliament or which deals with any of the matters referred to in Sec. 110 is outside the competence of the Indian Legislature. We may note that Sec. 110 preserves intact the power of Parliament to legislate for British India or any part thereof. It also withholds the power to make any law affecting the Sovereign or the Royal family, or the succession to the Crown, the law of British Nationality, the Army Act, the Air Force Act, or the Naval Discipline Act. Again it expressly prohibits the making of any law derogating from the prerogative right of His Majesty to grant special leave to appeal from any court.

We have already seen that in the case of the Dominions, these restrictions have been altogether done away with. A Dominion can make laws repugnant to the law of England or to an Act of the Imperial Parliament. No British law can extend or apply to a Dominion without its express consent. The Dominions have full control over their military forces. And Canada and the Irish Free State have successfully abolished the right of appeal to the Privy Council.

In addition to these we have the special responsibilities of the Governor-General and the provisions regarding commercial safeguards.

Any law which impinges on this sphere, may be ruled out of order by the Governor-General. To give but one example, it is incumbent on the Governor-General to prevent any action which would subject goods of United Kingdom origin imported into India to discriminatory or penal treatment. All these provisions, which have evoked so much criticism and which are so derogatory to the legislative authority of the Indian legislature, will cease to exist as soon as India attains Dominion Status.

The Indian Attitude

What now should be the attitude of India towards the goal as recently formulated by the Viceroy? I may recall that the All-Parties Conference, which was sponsored by the Congress, and was presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru, accepted Dominion Status as the goal of India in its report submitted in 1928. Even Mahatmaji, on many occasions, has stated that he would be satisfied with the substance of independence in whatever name it might be offered to us. I believe Dominion Status gives us this substance, for I maintain there is very little difference considered from the point of view of effective power—between Dominion Status and Independence. To my mind the difference is more of an academic nature than of any great practical significance. If, however, after accepting Dominion Status and working as a Dominion it is found that the position is unsatisfactory, India can then exert her right to secede and have complete independence. I may be permitted again to quote here from Deshbandhu Das's Faridpur speech. He said:

"Dominion Status today is in no sense servitude. It is essentially an alliance by consent of those who form part of the Empire for material advantages in the real spirit of co-operation. It is realised that under modern conditions no nation can live in isolation, and the Dominion Status, while it affords complete protection to each constituent composing the great Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire, secures to each the right to realise itself, develop itself and fulfil itself, and therefore it expresses and implies all the elements of Swaraj."

Surely, if being within the Commonwealth meant a continuance of the exploitation of India—whether political, economic or moral—Deshbandhu would never have made such a pronouncement. What we are concerned with is to end imperialism with its concomitant of exploitation. If Dominion Status does not give us the power to resist and extirpate such exploitation, we most certainly shall not have anything to do with it. But a close analysis and study of the facts as presented here would I belive reveal that the Status of a Dominion, whose character and content have vastly grown since Deshbandhu spoke in 1925, would give India not only full powers to resist imperialistic exploitation, but also full liberty to determine her own destiny. Further, it should also be realised that certain advantages would accrue to India by virtue of her association with the British Commonwealth of Nations. Considered materially, particularly in respect to her defence, she would form part of a great organisation of nations which would give her a protected position in this power-intoxicated world of today where no nation—especially if she is weak and helpless—is free from the greed and oppression of a stronger nation. Thus, China's independence has been of no avail in helping her to protect herself from the aggressive designs of her powerful neighbour. The fate of Poland, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia and that which now threatens Finland provides sufficient proof of the helplessness of weaker nations.

The Ideal Commonwealth

An analysis of the implications of Dominion Status as well as practical considerations would, I believe, recommend the acceptance of "Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety" as the immediate political goal of India. Both prudence and idealism dictate this as the wisest course for India in the present juncture. Further, as Deshbandhu Das said, the Dominion idea has also a deep spiritual significance. Only a farsighted statesman, an international pacifist and an outspoken nationalist like the great Deshbandhu could have the sagacity and vision to declare as early as 1925:

"I believe in world-peace, in the ultimate federation of the world. I think that the great Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire—a federation of diverse races, each with its distinct life, distinct civilisation, its distinct mental outlook—if properly led by wise statesmen at the helm, is bound to make lasting contributions to the great problem, the problem of knitting the world into the greatest federation the mind can conceive, the federation of the human race. For the development of the idea involves apparent sacrifice on the part of the constituent nations, and it certainly involves the giving up for good the Empire idea with its ugly attribute of domination. I think it is for the good of India, for the good of the world, that India should strive for freedom within the Commonwealth, and so serve the cause of humanity."

NEW YEAR REFLECTIONS

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

A New Year and a New Decade! What does it hold for us, and for the world?

The 'thirties of the twentieth century will be looked back on in history as a period of broken treaties and pledges, of unprovoked aggression, of needless suffering, plunder, pillage, of the death or eclipse of freedom, to a greater or less degree, in the dictator-ridden States and their victims. One comforting thought for 1940 is that it is the darkest hour that precedes the dawn. God knows everything around us is dark enough. Can it be that a new era is about to emerge—an era of peace, of freedom, of liberty, of thought and of speech, of liberty of all peoples to decide on and experiment with and carry on their own form of government, liberty to make their own mistakes in their own way? Let us hope that it may be so, and that we may be, even to some small extent, the instruments in helping to bring this about.

The death-knell of imperialism, of the domination of one nation over another, has sounded. A new spirit is being born, a spirit that realises, in words that I heard George Lansbury use in an Indian Debate in the House of Commons, that God has not yet made the nation that is fit to rule another nation. Every nation, like every individual, has the right to freedom so that it may be able to sound its own note to help in the making of a grand chord in the harmony of the nations. To bring all this about will not be easy. There may be pain and suffering inseparable from a new birth, but come it must either with our help or in spite of our opposition, but it will come more quickly and painlessly with our co-operation than with our opposition.

Already thinkers in different countries are trying to make plans for the kind of world we are to have when this present War is a thing of the past. Before the end of the last War the British Government set up a Ministry of Reconstruction which formulated many proposals for a better world in an endeavour to make that land fit for heroes that was promised to the soldiers who served between 1914 and 1918. The War had hardly ended however before there was a great outcry for economy and Sir Eric Geddes was appointed Chairman of the committee to wield what was known as the Geddes axe and to chop off expense wherever it seemed possible. As usual the saving was made greatly at the expense of the less well-off members of the community, many of whom had to be heroes to be able to live under the conditions they were compelled to endure when they came back. This must not be allowed to occur again.

All over the world we see changes taking place with marvellous speed. Although there was perhaps never a period of greater suffering and cruelty, at the same time there was probably never so much self-sacrifice and readiness to try to improve the lot of others less fortunately situated. A period of transition is a time when great changes can be made and we must see to it that the change is in the direction of progress and not a slipping back into the bad old ways or worse. That way lies revolution.

To be successful in war not only totalitarian States but even the democracies must give up their old system of cut-throat competition and work together in a system of co-operation that really is to all intents and purposes socialism in practice. If it is absolutely essential to have such a system of co-operation in order to be successful in a war, surely it would make the wheels of life run more smoothly in peace time also if co-operation were to take the place of competition. I think it was the late Lord Melchett who said, at the end of the last War, that the good work of the Government in the Ministry of Munitions almost persuaded him to be a socialist.

We have now been four months at war and nothing has happened as prophesied or expected. Certainly there has been nothing like the lightning war on which Germans found their policy and practice. Gigantic preparations were made in this country for air-raid shelters, gas masks, evacuation, but so far none of these has been the least necessary so far as the War is gone. The casualties at sea have been heaviest and the Air Force has suffered to a very much smaller extent, while the Army has so far come through practically unscathed. How different from the last War when the infantry bore the

brunt of the attacks and in less than four months the casualties had mounted to hundreds of thousands.

Germany's boasted air attacks have not yet been launched and the Royal Air Force so far has been superior to anything that the Germans have launched against us. No doubt these four months have been used by Germany, as by Great Britain, to increase the numbers and efficiency of their machines. But whereas Germany was working at a maximum output for long before the start of the War, the British output is still far from reaching its maximum and in addition the Dominions are training personnel and making machines at a rate that is bound ultimately to tell very heavily in our favour against Germany. We have also the supplies of the United States to draw on at an ever-increasing rate.

We are accustomed to hear day after day from the German propaganda wireless station sympathy expressed for the privations we have to endure owing to the "strangulation" of our trade by the German blockade. This of course is the most stupid kind of propaganda, as our overseas trade has been going on and increasing and the naval convoy system is working admirably. There is absolutely no shortage of food in this country and in that respect it is difficult to realise that there is a war on. It is true that rationing of butter, sugar and bacon next week and the rationing of meat will follow next month. But with the quantities allowed there is no hardship in this and everything else is unrationed and in full supply. From all reports that come out of Germany, their position seems to be very different.

The German High Command seem to have realised that to throw themselves against the Maginot Line would be mere suicide and there is not the least likelihood that the French and British troops will try to attack the Siegfried Line. While our ships ply for trade overseas, German merchantmen are locked up in harbour or are scuttled and sunk, so that German overseas trade has been brought to a stop while ours goes on increasingly.

Germany turned a complete somersault in her alliance with Russia. The Russian armies and Air Force were credited with being overwhelmingly strong, but their undeclared war with Finland has not borne this out and it looks as if the Russian giant had feet of clay. Germany has certainly lost in prestige and influence and even materially much more than she has gained by her Russian alliance. Germany hoped to get supplies in abundance from Russia, but so far these do not seem to have been forthcoming. With the Finnish campaign there is less and less likelihood of Russia being able to give any real help to Germany. Stalin copied Hitler's tactics only too well and has established Russia as a dominant Power in the Baltic in the position that Germany herself had hoped to occupy. And internally the Russian alliance has caused grievous doubts in the Nazi mind. It could hardly be otherwise. Their whole regime was founded and built up on a hatred of Communists and Jews. Although Hitler himself may change his point of view overnight, it is rather more difficult to induce millions of other Germans to re-orient their views as quickly. There is also the deep sullenness and resentment in Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, that necessitate the employment of large bodies of troops at home to keep order.

Hitler sneers at the democracies who are unable "even to cure unemployment" as he claims to have done. Millions of men in Germany are employed in unproductive work in the Army. Probably hundreds of thousands are in concentration camps. And it is impossible to estimate the number of Jews who have been compelled to leave the country with nothing but a few marks in their pockets. That kind of cure for unemployment seems to be worse than the disease.

No doubt Hitler will have at least one final throw of the dice before he is prepared to admit defeat. Hitler and the other leaders of the Nazi Party have been breathing forth fire and threatenings in their New Year messages. No doubt a great attempt will be made, possibly early in the Spring, to achieve a terrific co-ordinated attack by air, submarine and mine, to do the maximum amount of damage to this country. For that all preparations have been made in this country and it will certainly be infinitely more costly for the attackers than for the defence.

Up till now we have been conserving and increasing our forces and have not yet begun to attack. Our object has been to cut off entirely Germany's overseas trade and this has been pretty effectively done. Enormous quantities of petrol destined for Germany have been seized and are now in this country. In Marseilles alone the contraband control have seized about a million and a quarter pounds' worth of goods consigned to Germany since the beginning of the War in addition to about £225,000 in gold and foreign currencies.

But it is unlikely that we shall remain continuously on the defensive. Our attack has not

yet been launched. Field-Marshal Goering has said that London will be attacked by their planes as in the last War, but the defences of London today are very different from the practically non-existent defences of London in the last War—and it is a game that two can play. Our airmen have already shown that they can fly over Berlin without serious opposition—and nothing would turn the German people against Hitler more quickly than the bombing of Berlin. Of course with indiscriminate mine-laying and U-boats—in spite of their heavy losses—we must expect to lose a good deal of tonnage. But the losses are steadily decreasing while our overseas trade is steadily increasing.

The German claim to have sunk some of the leading ships in our Navy appears somewhat ludicrous when one remembers that two of the vessels claimed, the *Ark Royal* and the *Renown*, were at Rio de Janeiro on their way to intercept the *Graf Spee* when she was at Monte Video. And from the naval point of view, nothing could excuse Hitler's orders for the scuttling of the *Graf Spee*. It is very significant that when her Commander afterwards committed suicide, he did so not on the Nazi flag but on the old German Imperial standard. The pocket battleship was another bogey at the beginning of the War that has been shown to be very much over-rated when faced with courage, daring and audacity, even by much smaller and less heavily armed ships.

The Berlin-Rome Axis and the Berlin-Rome-Tokio Triangle have cracked under the strain put on them by the alliance between Russia and Germany. In the Berlin-Rome Axis, Berlin was the dog that wagged the Roman tail. After the alliance with Russia, it was Stalin and not Hitler who dictated. Hitler and von Ribbentrop, like others, believed in the might of the great Russian giant. Now they are beginning to wonder if they have not thrown everything away and got practically nothing in return.

It seems almost impossible that Finland should be able to hold out indefinitely against the sheer weight of numbers and metal that Russia can bring against her. But even if Russia is finally successful, her prestige as a fighting Power has been irreparably damaged. Probably we shall find that both Germany and Russia have undermined the strength of their fighting forces by removing the experienced men at the top because they did not see eye to eye with their countries' Dictators.

War is a horrible thing and the sooner it can be brought to an end the better. But to conclude a peace now with Hitler still in control of the German destinies would be to continue living in a world of threats, aggression, and a continuous piling up of arms. In spite of high taxation and other privations, it is better to go through with it now and lay the foundations of a new world where law and justice will take the place of bluster and force. Civilisation seems to be in peril of disappearance by the law of the jungle. That must pass and the law of justice and right take its place. Service, not domination, must be the watch-word of the new world and nations, like individuals, will have to revise their point of view and be ready to make sacrifices, both material and to some extent of national sovereignty, for the common good. Co-operation means sacrifice to some extent of one's own interests, whether national or individual, and it will not be an easy lesson for individualist England to learn, but learn it she must if she is to take her place in the new world that is even now being born.

London,
January 1, 1940.



RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

Some New Records*

BY C. F. ANDREWS

THESE two volumes which have been brought out with very great thoroughness and industry by their authors are a model of what this kind of work ought to be. They are of exceptional value to the historian, because in every detail of the correspondence we are transported back into the times in which Rammohun Roy did his magnificent work under incredible difficulty. In the first volume, we have an account given us of all that is known of the family from which Rammohun Roy came, and also of his own early youth and the years that followed until he agreed to cross the sea on behalf of the Moghul Emperor at Delhi. The story is told by Rai Bahadur Ramāprasād Chanda with admirable lucidity. The records that follow are collected by Dr. J. K. Majumdar. The second volume is by him alone. In this article, I can only pick out some of the conclusions arrived at in these two fascinating books.

But first I would mention an incident. Dr. Jatindra Kumar Majumdar came to me, while I was in Delhi, with all the material for the second volume already collected and with a copy of the first volume, which he showed me. His work and that of Rai Bahadur Ramāprasād Chanda struck me at once as being admirably done, and I gave him every encouragement to go on with the second volume, if only he could find generous subscribers who would help him to that end. This has now been accomplished. *But it was a great distress to me to find how very few College Libraries had purchased copies of the first volume for future generations to use and study.* Clearly, we have yet to appreciate, in our Universities, the fact that research work cannot possibly be carried on in Indian History without the tools ready to hand for research workers. There, in these two volumes, are just the tools needed, and every University Library in India, and our larger Colleges also, and Public Libraries should possess copies. This is a vital matter for Indian scholarship.

But to come to the books themselves,—in fact the first volume we find recorded, at the end of the eighteenth century, a social life strangely remote from that which exists today. The father of Rammohun, an orthodox Brahmin, has three wives. Rammohun, who appears to have been born either in 1772, or (as some hold) in 1774, is the child of the second wife. He is married himself by his parents to three wives in his boyhood, a fact which must have made the social reforms he advocated in later years much more difficult than they otherwise would have been. Evidently there has been a great movement forward in society all along the line since these days. What tragic struggles he had to go through ! We can hardly imagine, today, the agonies of those earlier times.

The story of his mother illustrates this in a remarkable way, and may be told here at some length. Tārinī Devi had serious disputes with her son after her husband's death on account of Rammohun's religious opinions and his rooted objections to idol worship. She even went so far as to state repeatedly that she desired the *ruin* of her son because of his unbelief, and that it would be no sin, but an act of merit, to bring destruction upon him in his temporal affairs on account of his heretical opinions. She publicly declared that it would not be sinful even to take away his life, unless he returned to the worship of the family idol. In this mood, she instituted a law suit against him through his nephew; and the records of this suit make up a considerable part of the material which these two authors have collected in the earlier volume. Rammohun won the suit; but the whole family was involved in ruin by it. So completely stubborn remained the mother and so morally uncompromising the son, right up to the end. The long drawn out contest was unceasing !

The mother, Tārinī Devi, then determined to end her own days at Puri, in the service of Jagannath. She saw her son for the last time in order, as she said, to upbraid him; nevertheless she had been deeply stirred by his moral integrity: for she was a woman of fine under-

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* *Letters and Documents relating to the Life of Raja Rammohun Roy* (Vol. 1) : By Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda and Jatindra Kumar Majumdar.
Raja Rammohun Roy and the Last of the Moghuls. By Jatindra Kumar Majumdar.

standing. "Rammohun", she said to him at last, completely breaking down, "you are right; but I am a weak woman and have grown too old to give up these observances, which have become a comfort to me".

The mother would not allow anyone, not even a servant, to accompany her, or any other provision to be made for her comfort, although she knew that her death must be very near. At Jagannath Puri she spent her last days, sweeping the floor of the idol temple. There she remained for two years until her death in 1822.

As one goes through the evidence brought forward during this vexatious litigation and another equally vexatious suit which followed, two things become clear :

(1) The moral character of Rammohun Roy shines out with very remarkable lustre. He remains quiet, calm, collected and reverent towards his mother, in exceptionally tryng circumstances.

(2) His mother, in spite of her conservatism and religious convention was a rare soul, with a will no less strong than that of her illustrious son. The struggle of the two wills is tremendous, heroic, tragic: it carries a grandeur with it, that makes it akin to the Greek tragedies in its power to stir the soul to awe and pity.

We turn to the second volume, with its records of the last Moghuls at Delhi told to us at a very painful length in the documents presented to the reader.

It happened, that at the beginning of the present century, I used to meet daily those who had actually been present at the Court of Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moghuls. They told me of the decadence within the Palace, which was situated inside the Fort. This one spot alone remained out of all the vast Moghul Empire ! The old man, Bahadur Shah himself, was feeble in the extreme, a mere puppet, but quite harmless; more eager for fame as a writer of Urdu poetry than as a monarch on a throne.

There is something that appears to us today to be sordid on the 'Company's' side in the narrative which Dr. Majumdar tells of those last years when Raja Rammohun Roy took up the cause of the decadent Empire and went the long voyage right round the Cape of Good Hope to England in order to plead with the Court of Directors and the British Parliament for a more adequate financial allowance. There was no question, that right was on the side of these Moghuls, but they had to deal with a commercial 'Company' always seeking to drive a hard bargain and to impose humiliating conditions. These latter made it impossible for the Emperor in the end to accept what was offered.

Here again, the nobility of Rammohun stands out with clearness. He generously spent himself on this uncongenial task of begging the Directors of the Company to be merciful. All the while he was financially embarrassed and suffering acutely from chronic illness. Only the new friends whom he had made in England, among the Free Churchmen, such as Miss Collet, the Rev. J. A. Carpenter, and others, saved him from complete destitution. The story of those days has been told in full in a very simple record of them which has been given to the world.

The very detail of the documents quoted here gives them their true value to the historian. We get an insight into the ways of the 'Company' and understand more clearly the lack of human sympathy that these engendered. On the other side we get a glimpse of the gentle kindness and generosity of this tiny group, in the midst of which Rammohun Roy stands out as the noblest figure of them all. Those who were so good to him at this very critical time in England hardly come directly into these documents which are now presented to the public for the first time: the part they played must be read about in other books. But these new records add much to the detail of the whole picture and show us the interminably complicated proceedings of any appeal to England from India, when a journey round the Cape took nearly six months, and letters were scarcely less long in reaching their destination.

A reading of these two volumes taken together has brought home to me the stable foundation on which the Indo-British relationship was built up more than a century ago. That generation in England, which passed the measure for the Abolition of Slavery, and the Reform Act of 1833, and the Indian Charter of the same date, went far beyond its contemporaries in any other European country in its passion for freedom,—with the one possible exception of France. The liberation from the dead past, which thus came to Western Europe so strikingly a century ago, found its immediate echo in the heart of Raja Rammohun Roy. It became firmly established among a chosen company of like-minded men in Bengal, who formed the nucleus of what was afterwards called the Brāhma Samaj. It did not die away. Indeed it became the seed-ground of nearly all the later Indian religious cultures which flourished during the nineteenth century. It is of the

utmost importance, therefore, that every fragment of the record of these remarkable days should be preserved.

There are still other records which may prove to be of great value. For Raja Rammohun Roy had intimate dealings with the movement towards freedom in countries as distant as South America and the Philippine Islands. He also had a very great devotion for France, as the harbinger of liberty for the whole world. If he had lived, it is not unlikely that he might even have gone over either to South or North America, and established India's reputation for learning and spiritual wisdom in the New World as well as in the Old. He was tireless in his intellectual pursuits right up to the end; and the last years of his life, in spite his constant ill-health, were perhaps the most fruitful of all.

The story has often been told concerning the beginning of his last illness that I am almost afraid to repeat it: and yet it is so apposite, at this point, that I shall venture to do so; for it cannot be too well known. When the ship on which he was making the voyage back to England from Calcutta stopped at Capetown to take water and provisions, Raja Rammohun Roy saw at anchor in Capetown harbour a frigate from France, carrying at its top-mast the French tricolour flag of the Republic, signifying 'liberty, equality, fraternity'. He was so elated at the sight, that he insisted on paying a visit to the frigate in order to salute the flag of liberty and give his greetings to the French captain. The harbour at Capetown is not sheltered by nature from certain winds and the boat in which Rammohun went from ship to ship was tossed by the waves while he endeavoured to climb the rope ladder. He slipped, and this caused a very serious injury to his leg from which he never afterwards fully recovered. But he made light of it on account of the joy which he had received at being thus able to pay his homage to France.

So eager was he, with regard to the Reform Bills which were being put before the British House of Commons, that he publicly declared his determination to get naturalised in France and give up his British citizenship, if Great Britain betrayed her trust. A strangely pathetic coincidence is this, that Wilberforce heard when he was dying the good news that the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery was passed, and Rammohun Roy just before he died received the good news that not only the Reform Bills, but also the Indian Charter of 1833, declaring complete racial equality, was certain to be carried through Parliament. He died with that good news ringing in his ears.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Physical Fitness of the Bengalee Hindus

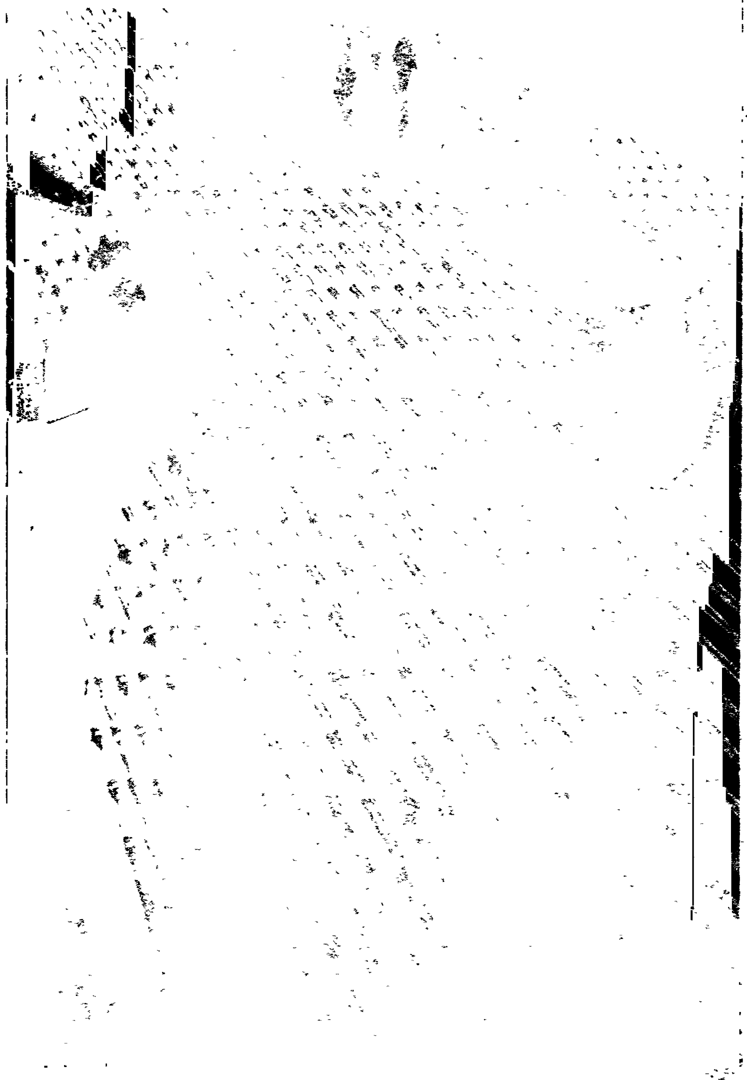
I have read with pleasure Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta's article, "Are the Bengalee Hindus Decadent ?—No" in the January issue of your journal. On the 6th January, 1940, the 17th Provincial Athletic Meeting of the Bengal Olympic Association took place. "When everything is taken into consideration, it must be said that the sports were an improvement on many of the meetings in this series held during recent years. The entries were larger, there was no lack of keenness, and the performances were of a uniformly high order. The results at this meeting will serve as a basis for the selection of candidates to represent Bengal in the All-India Olympic Games," says the *Sunday Statesman*. The results of the competition may, therefore, be taken as typical; and may be said to reflect the physical fitness of the Bengalees—both Hindus and Muhammadans.

Of those who became first in the several events, only one was a Muhammadan (he, however, became first in two events); but we do not know whether he is a Bengalee, or a non-Bengalee. Four were Bengalee Hindus, and two non-Bengalee Hindus. Of those who competed, only 3 were Muhammadans, whether Bengalee or non-Bengalee we do not know; 16 were Bengalee Hindus and 3 non-Bengalee Hindus. In the Open Individual Championships, the Bengalee Hindu secured 48 points; the non-Bengalee Hindu 24 points, and the sole Muhammadan 24 points. From the above facts we may safely conclude that the Bengalee Hindu is in no way inferior to the Bengalee Muhammadan in physical fitness, rather his superior.

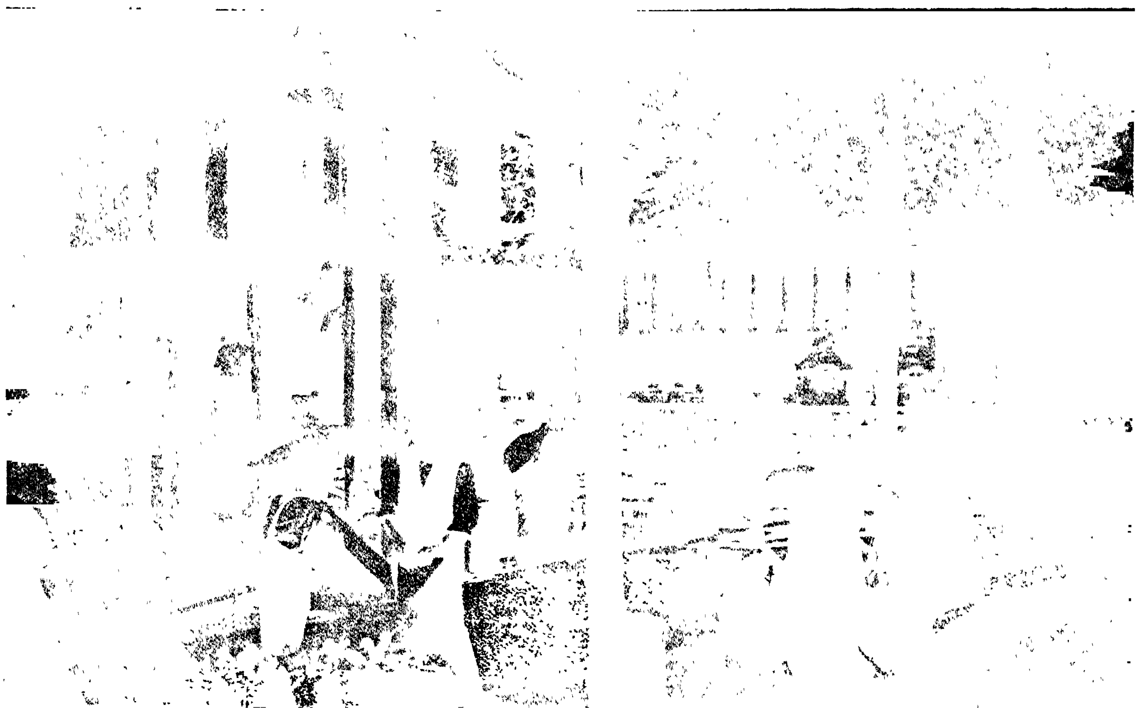
DHIRENDRANATH GANGULY



One of the many pitiable scenes is Poland, after air-raid



Ammunition for anti-aircraft guns



Anti-air-raid measures for protecting the art-treasures and monuments in a museum in Paris



Heads of the Nordic States
From right : **Sandler (Sweden); Khot (Norway); King of Denmark; King of Sweden; King of Norway; President of the Finnish Republic; Munsch**

BRIDGING THE GULFS

By PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, M.A. (Cal.), D.SC. ECON. (Lond.), M.L.A.

ONE of the objects with which the Indian Political Science Association was started last year was to bring together students of political science and persons engaged in the active pursuit of politics. It is often said that politicians live from day to day and from hand to mouth. Although this indictment seems to be too severe, the fact remains that few politicians find time to go to the roots of political questions or to take comprehensive views of public matters requiring immediate decision. They are, generally speaking, so engrossed with the present and the near future that they are apt to lose sight of the ultimate consequences of the measures adopted by them. The result is that statesmen often find it difficult to correlate their actions with their professed principles. On the other hand, there is a tendency on the part of political thinkers to be so enamoured of theories that they often become oblivious of the existence of facts. Besides, as most of the scholars are not in active touch with public affairs, they hardly find opportunities to test their theories in the light of experience. This circumstance fosters a mentality which is not favourable to the proper appreciation of the realities of the situation at a particular moment. Thus there arises a gulf between politicians and political theorists. The Indian Political Science Association seeks to bridge this gulf. But the application of this principle of bridging gulfs may be extended to other spheres of thought and action. In India, the divergences are so many and so great that it may perhaps be found useful to consider to what extent this principle may be applied to the existing political situation of the country.

Opinion differs in India on the value to be attached to the ideas of realism and idealism in politics. This difference is more temperamental than fundamental, and it is not impossible to reconcile the views of the advocates of the two schools of thought. Nothing of enduring value can be achieved in a country unless its people are influenced by high ideals, but it should be remembered that ideals which have no relation to the facts of the situation tend to become idols. On the other hand, while an intimate touch with facts is essential in the conduct of public affairs, too great an emphasis on realities leads to stagnation. Therefore, a combination of idealism and realism is the best means of ensuring the growth of a healthy public life in India.

The apparent antagonism between the claims of the individual and of society furnishes a ground for controversy. Individualists suggest that society exists for the individual, while socialists maintain that society is of greater importance than the individual. The difference arises from the fact that undue emphasis is laid by each side on one aspect of the problem. But if a balanced view is taken, it will be found that there is no real conflict between the two rival theories. Man is born an individual, but he is born in society. Therefore, he has two aspects, one individual and the other social, and both these aspects are interdependent. In fact, while society is the creation of individuals, individuals themselves are the products of society. Modern socialism is in a considerable degree the reaction from the extreme individualism of the first half of the nineteenth century. In India, society and individual have been reconciled through the ages, and it ought not to be a difficult task to bring about the same reconciliation at the present day.

Capitalism is a particular phase of individualism. The phenomenal growth of large-scale industry after the commencement of the Industrial Revolution led to a concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small number of persons in every economically advanced country of the world. Thus arose a conflict between the rich few and the poor many. In order to avoid the evils of the capitalistic system, various forms of socialism were advocated, the most extreme of these forms being communism. This form of socialism was established in Russia two decades ago, but during the period of its existence it has undergone considerable modification. The system is still in the experimental stage, but the politicians and economists of all countries may learn valuable lessons from the partial success which it has already achieved. It should, however, be remembered that the circumstances in which this great experiment was and is being tried in Russia are very different

from those in India. Besides, the methods adopted for introducing and maintaining the system hardly appear to be suitable for India.

Large-scale industry is beginning to make a headway in India, although so far its progress has not been very rapid. This is, therefore, the most opportune moment when we should carefully examine the merits and defects of capitalism. Considerable amount of labour legislation has already been enacted in India in order to improve the lot of the working class. But it would be taking too optimistic a view of the situation to think that all that was needed has been done. As for the theory of socialism, it seems that Marx's economic interpretation, whatever may have been the case in other countries, has found only a limited application in the history of India. Man has not lived in this country by bread alone in the past and is not likely to live by bread alone in future. But it cannot be denied that the economic motive is one of the most important motives which influence men in India as elsewhere. It may not be possible to bring about absolute equality among individuals, but equality of opportunity should be afforded to all in the greatest measure possible. Capital is an essential factor in industry, but it ought to be available without bringing in its train the evils usually attendant on capitalism. Competition should be supplemented, and in a considerable measure replaced, by co-operative effort. Time will show whether it will be possible to bring about a compromise between capitalism and socialism by mitigating the rigours of the former and making the latter more consonant with human nature. Meanwhile, serious efforts should be made to rid the capitalistic system of its undesirable features.

A conflict between the ideas of stability and change gives rise to considerable difference of opinion. The advocates of order seem often to ignore the necessity for progress, while those who favour change often forget that order is the most essential condition of progress. An appeal to reason, however, convinces us that too much insistence on stability arrests all development, while too frequent changes open the door to chaos and confusion. Again, the question of the pace of progress gives rise to a controversy about the respective merits and demerits of evolution and revolution. If we bestow serious thought on the question, we become convinced that evolution should be regarded as the normal process and revolution can be justified only in the most extreme circumstances. The true test by which the desirability or otherwise of a resort to a revolution should be judged is whether its consequences are likely to be beneficial or disastrous. A light-hearted talk about the creation of a revolutionary mentality in the country is fraught with the most dangerous possibilities. The ultimate aim of revolutionists is the establishment of a new order. Thus nothing is more absurd than the cry which is often heard, "Long Live Revolution !"

Revolutions in other countries mostly take a violent shape, but in India a non-violent revolution is suggested by many of the revolutionists. This is due to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, whose abhorrence of violence has created a healthy atmosphere in Indian politics. Almost all political parties have now adopted non-violence as their creed or policy. Whether or not this attitude will be permanent depends very largely on the attitude of the authorities who control India's destiny. Non-violent resistance as a means of attaining aims is consonant with India's tradition. Although this method was mostly applied in respect of non-political matters, instances are not wanting in the history of India of its application to political issues. The historian, James Mill, records that in 1815 the residents of the city of Benares adopted the policy of non-violent resistance when a house-tax was first sought to be introduced within its municipal limits.

But while politically-minded Indians have agreed to use non-violent weapons in their fight with the British Government, many of them do not see eye to eye with Mahatma Gandhi, in respect of the effectiveness of these weapons for other purposes. They do not think that non-violence is likely to be of any use for defence against an invading army either from the west or from the east. They, therefore, urge that India should be fully equipped in all the branches of its fighting force,—the army, the navy, and the air force,—that the distinction between martial and non-martial races be removed, that Indians be appointed as commissioned officers in all the ranks of the defence service, and that a large volunteer force be created on a national basis. Thus a compromise is sought to be made between the rival doctrines of violence and non-violence. Nor is there any inconsistency in the view that, while violence should not be used as a weapon of offence, force is necessary for the purpose of defence so long as other countries remain wedded to the cult of force. Mahatma Gandhi's creed of non-violence in thought, word, and deed, at all times and in all circum-

stances, will remain an ideal to be realised when the cult of force will give place to the creed of reason in every country of the world.

The differences based on divergences of race, colour, religion, language, and culture serve as great impediments to the progress of the country. The theory of racial superiority has been rejected by all political thinkers, and, in spite of Hitler's attempt to revive it, is not likely to be accepted again. But, in India, this policy is still in vogue as a fundamental part of her administrative policy. The colour bar, despite solemn pledges of its removal, continues to be a fruitful source of irritation and discontent. Amongst Indians themselves diversity of religions is productive of a wholly irrational and erratic attitude. If the essence of all religions really be the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, religion should be a unifying factor. But, unfortunately, the reverse is the case in India at the present moment. Differences based on religion were, until recently, the causes of strife and discord in many European countries, but a better state of things has been brought into existence by the separation of politics from religion. The most recent instance of such separation is to be found in Turkey, where phenomenal progress has been made possible within a short period of time by the adoption of such a policy. As for the observance of religious rites, the followers of every religion should be left free. If cow-sacrifice and devotional music be regarded as religious rites, surely one community can perform them without wounding the susceptibilities of the other communities. What is needed to avoid a conflict is a spirit of tolerance and accommodation, and there is no reason why this should not be forthcoming. It is worthy of note that the Congress has recently taken up the question and instructed all its town and village Committees to persuade the people to avoid all causes of conflict and to spread ideas of amity and goodwill among all classes.

A large number of languages is used in India, but this fact is not an insuperable obstacle in the way of achieving political unity. The English language has so far helped to a great extent the inter-provincial communication of thought, and there is no reason to think that its spread will be checked in future. Besides, some of the Indian languages are making such tremendous headway that any one of them may in course of time become the *lingua franca* of the country. Such development, however, should be left to follow its own natural course, and any artificial stimulus given to one language in preference to others is likely to produce more harm than good. The compulsory teaching of Hindusthani in the schools of the Madras Presidency has given rise to much dissatisfaction. It would be wise to make Hindusthani an optional language and to abandon the attempt to force it on unwilling persons. Culture, if it is real, should improve the relations between the different classes of society. But, unfortunately, it has formed a basis of conflict in recent years. It should be regarded as a fortunate circumstance that India is a land of many cultures, for, if proper steps are taken, a synthesis of these cultures may lead to the formation of a higher and nobler culture than what exists in any other part of the world.

Coming to purely poltical issues we find that differences of opinion exist in India as in other coutries in regard to the functions of government, though these are of less vital importance here than elsewhere. The idea of an all-embracing, all-pervading State has never found favour in this country. On the other hand, the view that the functions of government should be restricted only to the maintenance of external security and internal order is considered to be extremely inadequate. The State will have to play a very important part in the development of the political, economic, and social life of the people, but it will be desirable for it to adopt a policy of non-intervention in regard to questions like religion, culture, and language. Such a policy is likely to promote harmony and goodwill among the different sections of the population. While the State should be the supreme organisation, the autonomy of institutions created for special purposes ought not to be interfered with.

As for the form of government, democracy has been accepted as the most desirable form by all the political parties in India, although a few persons have recently expressed doubts as to its suitability to the conditions of the country. Dictatorship, whether of the right or of the left, is wholly unacceptable to India. Some critics say that democracy is foreign to the traditions of the people. Nothing can be farther from truth than such a statement. In ancient times, republican governments existed in many parts of the country. Even after monarchy had become the prevalent form of government, democratic tradition continued to exist, especially in the sphere of local administration. This fact did not escape the attention of the more careful among the early European obser-

vers. For instance, Samuel Laing, an eminent thinker and a distinguished member of the British House of Commons, who came out to India as a Finance Member of the Government, remarked in 1862:

"India is not altogether devoid of that spirit of self-government which characterises the Anglo-Saxon, for in her village communities and *panchayats* can still be found traces which remind us that the Hindu, as well as the Englishman, is descended from a common stock of Aryan ancestors."

Democracy possesses elements of strength as well as of weakness. In order to derive the largest measure of benefit from the working of this system of government it should be our earnest endeavour to secure its good features and eschew its evil aspects. The type of democracy which we should try to establish in India ought to be one in which it may be possible to combine popular association and control with guidance by "the wisest, the most intelligent, and the best." We should also place the highest ideals before our eyes. The aim of government in India ought to be nothing less than "the greatest good of the greatest number."

Democratic government is often described as the rule of the majority. This is not quite correct. In a true democracy every variety of opinion is heard and the legitimate interests of every section of the population are safeguarded. The practice of deciding disputed questions by the device of counting heads is an arrangement adopted for the sake of convenience. It does not imply that the majority has an inherent right, apart from the reasonableness of its action, to ride roughshod over the desires of the minority. The rigour of the doctrine of majority rule is, as a matter of fact, greatly softened by a spirit of compromise in every democratic country. Indeed, as Lord Acton points out, "the most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities." Democracy is government by discussion and persuasion, and this fact is calculated to bring about harmony in the relations of the different classes of people in India.

Indian opinion is almost unanimous in respect of the desirability of establishing responsible government at the centre as well as in the provinces. The manner in which the Congress ministers have worked the limited measure of responsibility in the provincial field during the last two years and a half affords ample hope for its future success. But there is considerable difference of opinion as to the composition of the cabinet. Until a few weeks ago, six of the autonomous provinces possessed homogeneous cabinets, while in the remaining five provinces the cabinets were constructed on the coalition principle. The advantage of the homogeneous cabinet is that the formulation of policy is easy, and the programme can be carried out expeditiously and without much difficulty. But in a unified cabinet the minority parties remain unrepresented, with the result that their co-operation is not available. A composite cabinet is helpful to the growth of solidarity among the different sections of the people. It must be admitted, however, that it is difficult to form a coalition between representatives of parties which differ widely and fundamentally not only in outlook but also in respect of the goal. But no great harm is likely to ensue if further experiments are made in forming coaltion cabinets in the provinces.

This brings me to the discussion of the existing party system in India. Some of the parties are founded on political principles, while others are based on racial, communal, or class considerations. The Congress Party is the biggest and the most influential of all the parties in India. Its assertion that it seeks to represent the people of India as a whole has been described in certain quarters as a claim verging on totalitarianism. This is an unfair accusation. The Congress does not represent the interests of any class or community but represents the political aspirations of the Indian nation. In that sense it is a national, and not a sectional, institution. Surely, it does not put forward the absurd claim that it represents the views of every individual and every class in India. The Congress Nationalist Party has the same goal as the Congress Party but it differs from the latter mainly in regard to its attitude towards the Communal Award. The Socialist Party is a group within the Congress whose object is to establish democratic socialism in India. The outlook of the Hindu Mahasabha is national, although its membership is restricted to the followers of a particular religion. The Indian Christian Association has recently adopted a national attitude in respect of political questions. The other parties are frankly communal both in composition and in outlook. The net result of the activities of some of the parties has been an enormous growth of communalism in the country in recent years.

The situation in respect of parties in India is a very complex one, but it is not more complex than the party situations in most countries of continental Europe. The party system is a useful, if not an indispensable, adjunct of democracy; but its demerits are as serious as

its merits are undoubted. In a country like India, where the multiple-party system prevails, the demerits tend to outweigh the merits. Narrowness, arrogance, and intolerance have already become the marked characteristics of the attitude of some of the parties in their dealings with others. Besides, the complaint is often heard that a rigid enforcement of party discipline is tending to impair individual liberty. It should be remembered that an indiscriminate or a too frequent use of the disciplinary rod often defeats its own object. Nor should it be forgotten that an excess of party spirit is destructive of the spirit of nationalism.

This brings me to the question of Indian nationalism. There are some critics who say that racial, religious, and linguistic differences are so great in the country that the growth of Indian nationality is well-nigh impossible. This is a superficial view. Geographical distinctness, identity of economic interests, a common tradition of suffering, and a keen desire for freedom and self-rule bind together the different elements of Indian society in an indissoluble bond and constitute the bases of a fundamental unity. Differences exist, but they are not of so serious a character as to hinder permanently the growth of nationalism in the country. It is true that in recent years the differences have in some cases taken a more or less acute form, but this state of things must be regarded as a passing phase. By mutual tolerance and forbearance the divergences can be made to assume insignificant proportions. As a matter of fact, a considerable degree of national feeling already exists in the country, and the future of Indian nationalism is by no means so dark as some people assume it to be.

Nationalism is an indispensable necessity for India for enabling the country not only to gain freedom but also to retain it. But it is not an unmixed good for all countries, and in all circumstances. 'My country, right or wrong' is a doctrine which is full of mischievous implications. A crude form of patriotism encourages the desire for national aggrandisement. The history of ill-conceived nationalism is the record of disastrous struggles between country and country and between race and race. The present war in Europe is the outcome of aggressive nationalism. India should be on her guard, from the beginning of her career as a free nation, against the growth of a feeling of aggression among her people.

Aggressive nationalism, when successful, takes the form of imperialism. This is a great evil, for it has been responsible in the past for the enslavement of free nations, the exploitation of weak countries, the destruction of cultures, and the dwarfing of the human race. The services rendered by imperialist countries to the subordinate races are exceedingly small in comparison with the wrongs inflicted on them. Imperialism is one of the most important causes of war. A clash of imperialisms led to the European War of 1914-18. Some of the participants in the present war, if not all of them, have been actuated by imperialistic aims. India herself has felt the full weight of imperialism; and although there have been some redeeming features in the system of British rule in India, the people of the country are not in a mood now to tolerate it any longer. A British minister said a few days ago that imperialism no longer governed the relations between England and India. If this be a correct statement, it is to be welcomed as a happy augury for the future relations between the two countries.

The only safeguard against aggressive nationalism and imperialism is internationalism. While every individual should be proud to regard himself as a unit of his nation, he should feel equally proud to be a unit of the great human race. Internationalism is not the antithesis of nationalism; it is the extension of the nation-idea to humanity. It was a noble impulse which urged President Woodrow Wilson to take the initiative in founding the League of Nations. But this institution has failed to attain most of the objects for which it was created. On the economic side it has done good work. It has also done a considerable amount of useful work in regard to questions relating to education, sanitation, and public health. Further, it has served as a clearing-house of information on many important subjects. But on the political side, its failure has been almost complete. Among the causes of its failure may be mentioned the non-participation of the United States, the association of the League with the Versailles Treaty, and the non-provision of an international army or police force under its control. But the most important cause of the failure of the League has been the existence of weak nations side by side with strong nations wedded to an imperialist policy. The League is now practically dead, but it is to be hoped that out of its ashes will soon arise a new League of Peoples, resplendent in glory and full of life. But this can happen only when India becomes independent, when im-

perialism becomes a thing of the past, and when all nations of the world, strong and weak, become free. It will be then, and not till then, that there will be a real parliament of man and a true federation of the world.

While internationalism is an ideal in advance of nationalism, provincialism is a retrograde idea. Unfortunately, a great deal of provincial-mindedness has become evident in India since the advent of provincial autonomy. This has been due, in the main, to narrowness of outlook. It is quite natural that a big country like India should be divided into provinces for administrative convenience. But if provincial feeling is allowed to grow unchecked, it is sure to stand in the way of the healthy growth of nationalism. One phase of provincialism, however, is not unjustified. A demand has been made that the existing provinces of India be reconstituted on a linguistic basis. This is a fair and natural demand which should be complied with soon. On the same principle and as a corollary to this re-arrangement, the boundaries of the older provinces should be re-adjusted if it be found that these contain inhabitants speaking languages different from their own.

The question of representation in the legislatures and the local bodies is a source of acute difference in India. The system which prevails at present is not the representation of the people but the representation of races, creeds, classes, sexes, and special interests. Separate electorates have been provided in the existing constitution for Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, the Sikhs, the Scheduled Castes, Landholders, European commerce, Indian commerce, and the Universities. Special representation has been thrust upon women in spite of their protests. It has been remarked that the object of this system is "the vivisection of the body politic of India." But the justification urged in its favour is the existence of differences. It is true that there are many differences in India, but no useful purpose is served by exaggerating them. In some cases, differences have been deliberately fostered. Nor has the demand for separate electorates been entirely spontaneous. The consequence of this system of separate communal representation has been an enormous growth of dissensions between race and race, between class and class, and between community and community. Separation has led to the demand for further separation, and antagonism has taken the place of harmony. This system of representation, therefore, must be regarded as an evil, and in the interests of the unity and peace of the country it should be removed at the earliest possible moment.

Recruitment to the public services is a subject which has given rise to a great deal of controversy. For a long period beginning with the establishment of British rule in this country all the superior services, both civil and military, were manned almost exclusively by recruits from Britain. The solemn pledges given by the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 were honoured more in the breach than in the observance thereof. But in recent years, a gradual, though slow, process of Indianisation has resulted in a considerable proportion of the higher offices being filled by the children of the soil. The subordinate posts have always been mostly held by Indians. The services question has two aspects, one public and the other personal. The former relates to the needs of administration and the latter refers to the opportunities of individuals for securing profit and position. It need hardly be said that the first aspect is far and away the more important, but, unfortunately, greater emphasis is often laid on the latter. The fact is well known that, while administrative policies are formulated by the ministries in the provinces and the Executive Council at the centre, the actual carrying out of these policies devolves on the members of the various services, superior as well as inferior. Thus the success or failure of the administration depends very largely on the ability and integrity of the officers. Therefore, the qualifications which should be insisted on for recruitment to the services should be the maximum available.

Unfortunately, both at the centre and in some of the provinces, certain percentages have for some time past been fixed for recruitment from the different communities, and in the case of some of these communities only the minimum qualifications have been demanded of the candidates. This has resulted in a considerable deterioration of administrative efficiency, and it is apprehended that a continuance of this policy will be a source of greater harm in future. If the question be considered from the personal point of view, it is found that the system involves great injustice to those persons whose qualifications entitle them to employment but who are declared ineligible on the ground of their colour or creed. Besides, the non-recognition of the principle of equal opportunities for all cannot fail to create discontent. But the system is sought to be defended on the ground

that, as all the communities in India are not equally advanced, special treatment is necessary in order to give encouragement to the less advanced communities. The true way of getting out of this difficulty, however, lies in affording adequate educational facilities to the less advanced communities and not in giving them unfair advantages. Further, it is argued that this is a method of securing the goodwill of the specially favoured communities. If it be thought desirable to purchase communal harmony even at the price of the loss of administrative efficiency and the sacrifice of equity and fairness, the percentage of reservation should not be high, and it should be definitely laid down that the reservation would automatically diminish year by year. Unless merit alone is accepted as the ultimate test, there will be no incentive on the part of the backward sections to make serious efforts to reach the level of the more advanced sections of the population.

Another matter connected with the public services deserves attention. While the administrative officers should be under the control and supervision of the ministers, they should not be unduly interfered with in the discharge of their responsibilities. For the successful working of self-government in India it will be necessary to create a body of efficient and conscientious officers who will perform their duties fearlessly and without the expectation of favours. But this will not become possible unless a substantial measure of freedom is secured to the various services under Government.

Coming to the question of the future constitution of India we find that differences of opinion which exist as to the goal of India's political aspirations are not of a serious kind. Complete Independence has been adopted as the ideal by the Indian National Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Muslim League, while the Liberal Federation still clings to the ideal of Dominion Status. The difference between the two ideals, however, is one more of nomenclature than of substance. According to the definition adopted at the Imperial Conference of 1926, which was ratified by the Statute of Westminster, 1931, a Dominion is equal in status to Great Britain, and is independent in every aspect of its external as well as its domestic affairs. Besides, the provision that the association of a Dominion with the other parts of the Commonwealth of Nations should be free implies that the right of secession is guaranteed to it. It may be argued that the ideal of Complete Independence carries with it greater prestige and honour than the ideal of Dominion Status, but in the modern world national prestige and glory should be considered to be of less value than peace and goodwill among nations. Lastly, if the question be looked at from the practical standpoint, it would be found that isolation may be attended with greater risk and difficulty than free association with a Commonwealth of Free Peoples.

This controversy regarding India's political goal has a history behind it. In 1906, the Indian National Congress accepted 'Self-government obtaning in the self-governing British colonies' as its goal. In 1920, the goal was changed to 'the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.' In 1927, the Congress declared the goal of the Indian people to be 'Complete Independence.' In the following year, however, the Congress passed a Resolution to the effect that, if the constitution embodied in the All-Parties' Committee Report, which was based on Dominion Status, was accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament before the 31st December, 1929, it would be acceptable to the Congress. But as this condition was not complied with in the course of the year, the Congress in 1929 declared the entire scheme of the All-Parties' Committee Report to have lapsed and urged "all Congressmen to devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of Complete Independence for India."

Thus it appears that time has been the most essential factor in the evolution of India's political goal. This fact has, however, been ignored by the authorities in India as well as in England. On the 31st October, 1929, the Governor-General stated that it was implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as therein contemplated, was the attainment of Dominion Status. The Government of India Act, 1935, was discreetly silent about the matter. But Lord Irwin's declaration has recently been reiterated by the Governor-General as well as by the Secretary of State. Politically-minded India, however, is not in a mood to accept Dominion Status as a goal to be reached in the distant future. If Dominion Status is granted immediately, it is likely to be acceptable to the country. The gulf between the goal and the immediate objective is not unbridgeable, and if the British Government is able to take the right step without delay, cordial relations of a permanent character may be established between India and Britain.

The existing system of government, with

democracy in the provinces and autocracy at the centre, is an anomaly, and the sooner it disappears the better for all concerned. An All-India Federation is contemplated in the Government of India Act, 1935, but many of its provisions are unacceptable to the Indian National Congress. The strongest exception is taken by the Congress as well as by most of the other political parties to the reservation of defence and foreign relations, the enormous powers vested in the Governor-General and the Crown Representative, indirect elections, nomination of States' representatives by the Rulers, and the system of representation in British India by special electorates. The Muslim League is opposed to the Federation because it apprehends domination by the Hindu majority. The Indian Princes are not fully satisfied with the privileges which have already been granted to them and want further concessions to be made in their favour.

The objections raised by the Congress are based on sound principles, and can be easily met if the British Government can make up its mind to part with real power. For the satisfaction of the Muslim League safeguards may be provided in the new constitution of the country. If the Princes, instead of being guided by sentiment, take a reasonable and far-sighted view of the situation, they will become convinced that, by joining the Federation, they will not only safeguard their own positions but will be able to play a worthy part in the political evolution of the whole country.

The advent of the war in Europe has led to the suspension of activities connected with the inauguration of the Federation in view of the pre-occupation of the Government, but the scheme has not been abandoned. The war has indeed created a new situation fraught with immense possibilities for good or evil according to the manner in which it may be handled. India, true to her ancient traditions, has extended her moral support to the Allies and is willing to co-operate with Britain in the prosecution of the war. But, in order that such co-operation may be effective and whole-hearted, the British Government should make a friendly gesture. The question of bargaining does not arise at all. India's desire for freedom is age-old; nor is the demand for its recognition a new one. Indeed, the present is the most opportune moment for Britain to recognise India's right. It is not clear what special difficulty there can be in applying the principles of democracy and self-determination to the case of India.

Unfortunately, the declarations of the high officers of Government in this regard, both in England and in India, have so far* been most disappointing. The statement of His Excellency the Governor-General did not evince any desire on the part of the Government to meet the wishes of the people. The suggestion regarding the formation of a Consultative Committee was entirely beside the point. But the tone of His Excellency's speech was mild and conciliatory. The speeches of the Secretary of State were even less helpful towards a better understanding between Britain and India. This was rather surprising, for the Marquis of Zetland had always enjoyed the reputation of being not only an astute politician and an erudite scholar but also a fair-minded man. But the worst speech was that of Sir Samuel Hoare, some parts of which were harsh in tone and provocative in spirit. Besides, his treatment of the controversial topics was most unsatisfactory. On the question of communal differences he said:

> "We have shown our good faith in the matter. We showed it when we made the Communal Award."

Surely it would have been better for his own and his country's reputation if Sir Samuel had cited some instances of good faith other than that of the Communal "Award." If the "Award" had been a fair and equitable one, the situation in India today would have been entirely different. Sir Samuel observed further:

> "But in spite of the Award these divisions exist."

The truth is that it is not in spite of, but because of, the Communal "Award" that divisions exist and have become greatly accentuated. The so-called Award gave an unfair advantage to some of the parties, which naturally encouraged them to clamour for more such advantages. On the other hand, it treated one party in a most inequitable manner, which created a feeling of intense discontent.

It should be said, however, to the credit of many British statesmen outside the Government that they showed a great deal of fairness and foresight in dealing with the situation. The names of men like Lord Samuel and Mr. Wedgwood Benn will always be remembered as earnest advocates of a policy of friendship between Britain and India. The more enlightened section of the British press also gave full support to India's demands. *The New Statesman and Nation* wrote :

*This was written before the Viceroy's pronouncement at the Orient Club, Bombay, on the 10th January last.

"India, indeed, is the crux. We are on our trial before the whole civilized world. From Washington to Moscow every impartial onlooker is asking the question that Indians have posed: Is this a war for the imperial *status quo* or for a new democratic world-order? The same question shapes itself in the mind of the German people. Not today, but some months or years hence, the answer it frames on our record may decide the issue of this war. If we dare give India liberty, we shall win the leadership of all free peoples. But if we meet a rebel India with coercion, will any one in Europe or America mistake us for the champions of democracy?"

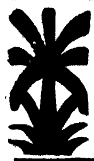
The sum and substance of the declarations of the British Government is that they have special responsibilities to the minorities and the Princes and obligations to the British commercial community, and that so long as these problems are not solved, no constitutional advance will be possible in India. The problems have been created or fostered by the British Government, and now to throw the burden of solving them on the people of India is hardly fair. But the problems, though complex and difficult, are not absolutely insoluble. A solution, however, will be possible only if goodwill is available on all sides. The attitude of the majority party must be conciliatory, and the demands of the minorities should be based on reason and commonsense. It would be inconsistent with all principles of political science and all canons of equity to urge that the minorities should have a permanent veto on the majority. Nor can any minority, however important and powerful, be given the right to hold up the progress of the country on the ground of the possibility of its interests being affected. The British Government can show their sincerity by taking the initiative in the matter. If they agree to do so, let them take courage in both hands to create the proper machinery for dealing with the problem. But if they do not, they will be charged with advancing a specious plea in order to perpetuate their rule in this country.

The only satisfactory machinery for settling all differences as well as for considering the details of the future constitution of India is a Constituent Assembly. It is true that a Constituent Assembly is generally formed after a successful revolution. But there is nothing to prevent the formation of such an Assembly in India by a friendly arrangement with Britain. This body should be constituted on the basis of proportional representation, so that all minorities and special interests may be represented on it. There should be no communal representation. If the Constituent Assembly be formed on the basis of separate electorates, the representatives will be swayed by communal considerations, and this will stand in the way of satisfactory decisions being reached on national lines. In order to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities it may be laid down that only such decisions on communal questions as are carried by a somewhat larger majority than a bare one say three-fifths, would be given effect to. It will be one of the main duties of the Constituent Assembly to provide safeguards in the new constitution for the minorities in the shape of fundamental rights to be guaranteed by an appeal to the Federal Court or, if necessary, to an international tribunal.

India's attitude towards Britain has never been one of uncompromising hostility. Dadabhai Naoroji pleaded for co-operation all his life. Surendranath Banerjea offered active co-operation even after repeated disappointments and in the face of a growing public opposition to his policy. Mahatma Gandhi, after pursuing for a time a policy of non-co-operation, is again ready for co-operation. The bulk of the people is still prepared to co-operate, provided that co-operation can be offered on fair and honourable terms. Will British statesmanship rise to the occasion and make it possible for India to march side by side with Britain in defence of democracy and freedom and for the good of humanity?

The urgent need of the hour in India is harmony and goodwill. This can be secured by an enlightened sense of citizenship and a unity of purpose. We must all think of our country first and of everything else afterwards. As for unity, let our motto be: "In things essential, unity; in things non-essential, liberty; in all things, charity." If we render not mere lip-service to this motto but make it our rule of conduct in our daily relations with all individuals, and races, and communities, India's cherished ideals will be realized at no distant date.





INDIAN PERIODICALS



Large Scale and Cottage Industries

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes in *The Visva Bharati Quarterly* :

I am personally a believer in the development of large scale industries. Nevertheless, I have wholeheartedly supported the khadi movement as well as the wider village industries movement for political, social and economic reasons. In my mind there is no essential conflict between the two, although there might occasionally be conflict in regard to certain aspects or developments of both. In this matter I do not represent Gandhiji's view-point to any large extent, but in practice so far there has not been any marked conflict between the two view-points.

It seems to me obvious that certain key and vital industries, defence industries, and public utilities must be on a large scale. There are certain others which may be on a large scale or a small scale or on a cottage scale. A difference of opinion might arise in regard to the latter. Behind that difference there is a difference of outlook and philosophy and, as I understood Mr. Kumarappa, he laid stress on this difference of outlook. His point was that the modern large scale capitalist system ignored the problem of distribution and was based on violence. With this I entirely agree. His solution was that with the development of cottage industries there was a much fairer distribution and the element of violence was much less. I agree with that, too, but it does not go far enough. Violence and monopoly and concentration of wealth in a few hands are produced by the present economic structure. It is not large scale industry that brings any injustice and violence but the misuse of large scale industry by private capitalists and financiers. It is true that the big machine multiplies the power of man exceedingly both for construction and destruction, both for good or for ill. It is possible, I think, to eliminate the evil use and the violence of the big machine by changing the economic structure of capitalism. It is essentially private ownership and the acquisitive form of society that encourage a competitive violence. Under a socialist society this evil should go, at the same time leaving us the good which the big machine has brought.

It is true, I think, that there are certain inherent dangers in big industry and the big machine. There is a tendency to concentrate power and I am not quite sure that this can be wholly eliminated. But I cannot conceive of the world or of any progressive country doing away with the big machine. Even if this was possible, this would result in lowering production tremendously and in thus reducing standards of life greatly. For a country to try to do away with industrialization would lead to that country falling a prey, economically and otherwise, to other more industrialized countries, which would exploit it.

For the development of cottage industries on a widesprad scale, it is obvious that political and economic power is necessary. It is unlikely that a country entirely devoted to cottage industries will ever get this political or economic power, and so in effect it will not even be able to push cottage industries as it wants to.

I feel, therefore, that it is inevitable and desirable to encourage the use and development of the big machine and thus to industrialise India.

I do feel that it is easily possible for me to co-operate fully with the advocates of cottage industries, even though I might not accept their fundamental outlook.

If the term "key industries" is held to include all vital industries, we get a large degree of socialisation. I would add further, as a necessary corollary to our policy, that where there is any conflict between a privately owned large scale industry and cottage industry, the State should own or control that large scale industry. The State would then have the power and liberty to adopt any policy which it lays down, and it can co-ordinate the two.

A Survey of Indian Movements and Changes

With the publication of the Silver Jubilee number *The Mysore Economic Journal* completes the twenty-fifth year of its career. In his survey, in this issue of the *Journal*, of Indian movements and changes, during the last quarter of a century, Dr. A. J. Saunders observes:

As one looks back over the past twenty-five or thirty years he can see three significant movements—all related giving numerous opportunities to Indians and foreigners alike to express the urge towards something like a fuller national life which is the outstanding characteristic of India in these days. They are: The rise of a genuine and deep-seated sense of national self-consciousness, the need of and opportunity for improving the economic well-being of the people, and the remoulding of the cultural and religious aspects of this national awakening so as to meet the challenge of the new world.

Movements, institutions and personalities are the raw material out of which history is made.

It has been an interesting experience of my living in India during these years of developing national consciousness to observe and study the movement at close range. The sowing of the seed, the growth of an idea, and the manifestations of a movement have tremendous attraction to one who is socially inclined. One can see all these forces at work in India, and it has been wonderful in our eyes. The dry bones of Indian tradition and caste and complacency are coming together; flesh and sinews are covering them withal.

and the breath of modern life is galvanishing them into living bodies of men—a mighty host with a programme and a future. Indian national self-consciousness is no weak and passing whim of the moment; it has been gathering strength for half a century until today it is a huge movement which must be recognised in any attempt to understand modern India.

He writes about the economic problem :

It was Zoroaster who said : "He who sows the ground with care and diligence acquires a greater stock of religious merit than he could gain by the repetition of ten thousand prayers." As I have told my students so often the first thing that we must see is the general problem of the economic situation in India. Within the last decade or so we were fortunate in having three Commissions at work in India : Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1918; Report of the Royal Commision on Agriculture in India, 1928; and Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1930. And their reports are invaluable in summarising the general economic conditions of India.

The economic problem includes three major issues : they are population, agricultural methods, and the serious limitations to progress in India. Here we have material in abundance for impressing not only the professional economist but every observing and thinking person, with the immensity of the economic situation.

Among the chief problems of rural life in India are :

(1) The small size of the peasant farm;
(2) The fragmentation of the fields;
(3) The uncertainty of crops, because of the lack of rain or irrigation water;
(4) The backwardness of agricultural methods;
(5) The burden of indebtedness; and
(6) Over-population.

There is also the agrarian problem to be discussed.

One has been able to see the Indian Renaissance expressing itself in other than political independence. There is the stupendous agrarian problem with all its ramifications. Until quite recently, India was still in the feudal period of her evolution. Wealth, social status and even national importance were determined by one's relationship to the land, but feudalism is passing away quickly in the convulsions of these modern times. Many of the old landed estates of the Rajas and Zamindars are unable to meet the competition of the present day. Modern conditions of life are too expensive for land to finance; there are too many people dependent upon the land, and industry is a challenge which land cannot meet. India is changing from an agricultural to an industrial country; the machine is invading the land and already Indians are feeling the effects of the industrial revolution.

Rammohun as a Bhashyakara

In an article in the annual number of *The Indian Messenger*, Ishan Chandra Roy writes about Rammohun Roy's *Vedanta Grantha*. According to him, Rammohun was not only the the first to expound the Vedanta Sutras in an Indian dialect but he was Vhashyakara of the Vedanta :

It was in the year 1815, that Rammohun brought out his Vedanta Grantha, or the Vedanta Sutras with his own interpretation of them in Bengali; and it was within the next two years that he published five of the principal Upanishads with the texts as well as exposition. Had the significance of these facts been truly appreciated and their bearings upon the revival of Hindu culture correctly appraised Rammohun would have been placed along with the great Acharyas of the Vedanta and recognised as one of the greatest benefactors of the Hindu Community; but unfortunately it was not so.

It may be said to be the crowning glory of his life that he was the first in India not only to publish the Vedanta and Upanishads, but also to have the courage to expound them in a "language of the land" thereby bringing those treasures of the sacred lore to the doors of each and every one of his own people.

Rammohun's works contained an elaborate exposition of the texts, often in agreement with Acharya Sankara but, sometimes, even at variance with him; while as regards the Vedanta Sutras he was undoubtedly the first to expound them in an Indian dialect. In this book also, he was more in agreement with Acharya Sankara in some of the fundamental conceptions than he was with any other Acharya; and he dared to differ from all of them whenever it was necessary to do so in defence of his own theological stand-point. For clarity of style and brevity of expression this book is a marvel of production, particularly when we remember that he was working practically unaided and without any recognised literary form as model.

In his exposition he not only explained the meanings of the words of the Sutras but also set forth his own views as supported by them. Thus his exposition fulfils the two conditions, as is required in a regular Bhashya; and hence it may be claimed for Rammohun that he was a Bhashyakara of the Vedanta in the true sense of the term.

Rammohun has got a position of his own amongst the teachers of the Vedanta. He was a Sankarite, but with certain reservations; and he was allied, to some extent, to the Vaishnava Acharyas, particularly to Madhva. Rammohun was indebted to Sankara for his conception of Brahman and the Jiva as well as their mutual relation; but he differed from the Acharya on the questions of the nature of the Adhikarin, the eternity of the Vedas and the rights of the house-holders to the knowledge of Brahman. Rammohun was a follower of Sankara in emphasising the Nirvishesha aspect of Brahman, in asserting that Brahman can be known only by *tatastha-lakshmana;* but he parted with the Acharya in declaring that Upasana was the principal theme of the Vedanta. Upasana is, of course, accepted in Advaita philosophy as one of the two methods of spiritual culture. Sankara himself advocated it; but it has always ranked lower than the other method of knowledge. *Mukti* is admitted to be the highest goal of the human life; a man is considered to have attained *Mukti,* when his ignorance has been destroyed by the knowledge of the nonduality of the Jiva and Brahman; in other words, this knowledge of the non-duality is, according to the strict Advaita philosophy, the one cause of *Mukti;* whereas according to Rammohun, Upasana is the "sole cause" of it; and it is in conformity with this view that Rammohun

interpreted a very large number of the Sutras of the Vedanta, independently of all other Acharyas.

In attributing this great importance to Upasana Rammohun found support in the works of the Vaishnava philosophers; in fact, Rammohun's acquaintance with Madhva was very great; so much so, that Rammohun incorporated in his Grantha the text of a Sutra of Madhva, which is not to be found in the works of any other Acharya—(*Vide* III, 3, 4).

In spite of the general support that Rammohun received from the Vaishnava Acharyas as regards the importance of Upasana, there was a fundamental difference between them on the one hand and him on the other.

This difference can be illustrated better by briefly comparing some of the views of Ramanuja, Madhva and Rammohun.

According to Ramanuja—Vasudeva is the Supreme Being; by worshiping Him a man is freed from all sins; He is to be worshipped in His five manifestations, the first of which is His images.

According to Madhva—Vishnu is the Supreme Being; He has the disc Sudarsana and the conch Panchajanya in His hands; without His grace a man cannot hope for salvation; and to win His grace a man has to worship Him; that worship is to be performed in ten ways.

According to Rammohun—"The Supreme Being is the subject of discourse in all the Vedas, the Vedanta as well as in other systems of theology. He is One, Omnipresent, beyond our powers of comprehension. His worship is the chief duty of mankind and the sole cause of eternal beatitude." (Introduction to the Ishopanishat).

From the above it will be clear that Rammohun stood for the worship of Brahman, not under any particular name or form but as He is described in the accredited Upanishads.

Work of the Archæological Survey of India

A hundred years' patient work by the Asiatic Society of Bengal had undoubtedly thrown a flood of light on the dim past of India. In 1862, the work was officially taken under the care of the Government of India with Sir Alexander Cunningham as Director-General of Archaeological Survey. Lord Curzon's speech delivered before the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 8th February, 1900, foreshadowed the establishment of a Government Archæological Department. *Science and Culture* writes editorially:

The archæological department was established in 1902 with Mr. (now Sir) John Marshall who had gained his experience under Sir Arthur Evans in Crete as the Director-General and Indian Archæology remained under his fostering care for the next quarter century. During his regime many of the buried cities of India like Taxila, Sarnath, Sravasti, Bhita and Nalanda were scientifically excavated and a band of Indian and European scholars received their training in archæology. At the suggestion of Sir John Marshall, Harappa was excavated by the late Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni in 1921 and Mohenjo-daro in 1923 by the late Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji. Mr. Banerji at once recognized in the seals and other objects recovered there, something quite different from the remains of Buddhistic India, and going much further back than Buddhist India. He connected them with the Sumerian civilization and called the site as Indo-Sumerian. The discovery aroused the attention and interest of the whole world of archæologists and confirmed the fond belief of the Indians that India was after all 'one of the earliest cradles of human civilization.' Encouraged by the signal success of the department, excavations and explorations of various ancient sites in Sind, Beluchistan and the Punjab as also at Nalanda (Bihar), Paharpur and Mahasthangarh (Bengal) and Nagarjunkunda (Madras) were undertaken between 1926 and 1931 and the Government of India sanctioned a special recurring grant for the purpose. These operations furnished evidence for the existence of a chain of prehistoric sites all along the north-western borderland of India. Sites were also discovered in the upper Gangetic valley and as far south as Gujrat which showed that the Indus valley civilization had probably spread over a large part of India. It was hoped that the department would proceed with the excavation of some of the promising sites which would clear up the prehistory of the country before the date of the Mauryan Empire (300 B.C.).

Cancer Can be Cured

Isaac F. Marcosson writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

In the little town of Milton, Massachusetts, U.S.A., just outside of Boston, stands a modest house. In this dwelling lives Dr. Anna C. Palmer, President of the Cured Cancer Club. In 1920, Dr. Palmer, then a practising physician, was operated on for cancer of the breast. Today she talks about her case as if it had been the "flu" or a sprained ankle. At eighty-three, she is an animate document in evidence that the most dreaded of all diseases is conquerable with early diagnosis and proper treatment.

Dr. Palmer is just one of the 29,195 people listed at the end of 1938 by the American College of Surgeons as completely cured of cancer. These are the eligibles for the Cured Cancer Club. From this legion of the cancer redeemed, Dr. Palmer hopes, will come the inspiration for the conquest of a disease which has cost that country 270 crores of rupees a year. The club is open to any one vouched for by his physician as having been cured of cancer for at least five years before the application for membership is filed. The applicant need only subscribe to the statement: "I am willing to be known publicly as a cured cancer patient."

Cancer, more than almost any other disease, has suffered from the curse of silence. The word itself is a leper in the common vocabulary, conjuring up the picture of long-drawn agony and slow death. People are prone to talk avidly about their operations, but they become strangely silent when it comes to cancer.

One reason for the delay in cancer cure publicity has been the lack of lay education, which struck its stride only within the past few years.

The amount of work that still remains to be done in this field is strikingly shown by the findings of the nation-wide poll on cancer taken by the American Institute of Public Opinion in April 1939. Summed

up, the survey showed that one American in every three—36 per cent—did *not* know that cancer was curable if treated in time. Forty-one per cent thought cancer was contagious, a fallacy long disproved. And, significantly, 76 per cent of the people polled feared cancer more than any other disease.

With no disease has this fear complex played such a devastating role as in cancer. Everybody fears cancer because everybody, regardless of age, is a potential victim. Moreover, people ignorant of the early symptoms of cancer surrender to the idea that a medical examination means a death warrant. They wait until there is pain, when it is often too late, for cancer at the start is painless. Thus cancer has been a psychological as well as a medical problem. It is estimated that from one-third to one-half of the annual 150,000 deaths could be avoided by early diagnosis and treatment.

The mystery surrounding cancer in the past is partly attributable, as well, to the fact that the medical profession was not fully equipped to cope with cancer.

The doctor, like the layman, needed education. For ethical reasons doctors shied at discussing their cures, while the cured were equally reticent. The only highly publicized "cures" were mainly the advertised "testimonials" to worthless quack serums which cost the gullible public crores of rupees each year.

In 1932, light began to break, pointing the way to all that the Cured Cancer Club implies. That year the American College of Surgeons conducted a symposium on "Cancer Is Curable" at its annual clinical congress in St. Louis. Thirty eminent surgeons, who had operated in some of the most famous hospitals in the United States, reported 8,840 cancer cures, with no recurrence of the disease five or more years after the operation. They were made possible by early diagnosis and treatment through one or all of the only accredited agencies: surgery, the X-rays, and radium. When early cancer is surgically removed, it is not likely to recur at all, if there is no evidence of it after two years; so the five-year period was set as a safety cycle.

The Tragic Necessity of Art in Life and Education

What is it, in human nature, that leads to periodical orgies of mutual destruction that are the reverse of the creation that is the basis of all life, physical and psychological? According to Dr. J. H. Cousins, the answer is, antagonistic separateness. Its cure is its opposite, co-operative unity. He writes in *The Hindusthan Review*:

There is much truth in the economic diagnosis of the disease of war. So long as demand and supply in commonly shared human necessities are subject to exploitation for the advantage of some, instead of mutual production and use for the good of all; so long as the abstraction, competition, usurps the place of the artistic process of co-operative unity, the tendency to war will remain. But a perfect economic adjustment would not wholly eliminate the tendency. There are other phases of human life in which the anti-artistic attitude of antagonistic separateness prevails. We see

it in the political conditions in India in which, centuries after the co-operative unity of the Vedic civilisations, and almost simultaneously with the re-attainment of a substantial part of legislative autonomy in the organized life of the country, the emergence of antagonistic separateness in communal rivalries is diverting attention away from co-operative unity, and threatening the country with the disaster of inartistic conflict.

Here again the cure is co-operative unity; a universal recognition of the necessity of aspiration towards higher degrees of life, reverence towards the universal life which we all share; and co-operation between the various intellectual, emotional and liturgical systems in raising the spiritual values of life above mere acceptance of formulæ and observances, into united opposition to the forces of sensuality, irreverence, and degradation which threaten humanity with even worse consequences than war.

The sense of unity in diversity which would eliminate antagonistic separateness from human life can obviously be encouraged by the study and practice of art. Its efficacy is probably beyond service to the grown-up except in a very few instances. But there is a tragic necessity for the ultimate rescuing of life from complete shipwreck, by imparting to it the influences of art through the education of the young. The neglect of this in the past is one of the prime causes of the horribly inartistic state of the world, including India, today. A continuation of such neglect will not only frustrate future peace, but retain in the blood-stream of humanity the poison that will result in still more inartistic warfare.

Mysticism and Poetic Moods

With the January number the *Prabuddha Bharata* enters into the forty-fifth years of its publication. In an article in this issue Prof. A. C. Bose deals with the interesting subject of mysticism and poetic moods.

The mystic, with his profound and intense experience, has almost always been a poet too. There are good reasons for it. For one thing, poetry has for its material what is most intense and profound in human experience; for another, it is about the only medium for the expression of what is otherwise ineffable. Some philosophical critics have found in poetry itself a sort of mysticism. Carlyle calls it "a kind of inarticulate and unfathomable speech which leads to the edge of the Infinite and lets us for moments gaze into that."

Psychologically considered, the mystic feeling would be found to derive from a dynamic impulse in the human personality which is impatient of the limitations of life, and is ever engaged in projecting itself forward.

It is an active and progressive principle in human personality which is constantly trying to surpass itself.

The mystic finds himself in moods that are peculiar to his experience. The writer considers some of the more characteristic of these moods, which are also most typically poetic moods.

The primary phase of mystic consciousness indicates a deep inner conflict. It seems to arise from the fact that the spirit of man cannot fully accommodate itself to the finite world. It is extremely dissatisfied with things as they are.

The mystic finds himself a forlorn soul in this material universe. He is afflicted by a profound nostalgia, as if he has been a prodigal son wasting his life amid strangers.

> The child of earth in his heart grows burning,
> Mad for the night and the deep unknown.—(A. E.)

As a positive counterpart to the dissatisfaction and homesickness, there is a deep longing in the soul of the mystic for something lying beyond the pale of finite existence, a yearning for a reality infinitely more perfect than what he finds here.

The following lines of Tagore are typical of this mood:

> I am restless. I am a-thirst for far-away things.
> My soul goes out in a longing to touch the skirt of the dim distance.
> O Great Beyond, O the keen call of thy flute!
> I forget, I ever forget, that I have no wings to fly, that I am bound in this spot evermore.

"The essential experience of the mystic is a condition of ecstasy (ecstasia) . . ." The aspiring soul seems to be soaring on wings.

But side by side wtih the spiritual exaltation there is a painful strain,—a deep spiritual distress which reason cannot account for.

The mystic mood is often "that sweet"—the strangely sweet—"mood when pleasant thoughts bring sad thoughts to the mind." It is owing to this mystic quality that "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

"All great men are lonely men." The journey of the spirit is companionless.

The mystic mentality stands at the opposite pole of "mob mentality."

The natural counterpart of loneliness is silence. "Silence is the element in which great things fashion themselves together."

There are other aspects of this mystic silence. It is also the soul's reaction to the type of experience which is too deep for tears, "too full for sound and foam."

Silence is also a sign of spiritual humility.

Silence again is a form of spiritual modesty.

Lastly, it is the tranquillity that descends on the soul when it has risen above the storm and stress of existence.

The silence in the soul conceals a great reserve of power.

The mystic feeling leads to an intense delight in the universe and through this delight the spirit of man is rejuvenated.

The universe shines in new splendour.

This soul-wonder is the root of poetry and religion alike.

Just as the sense of wonder discovers for man the poetry of the world, so does love discover the poetry of the soul; and between them they make life intense within as well as without. The sense of wonder finally resolves itself into love.

To be a mystic, then, is to be a poet among sages and a sage among poets.

The Æsthetic and the Social in Art Appreciation

Writing about Sheldon Cheney's *World History of Art* Dr. Benoyknmar Sarkar observes in *The Calcutta Review* :

Anthropological explorations have widened the range of æsthetics. So it is possible today to encounter the specimens of man's creativeness at 15,000, 30,000 or 50,000 B.C. There is such a thing as Cro-Magnon art or the art of the troglodytes. The masterpieces of that art are the paintings of the Reindeer Age on the walls of caves in south-western Europe and Africa, and the epoch of palæolithic or old stone age. And yet those artists did not spring full-equipped from the brain of some Cro-Magnon Zeus. Cheney suggests with a good deal of reason that the painters of the bison and reindeer and mammoth on the rock walls in Spain and France represent the culmination of a long apprenticeship, the ripe-fruit at the end of age-long development. The same is to be postulated or inferred about the Mohenjodarian culture and art, as done by the present author in *Creative India*.

The statement is valid not only in regard to the chronology of evolution, but in regard to æsthetic values as well. It is pointed out that "these earliest pictures have the features considered typical of the true masterpiece: plastic completeness, intense life, monumental proportions. They also often have that incidental virtue which was for the Victorians a basic excellence: extraordinary truth of observation." The worth of this oldest art of mankind is indeed so universal and eternal that, as is well known and as Cheney points out, the "moderns" of 1880-1930 have self-consciously tried but to recapture that strong, youthful spirit, the direct unrealistic statement, the intuitive plastic expression.

The conventional idea that Oriental art is primarily symbolic is not conceded, and quite justly, by Cheney. In his appraisal it is rather expressionism that is characteristically illustrated in the great body of Asian art. Expressionism fits Eastern art better than it does any large development of Western art before the post-impressionist, says he. The intention of Oriental art is to fix the feeling of the thing rather than to reproduce its dimensions and outlines and material details.

Cheney's treatment and interpretation of Chinese paintings are suggestive and in the main acceptable. But in regard to Hindu art he does not rise above the conventional. In his statement that Brahmanism leads inevitably to asceticism and to denial of the pleasures and facts of sense he accepts without sense the Euro-American tradition and bids adieu as much to contact with the actual specimens of Hindu art as to history, economics and sociology.

Once in a while Cheney hits upon the reality when he observes that Hindu art "holds to the essential dignity of the human soul without denying sensuous appeal." Again, "almost miraculously the balance is held," says he. "The soul and the senses are addressed in one evocative harmony, in one sculpture creation."

It is a merit of the present work that Java, Cambodia and Champa have been dealt with as regions of Indian art in expansion. The art of Greater India has been placed in the proper sociological and historical perspective. But the absence of any reference to Mohenjodarian art and culture in this otherwise comprehensive work, published as it is in 1937, is to be regretted as a capital defect.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



A Recent Portrait of Stalin

Boris Souvarine, one of the founders of the French Communist Party and a former member of the Communist International Executive, has published a biography of Stalin which presents an inestimable amount of material for the understanding of revolution and counter-revolution in Russia, though it makes no pretence at being dispassionate. We make some excerpts from a review of the volume in *Jewish Frontier* :

Stalin is delineated in the by now familiar figure of the Georgian tyrant, tenacious in purpose, ruthless in execution—the man with the small mind and the fierce will who has succeeded in destroying not only his revolutionary comrades but the last vestiges of the revolutionary ideal. Souvarine compares him to Ivan the Terrible, rather than to Peter the Great, though it is obvious that Stalin likes to think of himself in terms of the latter. The recent Soviet motion picture "Peter the Great," in its frank chauvinism and glorification of militarism, made it clear enough that despite the Marxist tunes still chirped by local comrades, Stalin was identifying himself openly with the imperial proponent of Russian nationalism. Souvarine, however, opposes even this melancholy parallel—melancholy when one recalls the dream of a socialist state. According to him, the visionless ferocity of Ivan the Terrible fits better.

It is interesting to observe the characterizations of Stalin by various close associates as reported by Souvarine.

The lauds are not lacking. With scrupulous malice, the author records pages of dithyrambs in Stalin's praise composed by the admiring Russian public since the dictator's seizure of power.

It is impossible to include these stereotyped paeans under the heading of opinion. Just as unfortunately, past references to him by party comrades of years' standing are now suspect since the overwhelming majority of these gentlemen have since been purged. However, views expressed by intimate acquaintances and fellow workers long before their hour of "trial," still have a certain validity. Years ago, for instance, Bukharin compared him to Genghis Khan. Like almost all who knew Stalin, he stressed his lack of intellectual capacity as well as his pathological envy of all better endowed. "He is eaten up with a vain desire to become a well-known theoretician. He feels that is the only thing he lacks."

The analysis made by the arch-enemy, Trotsky, is worth noting in this connection because in a sense it is a keen summary of the total impression produced by Stalin on numerous commentators.

In "My Life" Trotsky writes of his opponent: "I was repelled by those very qualities that were his strength on the wave of decline—the narrowness of his interests, his empiricism, the coarseness of his psychological make-up, his peculiar cynicism of a provincial whom Marxism has freed from many prejudices without, however, replacing them with a philosophical outlook thoroughly thought out and mentally assimilated."

Some of the anecdotes in regard to Stalin may be apocryphal :

Souvarine pretends to no more than hearsay for a report of a conversation in 1923 in the course of which he is supposed to have said to Kamenev and Djershinsky : "To choose one's victim, to prepare one's plans minutely, to slake an implacable vengeance, and then to go to bed . . . there is nothing sweeter in the world.". Whether or not Stalin actually uttered these words is known only to himself, the sole survivor of the trio, but it must be conceded that Souvarine piles up enough evidence to make one feel that, if anything, the utterance is too much in character.

Over and over we get the mind of limited scope but great organizational capacity, the morbidly jealous nature determined to "get even" with any who crossed him or outshone him in obscurer days, the savage ambition to whose service every ideological consideration has been sacrificed.

What did Lenin think of his disciple ?

In the famous "Testament" of the master, composed shortly before his death, in which Lenin advised the removal of Stalin from the office of General Secretary of the Party, he writes : "Stalin is too rude (*grub !*)."

As time went on a great many things about the faithful Stalin began to worry Lenin. He worried particularly about the Georgian Stalin's "true-Russian" nationalism, observing (according to Souvarine) that Russians by adoption were worse than native Russians when they become chauvinist.

Recent Awards of Nobel Prizes for Science

The following account is reproduced from *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* :

Prontosil

The Prize-winner whose work is of the widest public interest is Professor Gerhard Domagk, of the Bayer Company at Elberfeld. He is the discoverer of Prontosil, the first of the new drugs which are the most remarkable medical discovery of the last decades. Domagk's results are due to an extension of the method developed by the great Jewish chemist Paul Ehrlich. If certain dyes are introduced into living tissues they are absorbed differently by various parts of the tissues. Some parts are picked out and stained brightly, while others are unaffected. Ehrlich had the idea of finding dyes which would pick out bacteria only. He then attacked poisonous arsenic atoms to the dyes in the hope that this would kill the bacteria. He failed in this attack on bacteria, but was rewarded by the tremendous discovery of salvarsan, which would kill the

organism that produces syphilis. After Ehrlich's researches it was assumed that bacteria could not be successfully attacked by his method. Ehrlich had supposed that if a dye was to be effective inside the body it must be a disinfectant outside it, like salvarsan, which contains arsenic.

Domagk started a new series of experiments some years ago, in which he discarded this assumption. He tried the effects of a series of dyes on bacteria in the body, irrespective of their effects on bacteria outside the body. He published the discovery of Prontosil in 1935. This is astonishingly effective against streptococcal infections, such as puerperal fever and gonnorrhœa. Trefouel, Nitti, and Bovet in France have found that a simpler component of Prontosil, named sulphanilamide, has similar properties, and a variant has been produced in England, M. and B. 693, which is remarkably effective against pneumonia.

WORKS ON VITAMINS

The chemistry prize for 1938 has been awarded to Professor Richard Kuhn, who is a director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Medical Research at Heidelberg. He is a pupil of the eminent Jewish chemist Willstatter and is Austrian by birth. He has done a great deal of work on the synthesis of substances leading to the vitamins. He investigated the properties of carotene, the reddish-yellow substance that gives colour to carrots and fresh butter. Vitamin A is made from carotene in the plant. Through these investigations it became possible to synthesise vitamin A. Kuhn has shown himself a great director of research. He never loses sight of his main aim, which is always of a fundamental nature, and avoids all diversions of secondary importance, however fascinating.

Professor Butenandt, who shares this year's prize for chemistry with Professor Ruzicka of Zurich, has succeeded in determining the chemical constitution of the female sex hormone. Professor Ruzicka has succeeded in synthesising a male sex hormone, and has discovered the general principle of hormone synthesis. These substances, which have such an important part in the working of the body, are now within sight of manufacture and promise cures for disorders springing from glandular deficiency.

The prize for medicine in 1938 goes to Professor Heymans, of Ghent. He has made great contributions to the knowledge of the nervous control of the circulation of the blood.

CYCLOTRON

The award of the prize for physics in 1939 to Professor E. O. Lawrence, of the University of California, will be widely popular. He is the inventor of the cyclotron, the machine which produces atomic projectiles of enormous power on the principle of whirling them round and round like a stone on the end of a piece of string and then letting them go. He has accomplished something that looked virtually impossible to the best minds in the same field. With his great machine he has discovered about one hundred and fifty new radio active substances, and has advanced far towards the manufacture of radium substitutes. He has recently devoted much of his attention to the application of his machine and the new substances manufactured by it to medical problems. Besides being a great scientist, Professor Lawrence is a young and generous man. He has spent much time supplying workers all over the world with materials that only he could make.

Birth Rates in Fascist Countries

Both in Germany and Italy, the birth rate has been a matter of concern for years. The approach has been quite different in the two countries. Italy has shown an urgent and not very critical interest in mere numbers, while the German programme has been much more carefully worked out, and the need for quality as well as quantity is recognized. Robert C. Cook, Editor, *Journal of Heredity*, writes in *Birth Control Review* :

Mussolini's ballyhoo has been accompanied by no increase in Italian births until the past year or so. Whether it has prevented a faster decline might be argued. In any event in 1920 the Italian birth rate was 27 births per thousand population. By 1936 it was down to 22. The logic of demanding more babies when things were already overcrowded at home (in Europe only Belgium exceeds Italy's 350 per square mile), to occupy still imaginary colonies seems not to have appealed to the Italian people. They seem very sensibly to have detected an Ethiopian in the woodpile somewhere, and not Haile Selassie either.

In Germany the story has been a little different.

It might be noted in passing that the German interest in more babies and better babies dates to a good many years before the Nazis came into power. So with Teutonic thoroughness an elaborate program of differential birth-boosting has been worked out. If you are of good sound Aryan stock—with no genetic skeletons in the pedigree-closet—or in that of your prospective spouse—you can get a loan up to $500,00 to get married on. Each child cancels a quarter of the loan. If you can get it all written off by the obstetrician you can go on to other rewards in cash and honor for continued fecundity.

If you live on a farm you can get special consideration, for the German population authorities are rightly much exercised about the quality of rural population. They are earnestly trying to make it not only pleasant but profitable to stay on the land, and to have children. Much of this program is engineered with skill.

The marriage loan system and other subsidies for fecundity were put into effect in 1932, at a time when the birth rate had been falling steadily for several years and had reached a record low of under 15 per thousand, exceeded or, better, deceded only by the birth rates of Sweden (14) and England (13). The marriage loan laws were followed by a striking increase in births in 1934 and 1935, the rate rising to nearly 19 by 1935. It has continued slowly upward ever since, and stood between 19 and 20 in 1938, higher than the birth rates of England, France, Sweden or the United States.

At the same time the marriage subsidies went into effect a strenuous campaign was instituted against abortion, and against the distribution of contraceptives.

Mrs. Despard

The following biographical note on Mrs. Despard, who was prominently associated with the great movements for liberty of her lifetime, especially with those for Irish freedom and for

women's suffrage, appears in *The Catholic Citizen* :

Mrs. Despard was born nearly a hundred years ago, in 1844, when a young Queen Victoria reigned in the England of squirearchy and rising industrialism and when three other young women were scribbling poems and novel in Haworth Parsonage. She was born in England but was Irish by descent—her sailor father was a French of county Roscommon—and in her life-long rebellion against oppression, her gallantry, her love of battle and her pacifist convictions, she was a daughter of the Ireland that has bred martyrs and soldiers and dreamers rather than of the England in which much clothed women were either conventional and guarded or broke their hearts.

As a suffragette she was imprisoned four times, and because she considered the Women's Social and Political Union to be too autocratically organized, she founded the Women's Freedom League. Always tyranny and cruelty kindled this "white flame," as Madam Maud Gonne McBride has aptly called her friend. Her compassion was as strong and deep as her love of freedom. For twenty years she conducted at Nine Elms a clinic which will long be affectionately remembered, and she visited Belfast, at some risk, during the Anti-Catholic pogrom of 1922, used her influence, without respect of persons, towards restoring justice and charity, and afterwards harboured refugees from Belfast in her home in Dublin, giving especial care to the children.

What is Physical Fitness ?

Professor Doctor David Burns discusses, in his presidential address to Physiology Section of the British Association, published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, the value of different types of tests of physical fitness and the effect of exercise and physical training in maintaining fitness.

Somatometric Test of Fitness

The search for a relationship between the configuration of the body and physical fitness has been pursued since the time of Hippocrates. Such a relationship is elusive, and because of the complexity of body build and the scarcity of strictly comparable measurements, most of the findings lack validity.

It was natural, at first, to consider stature as an index of robustness. The tall man with a long reach was better able to hold his own in hand-to-hand fighting. Even today, height is taken into account in selecting recruits for the services and the police. The tall applicant, too, has generally a better chance of getting engaged in commerce and industry than his shorter competitor. Length, especially length of leg, is not merely an indication of genetic constitution but of a late incidence of maturity. Chest girth, in relation to size of body, at first sight, appears to have at least a probable relationship to fitness, but Gould (1864), who carried out a thorough statistical survey of the manhood of the American nation during the progress of the Civil War, had grave doubts as to the validity of chest measurements for this purpose. Hutchinson showed clearly that the circumference of the chest is no measure of vital capacity, of endurance or even of muscular strength, nor is there any evidence that it bears any relationship to the state of general health.

Physiological Tests

The measurement of vital capacity (*i.e.*, the maximum volume of air expelled after a maximal inspiration) is generally classed as physiological although it is not strictly functional. This measurement, a common routine practice, has no real significance.

The amount of air that a person can contain in his lungs is a measure of chest capacity and of the tone of the respiratory musculature, but the person with an extra large vital capacity has no advantage over one who has quite a small capacity provided that he has sufficient.

Psychological Tests

The fit man carries on his work and his play without an unpleasant degree of fatigue, and so his industrial output may be taken as a measure of his fitness.

The amount of work done or the goodness of the work done depends not only on the physical state of the worker but on the state of his mind. It is well known that work which is in itself pleasant or leads to pleasure as a more or less remote result is carried out with an efficiency lacking in more formal performances or in forced work.

What can be said of the effect of exercise in maintaining fitness ? The Committee of the Health Section of the League of Nations is rather despondent on this matter.

They say, "Up to the present, methods and systems of physical education have not produced any clearly demonstrable effect on the health of the masses, doubtless because the present state of our knowledge is not as yet sufficient to enable us to base them on accurate scientific data" (1938).

Properly designed exercises, carefully controlled, can be used to correct faults of carriage, to eliminate uneconomic muscular actions and fit the mildly dysplastic to take their place without shame among the euplastic. The danger of such exercise lies in any attempt to create an "ideal" posture, etc., which has no physiological foundation.

Exercise carried on without strain or undue fatigue keeps the body in tone; and some exercise is considered beneficial to those engaged in sedentary occupations especially, as it increases the venous return to the heart and prevents stagnation in the blood reservoirs and lower limbs. The group of experts of the Commission on Physical Training were therefore enjoined "to determine the minimum amount of physical training required to ensure the normal health of the individual."

Exercise designed to "build muscles" beyond the needs of that particular person merely leads to increased food intake, and when, because of age or lack of opportunity, the amount of exercise is decreased, fibrous and fatty degeneration and infiltration takes place.

Probably the main beneficial result of keep-fit classes and similar movements is the inculcation of a spirit of independence, personal confidence and pleasure in performance.

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NOTES

Lord Zetland on "Cultural Ties" Between Britain and India

In an exclusive interview to the *Sunday Times* of London of the 11th February last, Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, referred to

> the ties, not only material but mental, binding the peoples of India and Great Britain, which, he said, could not be rudely shattered without grave injury to both the peoples and pointed out that the very men who led the Congress today, owed their inspiration to English literature and English political thought.
>
> Lord Zetland added that the greatest unifying influence in India had been the English language and the greatest moral force the English reverence for law and the English ideals of justice and purity of administration. It was in the light of such considerations as these that the relations between Great Britain and India should be viewed.—*Reuter.*

For the sake of argument let us admit in full India's cultural and political indebtedness to Britain, as stated by Lord Zetland.

The ties of all kinds which bound the peoples of Britain and the American Colonies which now form the United States of America were not less slender and strong than those now existing between India and Britain. Nevertheless those colonies rebelled and rudely shattered them. Even the Leftists among Congressmen do not propose to use violent means to sever the Indo-British connection, whereas the Anglo-American connection was shattered violently. The vast majority of the inhabitants of the U. S. A. are of European extraction. Their culture and civilization, including language and literature, are derived from Europe. Yet they have formed themselves into a separate and fully independent nation. Who can say that their action in doing so has not been fully justified by the result?

The Irish Free State, now styled Saorstat Eireann, in its past history has had much in common with Britain. Among the distinguished authors, generals, orators and statesmen whom the latter claims as her own there have been many Irishmen. Ireland had in fact become English-speaking to a very great extent. Ireland's indigenous language and literature have to undergo a process of resurrection freed from the tentacles of whatever is British. Yet, has not the Irish Free State chosen to become all but independent—and that against the wishes of Britain?

The Independence Day Pledge which Congressmen repeat every year includes words stating that the British Government has ruined India spiritually, culturally, economically and politically. They will not, therefore, admit the truth of India's cultural and political indebtedness to Britain. But even those who do not see eye to eye with Congressmen in this matter, will be constrained to observe that his lordship has vastly exaggerated Britain's claim in this respect.

Britishers came to India and remain in India not for the spiritual, cultural, political and economic advancement of the people. They came to and remain in India mainly for their own economic advantage and for politically

lording it over Indians in the economic and political interests of the British people.

The people of India had and still have a culture and civilization, including languages and literatures, all their own, unlike the American culture, language and civilization. No doubt, the clash and contact with British and other European cultures and literatures have reacted on ours. But it is easy to exaggerate its result, as Lord Zetland has done. According to the census of 1931, out of a total population of 353 millions "the persons with a knowledge of English numbered 3·6 millions" only.

Even if the effect of the contact and clash of cultures were far greater than it is, that would be no argument against India's desire for independence, as the examples of the United States of America and the Irish Free State show.

Without coming under British rule, very many persons in China, Japan and some other Oriental countries have owed some of their political inspiration to English literature and English political thought. Would that be any justification for Britain attempting to enslave them, if she at all thought of making such an attempt?

It is simply ridiculous to say that the greatest unifying influence in India has been the English language, considering that, according to the census of 1931, only 212 males per 10,000 and 28 females per 10,000 were literate in English. **India has had a fundamental unity for very many centuries long before the British set foot on Indian soil.**

Equally, if not still more absurd is his lordship's assertion that "the greatest moral force" have been "the English reverence for law and the English ideals of justice and purity of administration." How many in India have heard of these things? Yet the number of those who have been and still are sufferers from flagrant deviations from these abstract entities is not at all inconsiderable.

Englishmen who arrogantly fling these things at our faces should know that there was reverence for law and there were ideals of justice and purity of administration in India long before the birth of the British nation.

In making these observations we do not at all deny the admirable character and the beneficial results of "the English reverence for law and the English ideals of justice and purity of administration" so far and so long as they retain their character in India.

"The Problem of the Minorities"

In the course of Lord Zetland's interview to the *Sunday Times,*

> He said that experience of the working of the constitution embodied in the Act of 1935 had made it clear that the problem of the minorities must be taken in hand by Indians themselves. "Long-range bombardment by leading personalities from platform and Press is little likely to lead anywhere. What is wanted is escape from the tyranny of phrases and a descent from idealism to realism, from the abstract to the concrete.
>
> "I believe that only by means of discussion among those who can speak with authority for their followers, informal and in confidence in the first instance, is helpful appreciation of their respective standpoints and difficulties inherent in them, to be hoped for. If such a discussion is to be fruitful, there must be on all sides a genuine will to succeed and a real spirit of compromise.
>
> "The British Government cannot compel these things; they can only plead for them as I most earnestly do."

We must recognise the tacit division of political labour between Britishers and Indians. The former are to partly create and partly aggravate problems, including "the problem of the minorities," and the latter are to solve them.

We are quite willing to escape from the tyranny of English phrases, provided British statesmen escape from the habit of unending repetition of long-exploded fallacious and specious so-called arguments and from their superiority complex.

As his lordship has permitted himself to boast of the English *ideals* of justice and purity of administration and the English reverence for law *without descending to realism,* Indians may be excused for loving to linger on the mountain tops of idealism and disliking to descend to the realism partly created and partly stereotyped and reinforced by British politicians.

Indians are fully cognisant of the realities of the situation—of both varieties, those for which they may be wholly or partly responsible and those for which they are not at all responsible. They are prepared, too, to deal with them, provided they are left to do so without any intermeddling by outsiders. They (Indians) are not in a position to make a higher bid than that of the party in power for the assent and co-operation of those minorities whose craving for all sorts of concessions has grown abnormally under the fostering care of the aforesaid party.

We do not think that Lord Zetland is unaware that the so-called Communal 'Award' has given rise to an uncompromising spirit

among those who have benefited by it. It is with such people we are asked to effect a compromise. How can there be any compromise when the 'Award' is a hundred per cent. unjust?

The British Government could impose the unwanted Government of India Act of 1935. It could compel the whole of India to 'accept' the Communal 'Award.' But "the British Government cannot compel these things." Strange declaration of impotence!

Congress Uncompromising, Lord Zetland Thinks

Asked (by the *Sunday Times* representative) with regard to the termination of the Gandhi-Viceroy conversations, Lord Zetland said he was disappointed and bewildered; he had expected that the discussions would have been more prolonged and more fruitful, but he was glad to think that the door was not closed to their resumption.

The explanation would seem to be found in the statement by Mr. Gandhi, issued after the meeting, from which it appeared that Congress leaders had not abated one jot from their original demands. He had hoped that they would have been more appreciative than they appeared to be of the difficulties in the way of the British Government in accepting their claims.

Subhas Babu appears to think, on the contrary, that the Congress leaders *have* abated 'many jots' from their original demands! Who is right?

The Question of Independence

Referring to Mr. Gandhi's statement that if the British Government would leave the framing of the constitution to Indians themselves, the questions of defence, minorities, Princes and European interests would automatically be solved, Lord Zetland said that while he greatly admired Mr. Gandhi's optimism, he was unhappily quite unable to share it and felt that as long as the leaders of the Congress maintained their present attitude the obstacles in the way of an honourable understanding would be greatly increased.

DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE

Lord Zetland referring to the constitutional question said that it was unfortunate that Congress spokesmen made a fetish of the word "independence" since he was convinced that this had created a false impression in Great Britain of the aim which the vast majority of Indians had in view.

"That they desire freedom to govern themselves I do not doubt; that they contemplate India swinging from the orbit of British Commonwealth I do not for a moment believe. In a mad world, they are far too appreciative of the protection afforded to them by the armed strength of Great Britain on land and sea."

Replying to Lord Zetland's statement in *Harijan*, Gandhiji has shown how, if the framing of the constitution were left to Indians themselves, the questions of defence, minorities, Princes and Europeans would be solved.

Lord Zetland said that Congress spokesmen had made a fetish of the word "independence." Gandhiji may not consider himself a Congress spokesman technically. But as the majority of Congressmen accept his advice, he is a Congress spokesman more than anybody else. Now, he has said more than once that he would be satisfied with the "substance of independence"—whatever that may mean. This declaration of his does not show that Congress has made a fetish of the word independence. Sri Rajagopalachariar also has said in what respect, under present circumstances, Dominion Status would be more advantageous than independence and severance of the British connection.

What Congressmen insist upon is that it is the people of India, not the people of Britain, who are to determine the constitution of India —that is to say, the degree, measure and kind of freedom which they want for the present and as their final goal. The demand of self-determination is entirely just.

If this demand were conceded, the questions of defence, minorities, Princes and Europeans would certainly be settled by Indians. The British Government are unwilling to yield on the point of self-determination because they want to safeguard the privileged position of the Europeans. Further, the Government do not want that the Indians themselves and the Indians alone should settle the question of the minorities and the Princes, because they (the British Government) wish to use the minorities and the Princes for the purpose of promoting the political and economic interests of Britain.

As regards "the aim which the vast majority of Indians had in view," certainly the opinion of the most representative and best organized political body in India is more trustworthy than that of Lord Zetland. His lordship was in India for years no doubt. But during that period did he ever mix with the masses as Congress spokesmen have done? His information relating to Indian opinion was derived from officials, office-seekers, favour-seekers and men of that sort who echo official opinion. A plebiscite or referendum would show who was right, Congress spokesmen or Lord Zetland. In its absence, we prefer to accept the Congress view, which is also our own view, that India wants independence.

The Question of India's Defence

Lord Zetland has said:

"That they (Indians) desire to govern themselves I do not doubt: that they contemplate India swinging

from the orbit of British Commonwealth, I do not for a moment believe. In a mad world, they are far too appreciative of the protection afforded to them by the armed strength of Great Britain on land and sea."

Why is it that British imperialists do not want that India should swing from the orbit of the British Commonwealth? Certainly not any philanthropic considerations. It is because they want to derive political and economic advantage from their possession of India that they are unwilling to let go their hold on India. And it is because Indians do not desire their country to be exploited that they long for freedom to govern themselves.

As for the protection afforded to India by the armed strength of Great Britain on land and sea, why is it that such protection is needed? It is needed not because the small country of Britain has greater man power than Great India, but because Britain has in her own selfish interest not developed the defensive strength of India, but has on the contrary prevented the majority of the provinces and people of India from developing and utilizing their great and potential self-defending power.

If it were found that as the days and weeks and months and years passed Britain was encouraging and enabling the people of all the provinces in an increasing measure to take part in the defence of India, that would be some reason for speaking as Lord Zetland did. But the fact is, there does not seem to be any prospect of India becoming abler in her own might to defend herself so long as she remains within the British Empire or Commonwealth. Within it, she must ever stand in need of outside protection. Within it she must ever remain weak. Weakness is undesirable. Hence, sometime or other, in spite of her weakness and in her weak condition, she must decide to stand on her own legs and take the risk of doing so. If India decides to do so now, why should Britain object, if it be not Britain's secret desire to keep India for ever weak in British interest?

And why, if India became independent, must Britain deny her the help of her armed strength? Britain helped Belgium, was ready to help Poland, is helping Finland, though these countries have never contributed either directly or indirectly to build up her vast wealth or formidable power. Is India to be penalised because she is at the bottom of all Britain's power and wealth? And must India agree to remain for ever in a subject condition as the price of British protection? Why cannot there be a treaty of mutual defence between independent India and independent Britain?

Gandhiji's Reply to Lord Zetland

On the 14th February last Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press on Lord Zetland's interview:

"Lord Zetland's recent pronouncement, if reported correctly, sets at rest all speculation regarding Government's attitude towards Nationalist demand. I have been taught to believe that the Dominion Status of Westminster Statute variety is akin to Independence and includes the right to secede. Therefore, I had thought there would be no difficulty about Britain allowing India to determine her own status. But Lord Zetland makes it clear that Britain, not India has to determine it. In other words, British hold on India must remain.

He also puts the burden upon the nationalists of solving the minorities question and the like. I have shown how impossible this is without previous recognition of India's Independence, no doubt subject to safeguards.

War Against Nationalists

His Lordship thinks that because some Indians have received the boon of English education and have learnt the ideas of freedom from British writers, they will want always to be under British tutelage, euphemistically called partnership. This is what I call banging the door upon the Nationalist position. Does it mean a pact deadlier than was announced at the last Round Table Conference? If it does, it is a declaration of war against Nationalists who are out to destroy the Empire spirit.

Dreadfully Earnest

I submit that it is wrong to dismiss the Indian claim by accusing the Nationalists of losing realities in idealism. I suggest that it is he who refuses to face the realities and is wandering in a forest of unrealities. I cannot accuse him of idealism. I assure him that Nationalist India is dreadfully in earnest.—*A. P.*

"Is It War" on Indian Nationalists?

Bombay, Feb. 17.

The view that if what Lord Zetland has said represents the considered view of the British Government then there is no meeting ground between the Nationalists and Imperialists and it means a "declaration of war on the Nationalists," says Mahatma Gandhi in an article in today's *Harijan* under the caption "Is It War?"

He puts forward what the Indian Nationalist demand is and also that he considers the British Government is prepared to concede, and concludes: "I cannot conscientiously pray for the success of British arms if it means a further lease of life to India's subjection to foreign domination."

In the above-mentioned article Gandhiji has stated what Indian nationalists desire to have, calling them destroyers of the Empire spirit. He has also paraphrased Lord Zetland's reply to them as he understands it, and th[illegible] come to the conclusion given above.

From all that Gandhiji has recently said it does not appear that he is out for compromise at any price.

Of course he is for an honourable settlement by negotiation. But that would not necessarily be a compromise.

If anybody can obtain from the British Government, at the point of the bayonet or by non-violently disorganizing the whole British administrative machinery and bringing about a complete deadlock, better terms than Gandhiji expects to have by pourparlers, then such a person would be entitled to accuse Gandhiji of being actuated by a spirit of harmful and humiliating compromise.

The following sentence could not have been written by any one except an uncompromising devotee and upholder of national freedom :

"I cannot conscientiously pray for the success of British arms if it means a further lease of life to India's subjection to foreign domination."

"Ground For Compromise With Britain Lacking"

At a press conference held at Bombay on the 9th February last Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, in part :

So far as British Imperialism was concerned, everything that had happened since the War began, both internally in India and in regard to British foreign policy showed that there was not the least intention on the part of the British Government to give up its Imperialism, though, owing to the pressure of events, it might tone it down.

Fundamentally, therefore, the grounds for a compromise between India and England were at present lacking.

Pandit Nehru added, this was not a matter of friendly individuals talking together, but of fundamental conflicts between vast forces and ideas, namely nationalism, aiming at Independence and Imperialism trying to consolidate itself and continue its hold, and as between the two there was no compromise, unless one disappeared or submitted to the other. It was manifestly inconceivable for Indian nationalism to give up its objective and basic position.

Allied with Reactionaries

Pandit Nehru added that if the position of India was analysed, the British Government relied more and more on reactionaries whether they were Princes in feudal areas or communalists. The obstacle in the path of Indian freedom was the combination of British Imperialism with reactionaries in India.

The recent passing of the Amending Act in Parliament of the Government of India Act, limiting the powers of the Provincial Assemblies, continued Panditji, showed how far the British Government were from any progress in India. How could he asked, such a wide gulf be bridged. Events which moved fast and the strength of the respective parties would be ultimate arbiters. "We live in an age of stark reality," he said, "and we must, therefore, think in terms of reality. There is going to be no peace in India except on the basis of Indian Independence."

Demonstrations Against Public Men

If any public man holds and expresses any opinion upon a public question which is not acceptable to a party or if the public activities or policy of that person be considered detrimental to public interests by that party, persons belonging to that party have every right to criticize him in the public press or on the platform and hold demonstrations against him. But such criticism should be strictly non-violent and should in no case transgress the limits of civility and decency and the respect which is due to the personality and services of the men concerned. The occasion for demonstrations should have something to do with the public man's public opinions or public activities. For, a public man is not a public man every moment of his life and on all occasions.

These observations have had to be made owing to what a few ill-advised persons attempted to do at Burdwan and Bolpur on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's visit to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, at Santiniketan. It was a friendly and perfectly private visit, entirely unconnected with any public question. Yet there were futile attempts at a hostile demonstration. The Bolpur public in general had nothing to do with them. On the contrary, persons who had their dwelling houses or shops on either side of the road leading from the railway station to Santiniketan decorated the buildings more profusely than on, say, any Governor's visit.

The meeting between Rabindranath and Gandhiji was delightfully cordial. The latter expected to have due respite from politics during his stay at Santiniketan and had it. In fact the Poet playfully (100 per cent. politically-minded people require to be told that the question was put *playfully*) asked Mahatmaji whether he could not bid goodbye to politics altogether, whereupon Gandhiji equally humorously replied that if he gave up politics there would be no reason for his existence any longer. He felt quite at home at Santiniketan.

Demonstrations of a Violent and Wicked Character

In order to go to Malikanda, where this year's Gandhi Seva Sangh conference has been held, Mahatma Gandhi had to travel from Sealdah railway station to that place. According to newspaper reports several persons were seriously assaulted at the station or on the way to or from the station. The reports vary to some extent as to who the assailants and the injured

persons were. Not being eye-witnesses, we cannot say who they were. But whoever the aggressors were, it seems pretty clear that they professed adherence to some Congress party or other. It is deplorable that any persons interested or professing to be interested in any public cause should be guilty of ruffianly conduct. And it is still more deplorable that any one connected or professing to be connected with the Congress, whose creed includes adherence to truth and non-violence, should be guilty of rowdyism.

At Malikanda some persons were guilty of still more reprehensible conduct. There were not only assaults on many persons but incendiarism also. Such conduct cannot be too strongly condemned. All political parties and particularly their leaders should raise their voice against it, take effective steps for their prevention in future, and rid their parties of all black sheep and suspects.

Needless to say, we are not necessarily against non-violent demonstrations against any particular ism.

"Idol Shattered"

That Soviet Russia has been the idol of a considerable number of politically-minded people in India is an undeniable fact. How many of them still prostrate themselves before it cannot be definitely known, but some still continue to consider Stalin infallible and impeccable. Not so Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Russia's invasion of Finland has been a great shock to him. This has furnished the London *News Review* with the occasion for writing the following note under the caption "Idol Shattered":

> Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, once-wealthy Harrow-educated Indian nationalist and former leader of Congress, used to cast friendly glances at Soviet Russia, believing it to be the antithesis to Imperialist Britain.
>
> By last week the Pandit had changed his mind, but J. Stalin's Government cleverly suppressed the fact. Russia's *Pravda* (Truth) and radio gave great prominence to a Nehru statement on the basis of which it was alleged that the Indian leader supported the invasion of Finland.
>
> Comparison between the verbatim accounts printed in Indian newspapers and the expurgated Moscow version, however, revealed strange differences.
>
> Quoted by both was the passage : "The original Russian demands were not improper and there could be no doubt that Russia feared an invasion through Finland." Then followed a sentence deleted by Moscow : "Nevertheless the Russian invasion of Finland came as a great shock to me. It injures the Soviet cause."
>
> Continued Nehru (quoted by India and Moscow) : "When Poland, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia were invaded and when the Western war broke out there was not a ripple on the Lake of Geneva. Now all Powers rush to the Palace of the League."
>
> Cut out by Russia was his next sentence : "It is obvious that every country is acting in a shamelessly opportunist manner. The only lesson that India has to learn from the European situation today is to strengthen herself and learn to rely on her own resources."

Sri C. Rajagopalachariar Suggests Extension of Indian States' Rule

Hindusthan Standard of February 22 last prints the following news item from its "own correspondent":

> MADRAS, Feb. 20.
>
> The Indian States need not necessarily be liquidated but could be made to rule wider areas with adjoining British districts was the suggestion made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar who addressed the Loyala College. Kerala Samajam this evening. The Maharajas would then be looked upon as even the King of England in Britain.
>
> Rajaji added there is additional advantage for British districts in joining adjoining States in that they need not have an outside British Governor to rule them.
>
> If Mysore will give complete responsible Government to the people, I can induce South and North Canaras and South Canara in Bombay presidency up to Belgaum and even half of the Bellary district to join the Mysore State because by doing so there is nothing to lose and there cannot be any difficulty provided the States realised the spirit of the times.

There is much to be said in favour of Rajaji's contention. What he has said of Mysore may be said of some other States, too.

Discontinuance of Civil Disobedience in Mysore

It is stated that under Mahatma Gandhi's instructions the Mysore State Congress has discontinued civil disobedience in Mysore. The members of that body, it is said, decided to follow Gandhiji's instructions after five hours' discussion. Mahatmaji's reason for advising the discontinuance of civil disobedience is stated to be the lack of the requisite degree of non-violence and adherence to truth among the followers of the Congress in Mysore.

We have no knowledge of the state of things in Mysore. But it is to be regretted that in Bengal neither the Rightists as a body nor the Leftists as a body among Congresswalas appear to consider the observance of truth and non-violence of supreme importance, and it appears also from newspaper reports that the Congress in Bihar, C. P. and the United Provinces is not at all immaculate in this respect.

If Congresswalas in any of the other provinces be exceptionally non-violent and truthful, they are to be congratulated on their superiority.

Hyderabad Civil Service Recruitment by "Competition"

The Statesman has published the following from its Hyderabad correspondent:

HYDERABAD, Feb. 11.

The Hyderabad Civil Service Committee has selected eight candidates for the next Hyderabad Civil Service Class on the result of the competitive examination held here in December, 1939.

The following is the list of candidates: Messrs. Bryan Lawrence Oates, A. M. Abdus Salam Khan, Syed Darwesh Alam Quadri, Khaja Abdul Gafoor, Mirza Mukhtaruddin Ahmed, Kurshid Ali Khan, Syed Khaja Mohamed Moinuddin and Mehdi Ali.

About 90 per cent. of the inhabitants of Hyderabad are Hindus, and the Hindus of India are not inferior to any other community in passing examinations. But of the eight persons selected on the result of the Hyderabad Civil Service "*competitive*" examination, not one is a Hindu. Seven are Muslims and one may be a European or an Anglo-Indian. It must be a very peculiar competitive examination which completely eliminates every member of a community which is 90 per cent. strong and is known to be at least as intelligent as any other community.

Pandit Malaviya Wants Hindus To Defend Themselves

ALLAHABAD, Feb. 12.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya addressing the All-India Sanatan Dharma Conference held on the occasion of Magh Mela at Allahabad said that it was alleged that the police were not able to protect Hindus in recent riots at many places. He did not want that the military should be called out on every occasion. He would desire the people to be made able to defend themselves. The imposition of the Arms Act had emasculated the people of India. People were unable to protect themselves against those possessing arms. As other communities in India had formed organisations to safeguard their special interests, the Hindus also must organise civic guards to protect themselves. They might be called Mahabir Dals.—*U. P.*

Of course Hindus must defend themselves, and that at their own cost. But should they not in that case be exempted from paying that portion of the taxes which go to support the police and the army?

Lieut.-Col. Chopra on India's Medicinal Plants

It is an oft-repeated complaint that owing to war conditions many medicines imported from abroad cannot be had at present in the Indian market and some of those which are available are sold at an excessively high price. If these could be manufactured in India, their manufacture would serve a humanitarian purpose and would result in economic gain to the country as well. That many of them can be manufactured in our country is a commonly held belief which will be confirmed by what Lieut-Col. R. N. Chopra, retired Director of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, said in the course of his address in Madras to the National Institute of Science of India. Said he, in part:

India abounds in all kinds of food plants, spices, perfumes, timber, fibres, gums, etc., which have been known all over the world from ancient times. There are more than about 700 important fodder plants including about 260 species of valuable fodder grasses. It is not surprising, therefore, that plants containing active medicinal properties also grow abundantly within its bounds. More than 2,000 plants, out of a total of about 11,000 species found in India, are alleged to have medicinal properties of some description or other and have been enumerated in the literatures of indigenous medicine. Nearly, three-fourths of the drugs mentioned in the British and other Pharmacopoeias grow here in a state of nature and others can be easily grown. Indeed, this country is a veritable emporium of drugs. The families to which the larger numbers of medicinal plants belong are Leguminosae, Compositae, Labiatae, Euphorbiaceae, Rubiaceae, Rosaceae, Gramineae, Liliaceae, Rutaceae, Ranunculaceae, Umbelliferae, Cucutbitaceae, Solanaceae, Apocynaceae and Malvaceae.

It stands to reason that all these 2,000 old plants cannot have the wonderful virtues attributed to them but it is believed that there are some of these which might rightly deserve the reputation they have earned as cures. It was to find out what these were that their study was first begun in the early part of the last century. Although many workers including Jones, Ainslie, Roxburgh, O'Shaughnessy, Moodeen, Sheriff, Dymock, Watt, Kirtikar and Basu and others carried out laborious investigations, the pharmacology of most of the indigenous remedies remained an unexplored field till recent years.

Continuing Col. Chopra observed:

Medicine is intimately related to chemistry and experimental work on the pharmacological side can only be carried out in laboratories properly equipped with modern appliances. None of these were available in this country till the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine was established in 1921. Then for the first time proper collaboration between chemists, botanists and pharmacologists was rendered possible, while arrangements for clinical trials of the drugs were made by the establishment of the Carmichael Hospital for Tropical Diseases. Work on medicinal plants was thus started by my colleagues and myself and our first main objective was to make India self-supporting by enabling her to utilize drugs produced in the country and by manufacturing them in a form suitable for administration. There are a number of drugs of established therapeutic value which are in use in the pharmacopoeias of different countries. The majority of these grow wild in great profusion in many parts of India and a certain

number are even cultivated. If these resources could be utilized and the finished products manufactured treatment of many diseases could be brought within the means of the Indian masses whose economic condition is unfortunately of a very low order.

The Institutes for Research and the factories for manufacturing medicines should have well-equipped laboratories as well as libraries containing such standard works as Basu and Kirtikar's *Indian Medicinal Plants.*

Recently Sir N. N. Sircar, late Law Member to the Government of India, performed the opening ceremony of the exhibition of Ayurvedic drugs at the newly built "Jabakusum House" of Messrs. C. K. Sen & Co. That firm is in a position to have a laboratory and a library of the kind referred to above.

Indian Drug Industry Scheme for Madras

It is said that a scheme for research into the indigenous drugs of India with special reference to their toxicology has been prepared for Madras and will be given effect to shortly.

The programme of work provides a scientific study of indigenous drugs of reputed efficiency and poisonous plants and of those likely to prove of therapeutic use in veterinary practice, assessing their value and standardising the dose for large animals, and the examination of the pharmacopical drugs and their allied species growing in India which are used in veterinary practice, in order to ascertain the possibility of employing them in place of imported drugs.

The scheme has been sanctioned by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research which has allocated for it Rs. 44,000 spread over a period of three years.

Arrangements have also been made whereby the Director of Veterinary Services, Madras, would investigate plant poisoning, utilizing his own staff and the Veterinary Investigation Officer, Madras. In the event of any plants suspected of causing poisoning in animals being detected, he would communicate with Col. Chopra of the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, who is in charge of the Council's scheme for research on the systematic cultivation of medicinal plants and study of fish poisons, and obtain a report about their identity.

Perhaps the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has provided adequate amounts for provinces other than Madras also. If not, it should do so forthwith.

Indian States, at least the more prosperous among them, should have schemes like that of Madras and give effect to them.

It is to be noted that the Madras scheme lays stress on the requirements of the veterinary department—perhaps because the scheme is to be financed by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. But agriculture cannot be carried on by cattle alone. Healthy and strong human beings are at least equally necessary. So either the above-mentioned Council or some other official body should finance medicinal research schemes with particular reference to the needs of human beings.

Patriotic and Generous Profits Made By Jute Mills

CALCUTTA, Feb. 18.

Eleven and a half crores of rupees worth of sandbags and other jute products have been sold by Bengal Mills to the British and Empire Governments in fulfilment of their war requirements.

This was revealed by Mr. P. S. MacDonald in his presidential speech at the annual general meeting of the Indian Jute Mills Association.

"I think the mills have every reason to congratulate themselves" Mr. MacDonald said, "on the generous and patriotic manner in which they have met the British Government in matters of acceptance and execution of the various orders."—*A. P.*

Most of the Bengal Jute Mills are owned and managed by Britishers. So their supply of sandbags and other jute products is patriotic from the British point of view, though it is a particularly paying kind of patriotism. But where does the generosity come in ? To call oneself generous for and after making a trifling profit of a few crores is delicious self-praise.

Freedom of the Press

Official advocates of restrictive and repressive legislation and measures directed against the Press have made us familiar with the plea that they do not object to 'honest' criticism and publication of 'accurate' news required in the public interest. But the humour of the situation has always lain in the fact that it is these worthies who are to be the sole judges of what constitutes *honest* criticism, what is *true* news and the publication of what *is in the public* interest ! The conductors of newspapers had hitherto to do their duty as they best could in spite of bureaucratic attempts to gag the Press or restrict its freedom.

We are now faced with a menace to the liberty of the press coming from some non-official quarters. Some newspapers have been threatened with boycott. The grounds are substantially the same as the bureaucratic case against the liberty of the press.

We are emphatically against this anti-democratic, anti-national and really fascist move. The papers against which it is directed should stand up against it manfully.

We support the statement which Sj. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, editor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika,* Sj. Dhirendranath Sen, editor, *Hindusthan Standard,* Sj. Makhan Lal Sen, Editor, *Bharat,* Sj. Janaki Jiban Ghosh, editor, *Advance,* Sj.

Pratap Chandra Guha Ray, editor, *Matribhumi*, and Sj. Vivekananda Mukherji, editor, *Jugantar*, have issued on the subject.

The newspapers represented by these editors are not and do not pretend to be above criticism, as in fact no newspaper or periodical is. They are prepared for criticism. But they naturally object to being suppressed or to being coerced into conformity with views which they do not share.

The statement of the editors begins thus :

Our attention has been drawn to a speech made by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose at a public meeting held at Sradhananda Park on Saturday last. The meeting was organised in order that Sj. Bose might be enabled to clarify the issues involved in the unfortunate controversy between him and the Congress Working Committee. In the course of that speech Sj. Bose felt constrained to make certain observations on the nationalist press in Bengal. Some of those observations have thus been reported in *Hindusthan Standard* of Sunday last.

"Sj. Bose said that some of the so-called nationalist newspapers were carrying on a misleading propaganda against them by publishing half-truths and untruths and he would leave it to the audience to deal with them in the manner they liked to do. (Cries of 'boycott those papers' from several members of the audience). They were carrying on propaganda against public opinion by means fair or foul (Cries of 'Shame,' 'Boycott'). Sj. Bose thought that it would do if they gave a warning to these papers (a voice : 'that has been done many times before'). Sj. Bose wanted to know from the audience which papers in their opinion were doing the greatest mischief (cries of *Jugantar, Amrita Bazar*)......He thought a warning should go to these papers (voices from the audience : 'No, we want boycott'). In that case, enquired Sj. Bose, which paper they wanted to boycott (voices from the audience: *Jugantar, Amrita Bazar, Bharat*)......Sj. Bose said, in his opinion, they should start by dealing with one such newspaper first. So long as that paper did not change its present attitude, the boycott would continue."

We take it that *Hindusthan Standard* has done Sj. Bose no injustice by mis-reporting him. So far as we are aware the summary of Sj. Bose's speech quoted above has not yet been contradicted. On the other hand, we are told that Sj. Bose mentioned *Advance* and *Matribhumi* also..

The group of papers against which Subhas Babu did not express displeasure and which he did not want to be boycotted includes the *Hindusthan Standard*. It is noteworthy that its editor felt it to be his duty to sign the statement of the other editors in the interest of the freedom of the press. In consequence he has been deprived of his editorship, which he held from the very foundation of the paper. He has lost his job but has kept his conscience unsullied and unsold.

"Hindusthan Standard" Without Editorials

CALCUTTA, Feb. 21.

All editorial articles for the "Hindusthan Standard," a local English daily, must henceforth be submitted to the Special Press Advisor, Calcutta, for scrutiny before they are published.

This order has been served on the editor of the paper by the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Home Department, under the Defence of India rules. The Order will be in force for 3 months.—*A. P. I.*

In consequence of this order, the conductors of the paper have rightly resolved not to publish any editorials for three months.

The Defence of India rules are sufficiently vague and elastic to enable the Bengal ministry to pass the above-mentioned order.

There was a debate on the subject in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on an adjournment motion, which was *of course* defeated. The reasons officially given during the debate in justification of the order do not show that the paper had written anything which made or tended to make it difficult or impossible to defend India. The articles complained of had nothing to do with defence.

Steps had been previously taken under the Defence of India rules against some other papers, for publishing editorials which had nothing to do with Defence. The rules have come very handy for certain purposes of the Bengal ministry.

"Britain No Longer Owns An Empire"

LONDON, Feb. 21.

Sir Norman Angell told the Overseas League, London, today, that Britain no longer owns an empire.

The empire he added, was being brought to an end and resolved into an alliance of independent States.

No sensible person believed, he said, that India was going to be denied an independent status for ever. We would state "Don't believe this myth that we own a quarter of the earth. We have surrendered the empire."

To maintain peace after the war Britain should begin by offering France complete guarantees and then proceed in the basis of building up a real society of nations, he concluded.

Sir Norman is not a spokesman of either the British Government or of British imperialists.

His observations are rather too previous. Britain continues to hold and treat India and Indians as her property. The empire is not being brought to an end in this country. When we shall really be independent, Sir Norman's

dictum will be acknowledged as true so far as India is concerned.

Of course, no sensible person believes that India is going to remain without independence *for ever*. If Britain does not agree, India will become independent in spite of the British desire and endeavours to the contrary. And when Britain sees that India is strong enough to win independence, she will *generously* **grant** freedom to this country.

It may be a myth that Britishers own exactly a quarter of the earth. But they certainly think that they own at least India and they behave accordingly. They have *not* surrendered the empire.

"Hindi" Made Optional In Madras Schools

MADRAS, Feb. 21.

Hindi which is now being taught in this Province compulsorily in the first three forms has been made by the Madras Government an optional subject for forms one to six and for the secondary School Leaving Certificate Examination.

The Government order states that the Government are well aware that the policy of compulsion has aroused opposition and resentment amongst a considerable section of the public and they are also satisfied that the compulsory teaching of Hindi in forms one to three only without any examination being subsequently held in the subject is not likely to result in any satisfactory knowledge of this language being retained by the students.

The Government nevertheless consider that the teaching of Hindi as an optional subject should not only be retained, but its extension in forms four to six of secondary schools as an optional language for the secondary School Leaving Certificate Examination should be encouraged and that in such forms, it should be made an examination subject in all the schools in which it is adopted.

The Government hold the view that a knowledge of this language will certainly be of great assistance to the inhabitants of the Madras Province in facilitating intercourse with those areas in India where Hindi is spoken. Orders will be issued at once to those schools in which Hindi is now being taught compulsorily, that the attendance at these classes is to be optional and not compulsory.—*A.P.I.*

It is to be noted that the Madras Government order relates to the teaching of "Hindi." The language is not called "Hindustani." If the language ordered by the Congress Government to be taught compulsorily had been Hindustani, which is practically Urdu, the Muslim League party in the Central Legislature would not have rejoiced, as they have done, at the repeal or modification of the Congress Government's order; they would then have protested against the step. It is the blow to Hindi, as they consider it, that has pleased them.

In his comments on the Government order Sri C. Rajagopalachariar starts by calling the language Hindi but calls it Hindustani afterwards throughout:

MADRAS, Feb. 21.

I cannot both be out of office and at the same time quarrel with what is being done in our absence, declared Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, commenting on the Madras Gvernment's order making the study of Hindi optional instead of compulsory as hitherto.

Mr. Rajagopalachari expressed the hope that all the boys in the province would show their good sense by taking Hindustani instruction, which had now been left to their choice.

Mr. Rajagopalachari added, "I may say my appeal has the support of His Excellency the Governor who says that in the present order of things in India, a knowledge of Hindustani will certainly be of great assistance to the inhabitants of the Madras Presidency in facilitating intercourse with those areas in which Hindustani is spoken."

The ex-Premier, however, does not approve the idea of making Hindustani optional second language, as this would mean that the students would have to give up the language of the region to which they belong in order that they might take up the study of Hindustani as a second language. "This is a very wrong thing to do" he said, adding "I am wholly against a boy neglecting his own regional language in order to have the advantage of knowing Hindustani. Nor can I agree to Hindustani being made an alternative to other subjects of importance such as Natural Science, Algebra, etc."

Mr. Rajagopalachari thought that instruction in Hindustani in the first three forms should be quite enough to give an adequate working knowledge of Hindustani, and it might be hoped that no one would suffer by reason of this new order. "I shall not go into the politics behind the present order, if any," concluded Mr. Rajagopalachari.—*A. P. I.*

If any one fancies that Hindi and Hindustani are synonymous words, he should read Professor Murlidhar's article in this issue of *The Modern Review.*

Inexpensive Device To Get Publicity

In our younger days there were people who appeared to think that the best way to air their views and obtain publicity for them was to publish a newspaper or a periodical of their own with all the attendant expenditure and risk, and there may still be some survivors or intellectual heirs of those dear delightful old-fashioned folk. But the prevailing device adopted in our more go-ahead days is less expensive and risky. It is, to become known as a, self-styled or other-styled, leader of some sort and persuade some news agency or other to believe that he is one. Then, if he takes to stump speaking, his orations will be reported ad libitum and if he issues yard-long statements every day, they will be printed in the papers

ever hungry for "copy," though there may be readers, we presume, who consider these lucubrations rather as inflictions than as delightful titbits.

Readers of newspapers in Germany and Italy are more fortunate in this respect. There is only one bore in Germany and one in Italy to issue statements and spout out harangues, long or short, others having been suppressed by merciful Hitler and considerate Mussolini respectively.

We presume, if Subhas Babu's latest stunt were to boycott all statement-spinning and harangue-howling bores except one per province licensed for the purpose, he would have very many supporters.

Scottish Church College Closed Until Further Notice

The Principal of the Scottish Church College has issued the following to the press:

"On account of the fact that a large number of students of the Scottish Church College under the leadership of the members of the Executive Committee of the Students' Union held a meeting at 1 P.M. on Tuesday in the College hall in connection with the recent arrest of students, after having been refused permission by the Principal and the governing body of the College to hold such a meeting within the College premises and in defiance of their orders the College will remain closed until further notice.

College students who have come of age have the citizen's right of free assembly and free speech like other adult citizens. But they are entitled to exercise it in public places, in places or buildings belonging to them, and in other buildings or places whose proprietors or lawful occupants permit them to use them for the purpose, but not otherwise.

Without entering into details, which may expand and vary from day to day, this is our view of such affairs.

We shall be glad if a settlement be arrived at without sacrifice of any principles to any extent.

Poles Deported to Germany To Do Forced Labour

PARIS, Feb. 23.

New mass deportations of Poles to the Reich are openly admitted by the German newspaper "Nowy Kurjer Warszawski" published in Polish in Warsaw. Since February 12 there have been some ten trains daily carrying deportees to Germany where they have to do forced labour.—*Reuter.*

This is in keeping with the other atrocities perpetrated by Nazi Germany.

The Bengal Budget

Along with the rest of British India Bengal struggled to obtain Swaraj, including provincial autonomy. She worked for bread but has got tons of stones. Popular government has for its ultimate object the material, intellectual and moral advancement of the people. Provincial autonomy has not enabled Bengal to make any progress in these directions. What she has got is a more costly and wasteful ministry than before and a legislature which is far more expensive than its predecessors. And there is repression to boot, and constant communal bickerings and worse.

For decades, if not generations, Bengal has suffered from the exactions of the Central Government, which takes away a larger portion of the revenues raised from Bengal than from any other province. In recent years there has been some improvement in this respect, Bengal being allowed to keep a little more of her revenues for her own use than before, though full justice to Bengal's claims has not been done.

But in spite of somewhat ampler financial resources than before, we had fresh taxation imposed by the "autonomous" ministry, and we are threatened with further taxation to cover the deficit in the budget presented last month by the acting finance minister. The people of Bengal are not rolling in wealth. That their province is exploited by outsiders of all sorts and that all other peoples except the Bengalis make money in Bengal, as Lord Sinha once observed, may be entirely the fault of the Bengalis, as it certainly is to a great extent. But the fact cannot be disputed that their material condition is very unsatisfactory. The proposal to tax such a people cannot but be condemned. And it has been attacked from many sides. Retrenchment ought to have been proposed and effected in all directions before thinking of fresh taxation. This has not been done, though there is ample room for curtailment of wasteful, excessive and unnecessary expenditure.

The Bengal Budget is open to just and very severe criticism of various kinds. But we have no desire to recapitulate what is being said against it by both Hindus and Muslims (including ministerialists) in the Bengal Legislature, nor add anything of our own. We will refer here only to part of the speech of Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, ex-Finance Minister of Bengal, as he has had authoritative and inside knowledge of such matters.

He knew the difficulties under which the present Government worked and therefore whatever criticisms he would offer he would not offer in a light or capricious mood. As a matter of fact he knew too well the limitations and handicaps that the Government had. Generally it was the Finance Minister who was the

target for all attacks but he knew from the little experience he had what little influence the Finance Minister exerted in the formulation of the budget. As regards the demands the amount of grants and their expenditure or what item should have precedence —all those things were settled by the Cabinet and the Finance Minister's duty was only to tender advice. Under those circumstances he had every sympathy for his erstwhile colleague Hon. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy who must have to race against time and work under the shadow of a great bereavement for which he had the sympathy of the speaker.

The foremost difficulty of the Government was that even if the Government had made certain grants and House voted for them they might be kept in abeyance if the party supporting the Government so chose. Among such items as had been voted for by the House he could refer to the instance of the Visva-bharati. The grant to the Institution was not only omitted from this year's budget but the amount voted for Visva-bharati last year had not yet been paid. Not only the Visva-bharati grant, even the amount of grant made to Sriniketan for its developing cottage industry was stopped by the party. That showed that even if the Government and the Ministers wanted to help the nation-building department and if the party in power thought differently the views of the party would prevail against that of the former.

Sj. Sarker gave many instances of provisions in the budget which were not fully utilized.

For instance, the amount of five lakhs of rupees in regard to the Scheduled Caste education, two lakhs of rupees for the anti-malarial scheme, one-and-a-half lakhs for reorganization of rural public health units, which although were voted by the House were only partially spent and were carried from year to year. How very unnecessary, said he, it was to provide for expenditure without any well-conceived plan was writ large over the whole budget. The most typical of such provision was evident in the case of setting up a waterways board. In the year of 1937-38 a sum of Rs. 1,25,000 was provided but nothing was spent. Next year the sum provided for the same purpose was Rs. 2,50,000 and again nothing of it was spent. The amount was still again provided in the next budget and nothing was spent. The provision has, however, disappeared from the present budget.

In the prevailing atmosphere, said Mr. Sarker, where leadership and applause were assured merely by making successful appeals to communal feelings and passions or upholding minimum efficiency as the criterion or reiterating extremist slogans, the temptation to resort to these easier methods rather than the arduous and uncertain method of recognition through constructive work was perhaps too overpowering.

Mahatma Gandhi on the Communal Decision

Mahatma Gandhi has contributed the following article on the Communal Decision to *Harijan* of February 24 :

During my brief stay in Bengal I have been overwhelmed with questions on the communal decision. I have been told that neither the Working Committee nor I have pronounced decisive opinion on it. The Working Committee's decision is written in its records and has been published. It has neither accepted nor rejected the decision. There can be neither acceptance nor rejection of an imposed thing. A prisoner is not required to accept the sentence pronounced against him. His rejection would be meaningless. It would soon find himself undeceived. The communal decision has been imposed upon India not for her own good but for strengthening the British imperial hold on India. The Working Committee has, therefore, as much accepted and as much rejected the decision as Bengal has. There is this difference, however, that the Working Committee has not agitated against it like Bengal.

For me, I detest the decision, it has benefited no single party in India but the British. If the Muslims flatter themselves with the belief that they have profited by it, they will soon find that they were sadly mistaken. If I could alter the decision and make it what it should be, I should do so this very moment. But I have no such power. The power can only come if there is unity.

Bengal is the most glaring instance of injustice. I can conceive of no just reason for putting the wedge of the tremendous European vote between the two major communities. Their number is insignificant. Their interest is protected by the British bayonet. Why should that interest have added strength given to it by its introduction in the legislature ?

I can understand its representation without vote so as to enable it to put its case before the legislature. So long as it has the protection of the British bayonet, its over-representation on the Legislature is a wholly unjust imposition. The whole face of the Bengal Legislature would be changed if the European vote was withdrawn. Today that Legislature is not wholly responsible to the people, the real voters. The European Bloc gives peace neither to the Muslims nor the Hindus.

The Muslim Ministers may flatter themselves with the belief that they are safe with the European vote. They may be safe as individuals, but the national interest cannot be safe if a body of persons, who are numerically insignificant, are given an artificially decisive voting strength in a democratic assembly. It deprives the latter of its democratic character.

Thus the evil contained in the decision I know. But I do not know how to deal with it except by patient endeavour. This I do know that there can be no real Swaraj so long as that decision stands. Bengal is a glaring instance of the inequity. Assam is another. A critical examination of the decision would show that it has very little to recommend itself from the national standpoint. It can be altered either by the British Government redressing the wrong or by successful rebellion. I was going to add by mutual agreement. But that seems an impossibility even if Hindus and Muslims agreed. Europeans have also to agree and they have to agree to self-abnegation—an event unknown in politics. If there was self-abnegation, there would be no European interest in India which is hostile to the national interest. He will be a bold man who will assert and hope to prove that there was in India no European interest hostile to the nation.

What Gandhiji had to say he has said with characteristic brevity and cogency. No-

thing need or can be added to make his personal detestation and condemnation of the Communal Decision plainer.

As regards the Congress Working Committee's attitude Mahatmaji says that it has "as much accepted and as much rejected the decision as Bengal has. There is this difference, however, that the Working Committee has not agitated against it like Bengal." There is this one thing to add in favour of the Working Committee that it permitted or allowed the Congress Nationalist party of Bengal to agitate against the Decision *on National* grounds. And there is another thing to add, which goes against the Working Committee, that it approved of and permitted Congressmen to accept office for working the provincial part of the constitution giving effect to the provincial part of the Decision. *This was real and unequivocal acceptance of the provincial part of the Communal Decision by the Congress Working Committee during the incumbency of the Congress Ministries.*

Mahatmaji is perfectly right in observing that, even if Hindus and Muslims agreed, the Decision would not be scrapped; for its scrapping "Europeans" also would have to agree. But Hindu-Muslim agreement would have this value that it would deprive the "Europeans" and the British Government of the plea and excuse that the *raison d'etre* of the Decision is Hindu-Muslim disagreement.

As for "European" self-abnegation, it is undoubtedly improbable, but it is not absolutely impossible.

One of the means by which, according to Gandhiji, the Communal Decision can be got rid of, is rebellion. On this point the Congress Nationalist party observes in their statement on Gandhiji's article that, if, as Gandhiji thinks, Swaraj can be won without rebellion, the Communal Decision also can be got rid of without rebellion.

A Statement on Liberty of the Press & Free Expression of Opinion

Mr. Nishith Chandra Sen, Mayor of Calcutta, Acharya Sir P. C. Ray, Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, Mr. Promatha Nath Banerjee, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji have issued the following statement to the Press :

"For several months past an organized attempt has been made in Bengal to curb the civil liberties of the people by various methods. The liberty of the press and freedom of expression of opinion constitute the most elementary civil rights and any attack on them should be resisted. It is extremely unfortunate that in these extraordinary circumstances a controversy should arise as to the freedom of the press between different sections of public opinion who are agreed on the sanctity of civil liberties. We are not concerned with the differences that have in recent months manifested themselves between different wings of the Indian National Congress. All that we can say is that in the present national emergency these differences should be removed or at least minimised.

"Whether there are differences or not, there can be no question as to the necessity for the freedom of expression of opinion on the problems of the day. We may agree to, or differ from, the views now and then expressed by the nationalist press on any particular question, but we think it is unfair that an attempt should be made by any section of the public to gag any particular newspaper or terrorise it into a surrender of its judgment or boycott it. Should the present atmosphere of strife and mutual hatred be allowed to continue there would be an end of the freedom of the press and, indeed, of all civil liberties which all of us hold dear. We hope that in the heat of the hour we shall not so forget ourselves that any of us should be party to the undermining of the elementary decencies of social and corporate life."—*A. P.*

"Grant" to Visva-bharati University

United Press understands that the Ministerial Coalition Party at a recent meeting recommended to the Bengal Government to make a grant of Rs. 25,000 to the Visva-bharati University.

Will this "grant" be really available, or merely remain on paper ?

Anti-Repression Day in Calcutta

Public meetings in observance of the Anti-Repression Day were held in the evening of the 24th February last in various places in Calcutta and suburbs and the mofussil, when the repressive policy of the Government of Bengal was strongly condemned by different speakers.

One of such meetings was addressed by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose at Rash Bagan, Beliaghata. The resolution adopted some time back at the Sraddhananda Park, urging the Bengal Ministry to restore the 'status quo' which existed in the country prior to September, 1939, was read and adopted again unanimously.

Sj. Bose said that on the plea of war emergency ordinance was promulgated in all the provinces of India. But the repressive policy which was being pursued here since September was not found in any other province. It was undoubtedly a matter of regret and shame to the Government of Bengal that it had taken such action. Sj. Bose said that in the course of a talk with the Minister-in-charge of Law and Order of this province he explained the panicky situation caused by the repressive policy of the Bengal Government and said that they might at least follow other provinces in the application of Ordinances in this province. But their appeals went in vain.

That was why they were holding meetings to register their protest against the policy of repression. The other day at the Sraddhananda Park the demand which they had made to the Government of Bengal in the course of a resolution was a modest one. They only wanted back the 'status quo' which existed in the country before September, 1939. Sj. Bose hoped the Government would find their way to conceding it and there would be no need to start Satyagraha over this matter.

AT HAZRA PARK

At the meeting held at the Hazra Park, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose condemned the repressive policy of the Bengal Government. He said that nothing had happened in this province to warrant the adoption of such measures by the Government. He also referred to his speech on the floor of the Bengal Legislative Assembly when he explained his views and opinions on the repressive policy of the Government. Next referring to Satyagraha movement, Sj. Bose said that the peasants and labourers were prepared for the struggle. The educated section also had got to be prepared for the same.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Hindu-Muslim Round Table Conference in Calcutta

The following statement has been issued through the "United Press" regarding the Round Table Conference convened by the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister.

The Conference met at 3-30 P. M. on the 23rd February last at the Writers' Buildings in front of the Chief Minister's room. The following persons were present :

1. The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, 2. The Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin, 3. The Hon'ble Nawab Musharruf Hussain, 4. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, 5. The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, 6. Mr. N. R. Sarker, 7. The Hon'ble Sir B. P. Singh Roy, 8. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji, 9. Dr. B. C. Roy 10. Mr. Sarat C. Bose, 11. Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerji, 12. Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, 13. Sir M. N. Mukherji, 14. Mr. S. N. Banerji, 15. Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, 16. The Hon'ble Mr. P. D. Raikut, 17. The Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Mullick, 18. Sir Badridas Goenka, 19. Padamraj Jain, 20. Mr. Aswini C. Ghose, 21. Raja B. N. Sinha Bahadur of Nasipur, 22. Hemendra Prosad Ghose, 23. Mr. Anukul Chandra Das, 24. Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal, 25. Mr. N. K. Basu, 26. Mr. Pulin Behari Mullick, 27. Mr. N. C. Chatterji, 28. The Hon'ble Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar, 29. The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, 30. Mr. Fazlur Rahman, 31. Mr. Hamidul Huq Choudhury, 32. Mr. K. Shahabuddin, 33. Mr. A. R. Siddique, 34. Khan Saheb Hamilduddin Ahmed, 35. Khan Bahadur M. A. Momen, 36. Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali and Mr. Khairul Anam.

Apologies were received from Mr. J. N. Basu for his inability to attend owing to previous engagement. In opening the conference the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq said as follows :

"It is to me a matter of the sincerest pleasure, and may I add, of legitimate pride that I am privileged to welcome you to this conference this afternoon. It was in a moment of deep and anxious thought about the prevailing political situation in Bengal that I was led to consult my esteemed friend Mr. B. C. Chatterjee and to decide upon holding a conference such as this. I felt something like an irresistible urge to appeal to my countrymen of all caste and creed to ponder over the seriousness of the situation which has arisen in this province in consequence of the communal controversies which unhappily have become a prominent factor in our political life, and which are not only detrimental to the political advancement of India as a whole but also a very serious handicap to the progress and prosperity of this country from every possible point of view. I felt, therefore, that the time had come when we should strive ceaselessly for peace and amity in order that we might co-ordinate our efforts to enable this common motherland of ours to attain her fullest destiny.

"I do not propose to detain you with mere phrases and platitudes. I hope I have been able to provide an opportunity for political leaders of all shades of opinion to sit round a table with a view to discussing the various points of differences that may exist between the two major communities of this province and to find out a lasting solution of all differences and of creating an atmosphere which will make a healthy development and progress of the country possible. I would appeal to you all to place all the cards on the table, without reserve, and approach the problem with a proper spirit with the only objective of solving them in a permanent way. I hope that we shall now have a heart to heart talk and that with our combined, determined and sincere efforts it would not be impossible to achieve the object which we have in view."

Several members addressed the conference and it was adjourned at the *Magrib* prayer time and it was also decided that further discussion should be resumed on a date and at a place to be specified later. The discussions took place in an atmosphere of perfect amity and friendship.

It will not be proper to make any comment in anticipation of the result of the Conference.

Oxford D. Litt. For Rabindranath Tagore

LONDON, Feb. 23.

Oxford University is to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. —*Reuter.*

Oxford University is qualifying for the role of Rip Van Winkle.

Course in Sericulture in Mysore University

The University of Mysore has resolved to introduce post-secondary diploma course in Sericulture from the year 1940. At present no diploma in Sericulture is given by any University in India.

It may be noted that to effect improvements in the Sericultural industry, the Government of Mysore have maintained a separate

department on which last year alone the Government spent over two lakhs of rupees.

George Bernard Shaw on India's Demand

To the questionnaire on Indian problems sent on the occasion of the "Independence Day" by the executive committee of the Indian Swarajya League, London, to important leading personalities of England, the following reply was received from George Bernard Shaw :

Question : If Britain is fighting for democracy and freedom, how is the same principle to be applied to India ?

Answer: Presumably by the establishment in India of Dominion Home Rule, as in Ireland.

Q. : India demands the right now and immediately to frame her own constitution through a Constituent Assembly based on adult universal franchise.

A. : The demand shows remarkable confidence in the existence of adult universal wisdom and political sagacity in India. Its results in the countries that have tried are not re-assuring.

Q. India feels that in case Britain does not accept the right of India to self-determination immediately, she will regard the present war as being solely pursued for imperialistic aims.

A. : In that case India will have to consider calmly how far Britain's "imperialistic" aims may be useful to India. India must be prepared to co-operate with any State, Imperialist or Communist, which is for the moment furthering her aims, just a monarchial England is co-operating with Republican France.

The Indian people must be prepared for startling curtailments of their personal liberties under Dominion Home Rule. In Eire five military officers can take any Irish citizen and have him shot by a court martial, and any police chief constable can enter a house and seize the furniture unless the occupier can prove that he has not stolen it—that is, prove a negative. Such things were impossible under British rule.

Let India be free and independent first and there will be time enough to prepare ourselves for curtailment of personal liberties, which will not be a new experience for those who have had experience of real and virtual martial law regimes.

"Anti-Compromise" Move

The Congress demand, so far as Congress resolutions and the statements and utterances of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress "High Command" are concerned, is for complete independence. At the same time, it cannot be said that there are no signs to show that as a first step the "substance of independence" would not be acceptable to them if offered by the British Government. But it is quite clear that they are positively and emphatically against any compromise in the matter of self-determination. Even if the "substance of independence" be acceptable to them, it must not be imposed on them by the British Government. What they want and what they will accept is to be determined by them alone.

This may be a rather nice distinction, but this is how matters stand, as we understand them. Such being the case, it cannot be said that the efforts being made by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and those who hold opinions similar to his to prevent what they think would be a compromise, are quite unnecessary. These efforts may at least help the Rightists to remain as unbending as may be practicable in the circumstances.

"Adhikan-tu na doshāya" is a Sanskrit adage which may be paraphrased, "To do something superfluous is not an offence." So, even if Subhas Babu's endeavours to prevent a compromise be unnecessary, they are not an offence.

Gandhiji's Tribute to Subhas Babu

A correspondent had asked Gandhiji the following question :

"Is not Subhas Babu right when he ascribes to the High Command, including of course you, the reformist and the liberal tendency ?"

Gandhiji's good-humoured reply, as it appeared in *Harijan*, was as follows :

"Of course he is right. Dadabhai was a great reformist. Gokhale was a great liberal, and so was Pherozeshah Mehta, the uncrowned king of the Bombay Presidency. So too was Surendranath Banerjee. They were in their days the nation's tribunes. We are their heirs. We would not have been if they had not been. (What Subhas Babu in his impatience to go forward forgets is that it is possible for men like me to compete with him in the love of the land in spite of our having reformist and liberal tendencies.) But I have told him he has youth before him and he must have the dash of youth. He is not held down by me or anybody else. He is not the man to be so held. It is his own prudence that holds him. And in that way he is as much reformist and liberal as I am. Only I with my age know it, and he in his youth is blind to the good that is in him. Let my correspondents rest assured that, in spite of our different outlooks and in spite of the Congress ban on him, when he leads in non-violent battle they will find me following him, as I shall find him following me, if I overtake him. But I must live in the hope that we shall gain our common end without another fight."

"Bengal Ministry and the Hindus of Bengal, Part I"

This is the name of a publication of the publicity department of the Bengal Government in which the Bengal Ministry have pub-

lished their replies to most of the "18 different charges" brought forward in support of a resolution passed at the annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, on the 30th December, 1939, on the motion of Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee, protesting against what it described as "the communal and reactionary policy of the present Ministry in Bengal in its various legislative enactments and administrative measures." It is stated in the pamphlet that detailed information is being collected regarding the remaining allegations or charges.

The public will naturally expect to hear what the Hindu Mahasabha authorities in general and Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee in particular have to say regarding the replies given by the Bengal Ministry.

"Seva-brata" Sasipada Banerjee Centenary

Sasipada Banerjee, whose title prefixed to his name means "one devoted to the service of man," never acquired great fame or celebrity. Nevertheless, he was one of the Worthies of our country. He took as his mission in life the promotion of the spiritual, moral, intellectual and material welfare of labourers and child-widows. He was a man of small means but of firm resolve and great energy and activity.

As early as 1866, at the age of 26, he, a resident of Baranagore, a suburb of Calcutta, turned his attention to the work of promoting the welfare of the labouring classes in the local mills and founded a night-school for them. By 1870 several workingmen's institutes, a workingmen's club and an Anna savings bank for promoting thrift among the labourers had been founded. This was before any savings bank had been founded by Government, to whom Sasipada, a Postal officer, supplied a scheme for such banks. He arranged excursion parties for the mill-hands. He also inaugurated and carried on among them temperance work, educational work and the delivery of religious discourses for their benefit. He also founded and conducted for years an illustrated monthly journal called *Bharat Sramajivi* ("The Indian Labourer"), which was the first Indian Labour Journal and attained a monthly circulation of 15,000 copies. In this journal appeared the first workingmen's poem in the Bengali language by Sivanath Bhattacharya (known later as Pandit Sivanath Sastri), "Utho Jāgo, Sramajīvī Bhāi" (Rise, Awake, My Labourer Brother). As the result of Sasipada's temperance work many public libraries were started in the place of public drinking booths. He tried to obtain better wages and shorter hours of work for the labourers.

For religious discourses he established the Sadharan Dharma Sabha in 1873, in connection with which teachers of different religions delivered addresses from their own points of view. He thus anticipated the work of the Chicago Parliament of Religions by twenty years. He also tried to promote religious harmony, which the present-day World Fellowship of Faiths has as one of its objects.

When he went to England with his wife (the first Indian lady to cross the ocean) in 1870, he studied the condition of the working class and women there, and tried to get a Labour Act passed for India.

For the welfare of child-widows he founded his Hindu Widows' Home in 1877. There the widows received general education as well some industrial education to enable them to become economically independent. Their spiritual and moral education was also attended to. He helped many girl widows to marry and have happy homes.

The "Devālaya" founded and provided with a home by him as the meeting ground of men of all faiths is carrying on its work.

The Indianness of the late Lord Sinha

On the occasion of unveiling a portrait of the late Lord Sinha in the Saraswati School, Sir N. N. Sircar, who knew him well, tried to remove the impression that Sinha was a thoroughly Anglicized person. The speaker said that during the last years of his life Lord Sinha read very assiduously the old literature of the country, spending laborious hours day after day in going through a Bengali translation of the Mahābhārata.

We may mention another fact. Among some other eminent Indians Rabindranath Tagore never writes personal letters to his Bengali friends or acquaintances except in Bengali, receiving replies from them in the same language. When Lord Sinha wrote any letter to Rabindranath he did so in Bengali, writing a neat hand.

H. G. Wells' Broadcast for India

In the course of his special broadcast for India Mr. H. G. Wells says:

> I support my Government in this war, wholly and solely because it accords me this freedom of speech and because I believe it is doing its best now according to its lights to fight for this same freedom for me and for the sort of people who agree with me, not only in Britain but throughout the entire world.

Indians have still to be convinced that Britain is fighting for the freedom of speech or any other kind of freedom of the entire world *including India*. Nevertheless, Indians do not desire that Germany should win, because British democracy, whatever it is, is any day better for the world than German Hitlerism.

India's "Fourfold Ruin" Under British Rule

In defending that part of the Independence Day Pledge which states that the British Government has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually, Gandhiji writes in *Harijan* (Feb. 3, 1940) that "It should be remembered that this part was in the original and has stood without challenge all these ten years." This is not a correct statement. It would have been accurate if he had said that *he* had not seen or heard it challenged "all these ten years." Though we do not see all papers, not even all papers of long or good standing, we have seen during the period mentioned a few journals, owned and edited by Indians, challenging portions of the above-mentioned part. And these journals are not obscure or newly started ones.

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty To Write Book On Indian Cultural Movements

Whatever the effect of British rule on Indian culture may have been and may still be, the actual condition of Indian culture at present and the trend of Indian cultural movements are subjects eminently worthy of study. We are glad, therefore, that so distinguished and gifted a scholar as Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty has been deputed by Oxford University to write a book on Indian cultural movements. He is eminently qualified for such a task.

In the course of a conversation with Kagawa Mahatma Gandhi said : "Santiniketan is India." This remark, it may be certainly presumed, was made partly with reference to Santiniketan drawing young learners of both sexes from all parts of India. Dr. Chakravarty as a professor of English of Visva-bharati won the confidence of these students by his scholarship and great ability as a teacher who could inspire them and thus came into contact with various aspects of culture in many provinces of India. Santiniketan is also the cultural centre where Chinese, ancient and medieval Indian, and Islamic studies are carried on. He had also the high privilege of working as the literary secretary of Rabindranath Tagore, the embodiment of our culture par excellence.

Indian cultural movements have to be studied in their setting of Asiatic and world cultures. Having accompanied Rabindranath Tagore in his travels on the continent of Europe, in America, and in the Near Eastern Countries, and having himself visited Europe later several times in the course of his own lecture tours, he has got the international background for the work entrusted to him by Oxford University. He spent a year at Woodbrooke College, Birmingham, having been given a Fellowship there to deliver a course of lectures on modern Indian thought. He is an elected Senior Research Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, where he made a careful study of the tutorial system. His original contribution to English literature in interpreting Thomas Hardy and the Modern Age in Poetry has obtained for him the D. Phil. degree of Oxford. Published by Oxford University Press, it has been accepted by the foremost literary critics as a work of outstanding scholarship and originality and been reviewed as such in the English Press. Eminent educationists like Sir Michael Sadler, and Dr. A. D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol, considered him to be one of the finest scholars who had passed through Oxford.

Returning from Oxford, he has greatly extended his cultural contacts and added to his experience by his long stay at Lahore for research studies, by his very successful and inspiring work as honorary English professor at the post-graduate department of Forman Christian College, by his friendship with the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal, and his recent travels in Afghanistan.

Rupees 18,000 Presented to Gandhiji At Malikanda

Readers of newspapers may have read long descriptions of demonstrations and worse against *Gandhi-vad* or Gandhism at Malikanda, showing that the demonstrators are against it. Against these demonstrations stands the solid fact that for the meeting of the Gandhi Seva Sangha at that village the reception committee of the Conference had collected no less a sum than Rs. 30,000. Of this amount Rs. 12,000 has been spent for the Conference and the balance of Rs. 18,000 has been presented to Gandhiji. That is an irrefutable proof that there are staunch believers in what Gandhism stands for.

That before leaving Malikanda, Gandhiji

addressed a gathering of 30,000 people is another proof of the hold which he has on rural folk.

Literacy Campaign and University Examinees

Those who appeared at the supplementary Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University, of which the result has been published, and those who are at present sitting for the I.A. and I.Sc. examinations, as also those who will shortly appear at other University examinations in different parts of India, will have long months of leisure during which no strenuous study or other work will be required of them. We ask them to remind themselves of the duty which they owe to their less fortunate sisters and brothers—the duty of sharing their knowledge with the illiterate girls and boys and women of our country. Students can do a very great deal to remove the darkness of illiteracy and ignorance which envelopes India.

China's "Peace Terms"

That years of unparalleled losses and sufferings in war has not broken or bent China's back cannot but inspire sincere and unmixed respect for her heroism and patriotism and ought to be an encouraging example to all peoples struggling for freedom. What can be a greater proof of China's firmness than her possible peace terms detailed below ?

CHUNKING, Feb. 25.

China's possible peace terms were given a concrete form for the first time in the influential newspaper "Takungpao."

It says that Chinese territorial sovereignty must be intact including the return of Manchukuo and the leased territories of Darien and Port Arthur.

Unequal treaties between China and Japan must be abolished including Japan's right to establish concessions and factories. Japanese nationals in China must observe Chinese laws. China welcomes foreign capital including Japanese but Japan's investments must be reorganised in accordance with Chinese laws. The Korean and Formosan issues must be settled on the principle of racial self-determination.—*Reuter.*

Bengal Press Firm, Though Between Two Fires

Newspapers in Bengal are between two fires. On the one hand there is repressive action on the part of the Bengal Ministry. On the other, there is the boycott propaganda against many papers carried on by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and his party. Against attacks on the freedom of the press from these opposite (?) sides, the Indian Journalists' Association has taken a bold stand, as the resolutions of its Executive Council show.

The Proposed Excess Profits Tax

We criticized the proposed excess profits tax in our last issue. A few words more may be added to our previous comments.

Those who will have to pay the tax will compensate themselves not only by raising the prices of their goods but by combining among themselves to lower the price of the raw materials which they require and buy from Indian agriculturists. In this way the tax, at least a part of it, will be passed on to the shoulders of the masses. As the income of the Government from this tax will be the greater the greater the income of the manufacturers and sellers of goods, there is likely to be laxity in price control and consequently considerable profiteering, from which the public will suffer.

That the tax will affect the development of industries has been repeatedly pointed out.

"Talk About Compromise Pointless"

RANCHI, Feb. 26.

"The talk about a compromise between what is described as the Congress High Command and the British Government is altogether pointless" declared Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the retiring Congress President, in an interview today.

"Whatever the Working Committee has done is public property," he continued. "It has not kept anything back from the Congressmen of the country at large. There is absolutely no foundation for the suggestion, which is insinuated, that there is a conspiracy for a compromise at any cost or which will in any way discredit or dishonour the Congress or the country."

"As a matter of fact no compromise can be valid unless it is ratified by the A.-I. C. C. or the Congress itself. This is, therefore, a case of crying before you are struck.

"It is easy enough to insinuate that the Working Committee will enter into a compromise unless there is an anti-compromise conference. No one objects to any conference being held to give expression to the opinion of those who attend such a conference or whom the conference represents, but it is not necessary for the success of such a conference, if it has solid backing to charge others with a conspiracy to betray the country's cause, nor does the Working Committee require to be kept on a straight course by such shows. It knows its duty and the Congress which will meet will know how to deal with it if it betrays the country's cause, without being reminded of its duty."

The Mission to Lepers

The section of afflicted humanity which is most deserving of fraternal sympathy and help are the lepers in our country and abroad. They receive such practical and active sympathy and help from the Mission to Lepers. The report of its 65th year's work in India and Burma, from September, 1938 to August, 1939, gives one an exact idea of the great work which it has been

doing. The fine illustrations, which are many, are a great help in understanding what is being done. Contributions should be sent and inquiries addressed to Dr. A. Donald Miller, Purulia (Manbhum).

U. P. Literacy Day

The United Provinces celebrated Literacy Day on the 4th February this year. Pandit S. N. Chaturvedi, Education Expansion Officer of the province, has issued a short report of one year's work of his department, with the messages received on the Literacy Day. We congratulate him on the successful work of the year. The Report is very beautifully got up with an attractive cover.

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

We have received a copy each of the annual report for 1939 and of the presidential address, 1940, of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and thank the Honorary General Secretary, Dr. B. S. Guha, for the same. We are glad to note the various reforms introduced during the year. Sir David Ezra, the retiring president, says in his address:

"At the beginning of the year under review it was prominently brought home to the Council, both through the Press and through individual member's comments, that the affairs of this old Society of ours were not progressing as smoothly as they should. Whereas the Council was prepared to concede that certain of the adverse criticisms might be justified, it was not prepared to accept the wholesale condemnation of the Society's administration without detailed investigation. It, therefore, appointed a Special Committee on the 27th February 'to enquire into the general administration and cultural activities of the Society, and to submit to the Council a detailed report with recommendations, if any, for effecting necessary improvements'."

From the report submitted by this Special Committee,

"It was found that laxity and oversight, delay and procrastination, lack of co-ordination and system were responsible for most of the complaints. Thanks to the untiring efforts that have been made by all concerned, these adverse factors have now disappeared. During the short space of five months that have elapsed since the Committees report was adopted the outturn of work, both in quality and quantity, has been remarkable. The homogeneous and co-ordinated efforts of our staff have resulted in great improvements in all directions and our building and possessions are now in a condition of which we can justly be proud."

Sir David Ezra adds in a concluding paragraph:

For the initiation of all these reforms we are indebted to the Enquiry Committee referred to above, but the actual work of carrying out the recommendations has been performed by our General Secretary, Dr. B. S. Guha, and I would like to record here our grateful appreciation of the care, skill and tact with which he has done this difficult task.

The Enquiry Committee and Dr. B. S. Guha are undoubtedly entitled to all the credit given to them. But, for the *initiation* of the reforms the cantankerous "Press" and other critics were, perhaps, to a slight extent responsible.

Most Important Outcome of Malikanda Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference

The most important outcome of the conference of the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Malikanda was a resolution providing for the suspension of the present activities of the Sangh and laying down the lines of its future work. The following is Mahatma Gandhi's authorized translation of the resolution:

Whereas past experience has shown that the holding of responsible position by members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh in political organizations is undesirable, this meeting of the Sangh resolve that such members of the Sangh as are on any elective bodies in such organization and intend to serve on them should not continue as members of the Sangh. This does not by any means mean any reflection on such members or on their political work.

The resolution has had to be taken because of the fact that the active participation of members of the Sangh in politics has aroused bitterness, which is proof of the fact that their practice of Ahimsa has been inadequate. Pure Ahimsa must by its very nature preclude reaction in Ahimsa.

It has always been the firm belief of the Sangh that the amelioration of the millions of India is impossible without constructive work, in which alone the masses can directly participate. The Sangh's activity will, therefore, be confined in future to constructive work and it will address itself to that part of the constructive programme which at present does not come within the province of the All-India Spinner's Association, the All-India Village Industries Association, etc., *e.g.*, observation, study and research, in the subject of the relation of constructive work with Ahimsa and of the reaction of such work on individuals and society. And whereas there are not enough workers today capable of this social work until men are available for the purpose of the study and research aforesaid, the activities of the Sangh will be suspended save for administration, disbursing of the Sangh funds among the workers and the publication of the monthly journal.

NEW COMMITTEE

Members of the Sangh will henceforth be confined to the following, who will also constitute the executive committee of the Sangh:

Mr. Shrikrishna Das Jaju, President and Trustee, Mr. R. S. Dhotre, Secretary and Trustee, Mr. Kishorilal Mashruwalla, Trustee and Mr. Gopabandhu Chowdhury, Swami Abhayadeo, Mr. Satischandra Das Gupta, Mr. S. P. Patwardhan, Mrs. Dilkhush Diwanjee

and Mr. Krishnadas Gandhi and all other members will be deemed to have resigned. It is also resolved that this Executive Committee will have all powers to amend or alter the constitution of the Sangh.

The reasons given for the resolution are sound. It may be urged in addition that, as political work is more exciting and brings more plaudits and celebrity than "constructive work", those whose duty it is to do both kinds of work are led to devote more time, attention and energy to politics than to constructive work. Consequently the latter suffers. So it is best to have a group of workers devoted solely to the latter.

"Co-ordination of Labour Conditions and Labour Legislation"

In the course of the able presidential address delivered by Mr. G. L. Mehta, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, he drew attention among other things to the important subject of "the co-ordination of labour conditions and labour legislation", observing:

The co-ordination of labour conditions and labour legislation between different parts of the country has long been felt to be essential. The recent conference of representatives of the Central and Provincial Governments and the Indian States convened by the Government of India was a move in the right direction although it was unfortunate that the first conference of its kind met when the Congress Ministries in seven Provinces were not in office. Absence of co-ordination in labour conditions leads to several difficulties such as, for example, the shifting of industry from one area to another or the developments of industries in areas which may not be otherwise suitable to such development but which attract some entrepreneur merely because of unequal labour legislation.

There ought to be some permanent arrangement to bring about and maintain the desired co-ordination.

Muslim League Council

NEW DELHI, Feb. 25.

The meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League confirmed the resolutions on the war and the Indian constitutional question passed by the Working Committee on September 18, October 22, and February 3 and 4.

In the course of the discussion on the resolutions, Mr. Jinnah, who was in the chair, made a survey of the position since the outbreak of the war, reiterated the Muslim League's demands, and reemphasised "the determination of the League to let neither the British nor Mahatma Gandhi rule over Muslims."

Mr. Zafar Ali, Sir Raza Ali, Mr. Barkat Ali, Mr. Hossain Imam, the Raja of Pirpur and Sir Sher Mohd. Khan also spoke.

Sir Raza Ali's observations raised a controversy. He said that the feeling among educated young Muslims was that the League should reach a settlement with the Congress.

The Raja of Pirpur and Mr. Jinnah thought it was wrong to attribute to youth views which, in their opinion, were Sir Raza Ali's own.

Sir Raza Ali warmly defended his statement, and said that he was only acting as a messenger.—*A. P.*

Larger Number of Doctors Wanted

In the course of his presidential address at the Calcutta Medical College Foundation Day Sir P. C. Ray said that there were at present in India some 90,000 scientifically trained doctors, but if one doctor were deputed to look after 1,000 persons, we should require four lakhs of them. Moreover, a great many doctors reside in the towns, whereas India is mainly a country of villages. So we require not only more doctors but also want that most of them should settle in and be able to make their living in the villages. But changes are being proposed by which the number of medical schools and of doctors would be reduced.

Dr. B. C. Roy's Health Programme For Bengal

A scheme to divide Bengal into health units and place them in charge of licensed doctors, which will probably be given effect to by Bengal Government in accordance with his suggestions was elaborated by Doctor B. C. Roy, President of the Indian Medical Council in the course of his reply to an address given him by the members of the Calcutta Medical Club.

As to the national health programme, Dr. Roy admitted it was a matter for the State and informed the audience, he was asked to submit and he had already submitted his scheme according to which rural areas should be divided into units and placed under a licensed doctor and no part of the province should be left without medical help.

He suggested that the Province should be divided into health units rather than thana units. He mentioned that a similar scheme had already been adopted in a portion of Madras and United Provinces.

Giving effect to such a scheme in Bengal is urgently required.

"An Apologia for 'Progressive' Writers"

The Indian Messenger rightly observes:

Recently we have had occasion to read an apologia for progressive writers which seems to us to be very pernicious in its tendency because of the plausible way in which contemporary thought has been misrepresented and we feel that it is absolutely necessary to expose the utter hollowness of its standpoint. Much is being said and done in the name of Modernism which, on a deeper analysis, reveals itself as mere ill-assimilated jargon derived from a partial view of western thought. Moral perversities and psychological abnormalities thus imported from the West are being represented not only as normal human behaviour but also as the ideal after which the youth of India should strive.

Women's Work in India

It was a very interesting annual report which Mrs. S. N. Ray, Acting General Secretary, All-India Women's Conference, presented at the opening session of the conference held at Allahabad a month ago. According to the report,

Last year was an epoch-making year in the history of our Conference, for in the year which preceded it, our activities had taken a step forward into the political and economic field of India. The Conference have no desire whatsoever to enter into party politics for we realise that the greatest contribution that India's women can make is to show the path of unity and singleness of purpose but nonetheless we feel and feel strongly that the time has come when the Conference cannot ignore economic adjustments nor the civic administration in our country—as they cannot be separated from the social and educational problems which confront us.

Penal Reform League Formed

BOMBAY, Feb. 24.

"We no longer look upon the criminal as a wild beast to be hunted down without pity or remorse. We have come to recognize that he is a man like ourselves, and indeed, that we, or our fellow citizens, may have to bear part of the responsibility for having made him what he is," said Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, inaugurating the first All-India Penal Reform Conference, here today.

"Sir Maurice emphasised the need for carrying public opinion in any penal reform, and declared that the real problem which the Conference had to consider was how to reconcile the claims of the state with the claims of the individual, and how to establish a stable though elastic relation between them.

"Sir Maurice added that he remembered how the Judge in passing sentence in olden days told the prisoner that society must be protected against persons such as he, wondering whether a prisoner would ever ask him in turn, but who is going to protect me against society."

A resolution that an association called the Indian Penal Reform League should be constituted was moved by Dr. P. K. Sen of Patna and was accepted unanimously by the Conference.

The main objects of the association are to formulate and promote measures aimed at furthering a wider and more scientific study of delinquency and crime and of methods for effectively dealing with them, the improvement of penal, correctional and institutional education centres through the country and the co-ordination of the effort of individuals and organisations interested in the administration of proper after-care.

The association will also promote the study of Criminal Law and Procedure with a view to improving them and the formation of penal reform groups in the legislature with a view to stimulating public interest in penal reform.—*A. P.*

Forty-four Lines Deleted By Censor From Hore-Belisha's Article

Pace a certain Provincial Minister, who had declared at a journalists' conference that it was never allowed to be mentioned that anything appearing in a journal had been censored, *Reuter* has cabled it all over the world that the Censor has deleted 44 lines from Mr. Hore-Belisha's article !

LONDON, Feb. 18.

An article by Mr. Hore-Belisha entitled "Shall We Fight for Finland Now" which was an appeal for immediate and substantial armed support for Finland is published by the *News of the World* with explanations in parenthesis stating the number of lines deleted by censor. Altogether forty-four lines were deleted and the newspaper states that they omitted it at the request of Government as being contrary to public policy, although the newspaper regarded the passages as genuine contribution to right judgment of the problem. This is the first time since the beginning of the war that a British newspaper has indicated the deletion by censors in this manner.—*Reuter.*

How Mysore Stands On Her Legs

Hindusthan Standard writes :

In course of his speech as president of the Works Day celebration at the Mysore Iron and Steel Works, Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh, Director of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, bore eloquent testimony to the industrial development in this "model State" in India. The successive Dewans have tried to reorganise the economic life of the people of the State in response to the needs of modern life; and the result of their work enables the Mysoreans to "wash themselves with Mysore soaps, dry themselves with Mysore towels, clothe themselves with Mysore silks, eat abundantly the fruits produced with the aid of Mysore fertilisers, drink Mysore coffee with Mysore sugar, build their houses with Mysore cement, Mysore timber and Mysore steel, furnish the houses with Mysore furniture, and write their letters on Mysore paper." On foundations such as these, responsible government should be easier to build. But, why does it lag behind ?

The previous question is, is there more of *real* responsible government in any province of India—particularly in Bengal, than in Mysore ? Is any province of India economically and educationally as developed and self-reliant as Mysore ? It is not for nothing that Sri C. Rajagopalachariar wants the expansion of Mysore with its Maharaja as a constitutional ruler, and that Mahatma Gandhi has called off civil disobedience there.

"Forget Politics"

We have recorded in a previous note Gandhiji's good-humoured reply to Rabindranath's playful question to the effect, "Why not give up politics altogether and have a quiet time." Owing to this question and answer a Bengali weekly has inflicted a long and solemn homily on Tagore explaining to him as if he was a school-

boy the essential need and importance of politics! But—

MALIKANDA, Feb. 21.

Members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh were advised to "forget politics" and to cease taking part in politics as members of the Sangh by Mahatma Gandhi in his speech at the Conference this morning.

MALIKANDA, Feb. 22.

Mahatma Gandhi's advice to the members of the Seva Sangh either to stop their political activities or resign their membership of the Sangh was accepted in principle when the Conference met this morning.

Sir Mirza Ismail on Importance of Study of Sanskrit

Speaking on the occasion of the celebration of the silver jubilee of the G. R. Veerabhadrappa's Sanskrit and Veda Pathshala, Bangalore city, on Feb. 10 last, Sir Mirza Ismail said:

> I do not know whether it would be regarded as an overstatement if I said that the study of Sanskrit is something more than an intellectual luxury. While it would obviously be difficult to maintain that a knowledge of the language or its literature is required in the work-a-day life of the average man, I suppose that it would not at all be amiss if I said that our educated young men would be doing nothing but good to themselves by devoting a portion of their time and energy to acquiring a fair knowledge of this great and wonderful language. As for the serious student of history who wishes to understand the greatness of India's past, I am doubtful if he can really afford to dispense with Sanskrit. For the very epitome of India's ancient civilization is Sanskrit literature and in it is enshrined the quintescence of Hinduism.
>
> Though Hinduism and Sanskrit learning thus go together, the appeal which the language and its literature carry with them transcends geographical and religious frontiers.

Railway Budget

The Railway estimates presented by Sir Andrew Clow in the Legislative Assembly on the 16th February last forecast for 1939-40 a surplus of 3.61 crores of rupees against a surplus of about 2.13 crores originally estimated, and for 1940-41 a surplus of 8.29 crores. But not content with these surpluses Government intend to increase the rates of passenger fares and of goods freights. The vast majority of railway passengers travel third class. It is they who contribute the bulk of the earnings of railways from passenger traffic. They are already hard hit by the high prices caused by the war. It would be very unjust to add to their burdens in any direction. Increase in the rates of freight would hinder the growth of our industries and make many commodities dearer, thus adding to the cost of living. It is, therefore, condemnable.

Congress Presidential Election

That Maulana Abul Kalam Azad would be elected president of the Indian National Congress this year was a foregone conclusion. Mr. M. N. Roy did not get the votes of all the Leftists; he got the votes only of those of his own small group.

Manufacture of Locomotives Practicable in India

The two officers appointed by the Railway Board to examine the possibilities of building locomotives in India have presented their report. Briefly, it is to the effect that they can be manufactured in India more cheaply than manufacturers abroad can supply them. So India should be made self-contained in this respect at the earliest possible date.

Hindu Mahasabha on Viceroy's Proposals

The following is substantially the first resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha on the 10th February last:

> The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a spirit of responsive co-operation, is prepared to give helpful consideration, as an immediate step to its goal of independence, to the proposals contained in the Viceregal *communique*, namely :—
>
> (*i*) That His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with the representatives of all the parties and interests in India when the time came.
>
> (*ii*) That the federal scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping stone to Dominion status.
>
> (*iii*) That the offer put forward by H. E. the Viceroy in November, 1939, of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the lines and on the basis, then indicated, remained open and that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give effect to that offer.
>
> (*iv*) That as regards the communal problem, which is now the only hurdle in the way to further constitutional progress, the Hindu Mahasabha is of the definite opinion that it should be immediately referred for a settlement to the League of Nations.
>
> (b) As for the problem of the Defence of India, the Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that a period of transition of ten years at the most be fixed, during which the scheme of Indianization of all the different branches of the Army such as Air Force, Navy, etc., should be quickened and finished and that, at the end of the period, the defence also should be made a transferred department.

Resolutions of the Council of the National Liberal Federation

The resolutions passed by the Council of the National Liberal Federation show that they are in favour of the introduction into India of Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety after the conclusion of the war, that they consider the Congress demands for complete independence and a Constituent Assembly impracticable, that they are in favour of coalition cabinets of a truly representative character in the provinces, that they will welcome the immediate enlargement of the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the inclusion of representative leaders and that they urge Government to organize the vast man-power and natural resources of the country and to rapidly Indianise all arms of the defensive forces of the country.

The Council held the view that Indian public opinion should have a determining voice in framing a new constitution of India after the close of the war. The Council considers that the proposal of convening an assembly of all the present members of Central and Provincial Legislatures will not be acceptable to several parties and from various points of view.

All-Bengal Teachers' Conference

As president of the All-Bengal Teachers' Conference held last month at Siraiganj, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee delivered a mastery address.

A vivid picture of the deplorable plight of teachers, particularly in non-Government Schools, as regards their condition of service and low pay, was given by him.

Dr. Mookerjee urged the development of some sort of trade union for teachers in order to improve their condition of service, and dwelt on the need of devising a scheme for employing only "recognized" teachers.

He deprecated introduction of communalism in education. "The starting and maintenance of communal institutions," he said, "not only means duplication of work, but, more than that, it implies the wasting of our slender means."

Outlining the task of teachers in building national life, he dwelt on the need of a broad outlook and a spirit of tolerance. Secondary education had so far done nothing except preparing pupils for examination, but its real aim should be imparting sound education.

"Afraid as they are of taking up a courageous attitude, teachers are regarded generally as a class of spineless people. It is no wonder therefore that they fail to occupy that position they should not command that respect from the public without which they cannot serve our country to the extent which they ought to be able to do."

The Conference passed more than a dozen important resolutions,—on the heavy Matriculation syllabus and suggestions of changes therein, on the inconvenience caused by annual changes of text-books, on vocational training, on the minimum salaries to be paid to teachers, on adult education, on science laboratories, etc.

Gas in Place of Petrol

DACCA, Feb. 3.

The result of an investigation carried out about 15 years back in the Dacca University Chemical Laboratory by Mr. K. M. Chakraborty, M.SC., F., inst. F., and Dr. J. C. Ghosh (now Director, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore) has been recently found to be highly useful at the Birmingham University Mining Research Laboratory for the production of a gaseous fuel substitute for petrol.—*A. P.*

"Martial" & "Non-martial" Peoples of India

That only some people inhabiting the comparatively small areas in North and North-West India from which the British Government recruit soldiers are "martial" and the vastly greater area of the rest of India contain a population quite unfit to become soldiers, has been a myth sedulously propagated by British imperialists and some interested parties in India. But that it is nothing more than a myth is proved by facts of Indian history, ancient, medieval and modern (including the days of the East India Company), showing that every part of India has produced and can produce soldiers. Sir Philip Chetwode, a former Commander-in-Chief in India, admitted as much in his recent broadcast from London, in the course of which he said :

"South India could look back for inspiration to a record of military achievement as great as any which the Panjab can boast of."

But whilst demolishing one myth, he brought forward another in order to support the present recruiting arrangements, namely, that the people from whom soldiers are not recruited cannot stand extremes of climate as the so-called "martial" people can. This is entirely false and contrary to experience. The real reason why the alleged "non-martial" people are not enlisted as soldiers is political, not climatic.

The Anti-Separate Electorate League

Sir P. C. Ray, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Syed Nausher Ali (Ex-Minister, Bengal), A. K. M. Zakariah (Ex-Mayor, Calcutta) and Professor Humayun Kabir, M.L.C., in supporting the activities of the Anti-Separate Electorate League, of which the president is Moulvi Md. Abdus Samad, the staunch Nationalist Muslim of Bengal, observe :

"In the past few years it has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt that separate electorate is not only anti-national, but is also positively harmful for those who are sticking to it at any cost. Unless separate electorate is abolished, a genuine form of democracy can never be possible in India. And unless people themselves rise up against it, separate electorate cannot be easily abolished. Hence it is essential for the good of the country that strenuous efforts should be made to carry on ceaseless propaganda against it."

We entirely agree.

"Flagrant Abuse of Power" by Rulers of Indian States

Under the captions, "In defence of Democracy ?" and "Flagrant abuse of power !" the Editors of the *States People* write in their last January issue :

The States' People's Conference in its statement issued on 11th October, 1939, stoutly protested against the flagrant abuse by rulers of Indian States of their power in expressing their support to the war in Europe and offering the resources of their States without seeking to consult their people and speaking on behalf of the people of the Indian States it disassociated itself from such commitments. Below we give figures of their war contributions to show how the rulers have flagrantly abused the power vested in them in lavishly squandering people's hard-earned monies without their consent over a cause to which they do not subscribe.

No taxation without representation is a democratic principle, and those who pay taxes ought certainly to have the right to control expenditure. The Rulers of the Indian States are in the same boat with the Rulers of British India in denying this right to their subjects.

In the January number of the *States People* statistics relating to the population, revenue and war contributions of some States have been given :

Hyderabad, Travancore, Cochin, Bikaner, Tonk, Udaipur, Jaisalmer, Kotah, Dhar, Kurwai, Faridkot, Amb, Kolhapur, Janjira, Junagadh, Idar, Porbandar, Chhota Udaipur, Bansada, Sonepur and Daspalla.

Many Central India States, including Dholpur, Ditia, Rewa, Tikamgarh, Charjpari, Chatarpur, Dewas (Junior) Bani, Sitamau, Samthar, and Bijawar, besides many small States and Jagirs have offered the resources of the States.

Sumner Welles' Mission

Mr. Sumner Welles' trip to Europe is the most important diplomatic event since the war started September 1. But it may be barren of any result. For Mr. Welles is not a peace emissary, though his subject is peace. That is clear. The fact that so much mystery clothes his mission is remarkable, for the main lines of President Roosevelt's policy are now well-known. Well-known also is the fact that the President has knocked dead the semi-official German overture that he intervene for peace.

The U. S. President wants war to be a real show down—a war to end all wars. In this sense he should like a wider theatre of war—extended wherever the Allies could gain by armed action, avoided wherever they were at a disadvantage. But the accusation made by the Moscow periodical *Bolshevik* that the underlying aim of the Sumner Welles' visit is to "keep the war going as long as possible and extend it wherever possible thus assuring the United States a lion's share in the war profits," is absurd, for there is no such thing as "American Imperialism" to which the journal imputes the wish "to conduct the war in Europe to the last drop of the British, French and German blood."

To give so cold-blooded a twist to Roosevelt's will to war is to indulge in malicious propaganda. For the United States, as it is drawn deeper and deeper into the war, with its Administration extremely willing and even eager for the smell of cordite and blood, it will have to begin at some point to foot the bills and man the guns. But even the large number of Americans who are spoiling for a fight with the "Communazi hordes" hotly hate the idea of being exploited again. It is, however, not a selfish sentiment. For Americans as a rule are against exploitation of one nation by another. So Roosevelt says in effect: "Let us hear Chamberlain's peace terms, before we hear that the Allies need American aid." That's what any passionately anti-Nazi American would say, as this quotation from James Benet, testifies. Our primary concern, however, is not American action, important—very important—though that is and we wish, therefore, that the India League in London should be able to get into touch with Mr. Sumner Welles and make crystal clear India's passionate desire for independence and peace. India has nothing to gain by this war.

K. M.

DADABHAI NAOROJI

His Life and Times

By C. F. ANDREWS

I AM staying at Versova, not far from Bombay, and close to the home of Dadabhai Naoroji, whose life in the political field was one of the noblest and the most fruitful in the nineteenth century. To love and serve India was his one commanding thought. It ruled his whole career and made him what he was.

"Is it vanity," he asked in his extreme old age, "that I should take a great pleasure in being hailed as the Grand Old Man of India? No! That title, which speaks volumes for the warm, grateful and generous hearts of my countrymen, is to me whether I deserve it or not, the highest reward of my life."

Only one who was truly great as well as truly humble could have thus simply expressed his own inner feelings in old age; for the humility which can speak of its own happiness in this natural way differs entirely from the mock humility that pretends to be above such praise, while secretly remaining eager to receive it.

Here at Versova, on the shore of the Indian Ocean, looking out to the West, Dadabhai spent the last and quietest years of his long life. He lived in the very house, which is before the upper window where I am writing. His death came on June 30, 1917, just two months before Mr. Montagu made his pronouncement that 'responsible government' was the goal, to which British Rule in India was finally pledged. No one had struggled so hard as Dadabhai, or had done so much, to bring about its early fulfilment His long life of ninety-three years was all spent with the one supreme thought of India's freedom always in view.

There, on that verandah just below me, Dadabhai used to sit in his chair every evening to watch the sun go down in the West. It must indeed have been a joy to him at the sunset of his own life, to look back on his past years which had been so well spent, and with such fruit to show for his labours.

Only once did I meet him in person, but that one meeting left an indelible impression on my mind. It was in Calcutta, in December, 1906, at the All-India National Congress, when he gave for the first time to Indian politics, in a supremely decisive and public manner, the word "Swaraj" as the goal which all parties alike—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians—were determined to achieve. At the opening meeting of the Congress, Dadabhai, whose strength was failing, after reading the first part of his Presidential Address, asked Mr. G. K. Gokhale to go on and read the remainder. I can well remember how very weak and frail he looked, and yet with what emphasis he brought out the point that nothing but "Swaraj" would satisfy the people of India.

A second occasion came for me to see him, in April, 1917, just a short time before his death; but to my very great disappointment I was obliged to miss it. I was staying at Bandra with Mr. K. Natarajan, the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, and had come to Bombay in order to set out from there on a second visit to Fiji, where the conditions of Indian labour were appalling. Dadabhai had sent me a most kind message from Versova that he would very gladly see me at his own house, if I could come over. But my foot had sustained an injury, which made it necessary to lie up, instead of going out. Since the voyage to Fiji depended on my foot getting well quickly, it was decided by the doctor that I should not make the journey that day to Versova. So I never saw Dadabhai again; for when I came back from Fiji he had passed away. It has been a regret to me ever since that I was not able to go and see him on that day; but I knew how much depended on my being able to make the journey to Fiji and therefore decided to obey the doctor's orders.

II

What I have written so far is a personal record, since it seemed best to introduce Dadabhai in this personal manner. For the incidents about him which follow I shall rely chiefly on the recent biography written by Mr. R. P. Masani, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University. His new book on Dadabhai was reviewed in the September number, and has been very favourably received in England as well as in India; for it represents on every page the devotion of the author to his hero. As we read it, he makes Dadabhai live before us with singular charm, both on account of his transparent sincerity of

character and his resolute determination to win the freedom of his country.

At two stages, his moral character shines out clearest in public affairs. The former of these is where Dadabhai had been appointed Dewan of Baroda, during very troublous days when every opposition was levelled against him. He won through simply by a moral courage that nothing could shake. The second occasion was in London, where he had been for a long time a public figure representing India's cause. Suddenly, his business collapsed. Only through the high esteem in which he was held by all who dealt with him and trusted him, was he able to pull through.

In an otherwise somewhat uneventful life, these were two critical periods. Perhaps, a third might be added when he won by the narrowest margin a majority in a London election and became the first Indian Liberal member of Parliament to work under Mr. Gladstone as his Prime Minister. He was in a true sense the 'Member for India.'

I have marked out these special occasions but it must also be remembered that Dadabhai's earlier abandonment, of a career in Bombay, as Professor of Mathematics, in Presidency College, and his decision to live in London, meant for him a continuous self-denial of a very noble type. For he longed intensely to get back to the sunshine of his own land, and only a supreme sense of duty made him stand out to the end at the very centre of British Imperialism, fighting for his country's cause. It was there that he wrote and published the book called, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India,* whereby his name will be always remembered.

While the Sepoy Rebellion in 1857 marked a revolt on the military side, which could be crushed by military power, the *moral* revolt, which Dadabhai's great book indicated, could not be checked in the same manner. For it was founded on truth. His large and carefully-documented volume brought the British public for the first time face to face with the moral and economic injustices that were still being committed by the ruling race. It came just in time; for it is not too much to say that if Dadabhai had not published this out-spoken indictment, which opened the eyes of the British people to India's wrongs, an agrarian revolt might have broken out in the northern provinces of India where oppression had reached its climax.

Dadabhai's great courage in publishing this book while he was in England has not perhaps been sufficiently recognised. For he was enjoying the hospitality of that country and was already beginning to make up his mind to stand for election as a member of the British Parliament. Its publication revealed, in a remarkable way, his trust in the fair-mindedness of the British public, which remained with him all through his long life.

The policy of the rulers, Dadabhai pointed out, was suicidal. "I am writing," he declares, "to English *gentlemen*, and I have no fear but that they will receive my sincere utterances with the generosity and love of justice of English *gentlemen*." It is in this spirit, all through the book, that he attacks the fatal economic policy which had tended to make India, the poorest country in the world, still poorer every year. He shows how this poverty was increasing on account of India's enforced dependence upon a rich and powerful country, such as Great Britain. To take advantage of India's weakness in this manner was "un-British." So Dadabhai tried to prove, in chapter after chapter, with unanswerable success.

It speaks well for Dadabhai's own generous spirit that he should be able to maintain the conviction right up to the last days of his long life that in the end Britain would do justice to India. No disappointment could shake his conviction right up to the last days of his long life that in the end Britain would do justice to India. No disappointment could shake his faith in that respect. It speaks well also for the sterling honesty of his English friends, who stood by him when he poured out his soul in this manner. He never minced his words or said things merely to please. His character was essentially truth-loving and he could never help expressing what he so strongly felt to be true.

III

In this confidence in British justice, during those later nineteenth century days, he had, as his younger companion and fellow-worker, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who was beginning to carry on his very noble struggle in Natal and the Transvaal for Indian freedom. Gandhiji has contributed a very valuable Foreword of personal reminiscence to this biography, in which he tells us how he started from Bombay to London, in 1888, with three letters of introduction in his pocket. One of them was to Dadabhai Naoroji. This had been given him by a friend of his who did not know Dadabhai personally. "But what does that matter?" said he. "Every one knows him and adores him as India's greatest son and champion. He has exiled himself for us. You will see that my

letter will serve you just as well as if I had known him personally."

This actually proved to be true; for Dadabhai was the 'father' of every one who came to him in London, no matter to what province or religion he belonged.

This Foreword by Gandhiji continues:

"And so Dadabhai became a real Dada to me. The relationship took deepest root in South Africa; for he was my constant adviser and inspiration. Hardly a week passed without a letter from me to him describing the condition of Indians in South Africa And I well remember that whenever a reply was to be expected, it came without fail in his own hand-writing, in his inimitably simple style. I never received a typed letter from him. And during my visits to England from South Africa, I found that he had for office a garret perhaps eight feet by six. There was hardly room in it for another chair. His desk, his chair, and his file of papers, filled the room. I saw that he wrote his letters in copying-ink and press-copied them himself. The story of a life so noble and yet so simple needs no introduction from me or any one else. May it be an inspiration to the reader, even as Dahabhai living was to me."

Every word that Mahatma Gandhi has put down here, with rapid stookes of his own pen, helps us to form a picture of Dadabhai himself, as he generously spent himself year after year in tho service of his country while upholding her honour and good name in a distant land.

IV

If I were to single out one quality in Dadabhai for special notice it would be this, that on all occasions and in every circumstance, he was a man of his word. Whether he was in India, or in England, those who knew him trusted him absolutely, because he had proved himself in every way to be trustworthy. The words which begin one of Horace's most famous Latin odes, *Integar vitae,* might be taken as an exact portrait of Dadabhai. Horace goes on to say, that though the heavens fall in ruins about such a man, they will find him undismayed. This was true, is every sense, about Dadabhai himself. Again and again, his whole magnificent career seemed about to be shattered by misfortune, but he remained true to the end. '*Integar vitae,*' pure in heart, single-hearted, he showed himself in every thing he did and said and thought.

The different stories that have come down to us with regard to this great quality in Dadabhai are indeed inspiring. We cannot help feeling, while we read how he fulfilled his exacting duties at Baroda; or again when he spoke out the truth fearlessly in England; or yet again when he faced his own domestic difficulties, that here was a man among men, whose heart was good and just, and whose faith was always serene. In self-sacrifice and devotion to his country, very few had reached such a standard before. Everything that life held dear was sacrificed to this one cause. Therefore, as we read on with absorbed interest, our whole conception of what India demands of us becomes enlarged. We find that the demand is not merely for a passionate emotion, or some singular action, but rather a settled will, a firm mind, and a life-long habit of hard work honestly performed.

V

The times in which Dadabhai lived were probably the most critical through which India had passed for many centuries. We have to go back to the reign of Akbar in order to see such rapid changes going on, whereby India might at last become a strong and united nation. The growing impulse in the heart of the people gained its greatest momentum from wide religious and social reforms, which often went hand in hand together. We find this to be true of Dadabhai and his own Parsi community. He started his reforms there. But very soon they went far beyond all religious boundaries and embraced the whole of India. Nor is there any trace of communal feeling, except for one unfortunate clash in Bombay when Dadabhai was quite young. That clash was due to a mistake, and the bitterness soon passed. After it had been once cleared away, Dadabhai's great unifying thought of India made him utterly non-partisan. Mr. Masani has rightly named one of the central chapters in his book "His daily thought, India." Right up to the end, this description of him remained exact. His 'one daily thought' was India.

VI

All through Dadabhai's long life, we find a happy relationship established with the best Europeans, whom he met in his daily work. This made his own work a 'bridge-building' effort between the two races. In the exceptional poverty of his own early days, when his mother had been left a widow, he had the good fortune to attract the notice of Sir Erskine Perry, the Chief Justice, who was also at that time President of the Board of Education. The kindly encouragement as well as the generosity, of this Chief Justice, left a deep impression on Dadabhai's young mind. Even though he was unable to accept Sir Erskine's proffered help to forward his higher education if he took up Law as his profession, the recognition of his great

ability by the Chief Justice served him in good stead and led on to his being chosen, at a later date, as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at the Presidency College—a distinction which had never been held by an Indian before. It thus broke down one racial barrier in the higher branches of learning. This first impression of generous European friendship remained a distinguishing feature with Dadabhai all through. Englishmen of high character were naturally attracted by him, and he soon won their esteem and affection. In the same way, he found his own affection for the best type of Englishman continually growing deeper. Some of the hardest battles of his life, such as his struggle to enter Parliament in England, were won along with their ardent and untiring support.

Dadabhai could never imagine the time when the link between Britain and India would be destroyed. Right up to the very end he held fast to the belief that full and entire freedom and independence would come to India in alliance, on equal terms, with Great Britain. He regarded that partnership, just as he would regard marriage, as indissoluble. But he was equally certain that not the least touch of dependence must remain: for it was only with perfect freedom on both sides that the Swaraj which he enunciated could be established.

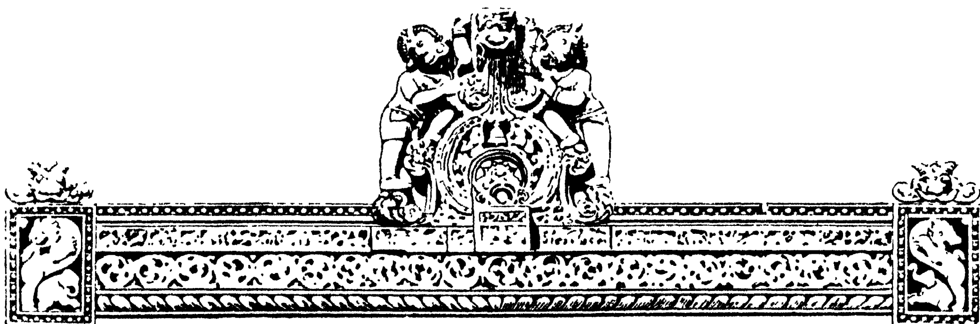
VII

It would be a matter of very keen regret if this biography of one of India's greatest sons were to be neglected in the midst of the world tumult. For it contains important historical features, which are based on authentic records. It tells us far more clearly about what is true in both countries than our own subjective impressions. The record of nearly a hundred years, which is spanned by this book, cannot be lightly laid on one side. For the issues which were faced by Dadabhai still affect East and West alike, and they are bound up with the future of the whole human race.

If Asia and Europe can truly find a common meeting place in India, then the organic unity of mankind in the near future may not after all be an empty dream. But if, on the other hand, in spite of a hundred years or more of close contact, these ties become hopelessly broken then a blow would be dealt to human brotherhood from which our civilization could not lightly recover.

This danger, not to India or Britain alone, but to civilization itself, has at last to be faced. For this new war, so tragically begun, may make the Indian situation at its conclusion far more diffilult than ever. Yet I fully agree with Mr. Masani who has studied the question so thoroughly while writing this biography, that it is only intimate friendships, like those between Dadabhai Naoroji, W. S. Caine, H. M. Hyndman, Sir W. Wedderburn, and others, that can make these links between East and West truly binding. Mere political alliance is useless.

It has been deeply interesting and instructive to me while engaged in a recent study of the life of Raja Ram Mohun Roy in Bengal, to find that his outlook on human affairs ponits to the same enclusion. For he was able in the same manner, at an earlier date, to bind East and West together by ties of friendship. Now, in this new biography, it has been made manifest to us in a convincing manner, that Dadabhai Naoroji also stood for this great principle of friendship, carrying it through successfully to the end of his long career. It is this that lifts the narrative of his life above the provincial, and even the national sphere, and makes its importance as wide as that of the whole human race.



EMERSON AND DOCTOR EZRA RIPLEY

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

One of Emerson's earliest ties with Concord came through Doctor Ezra Ripley, the pastor of the Concord church, to whose home Ralph Waldo, then a boy in Boston, made many happy visits. Dr. Ripley was step-grandfather to Emerson, having married his grandmother, the wife of William Emerson who was Dr. Ripley's predecessor in the Concord pulpit and who had joined the American army of the Revolution and died of an infectious fever. William Emerson had built the now famous "Old Manse" as a home for his family and it was here that Ralph Waldo came on his visits to his grandmother and Dr. Ripley.

When Ralph Waldo was eight years old his father died, leaving five small boys and their mother with scant means of support. Dr. Ripley immediately came to their aid, and befriended them in a hundred ways as long as there was need. Once, in a hard winter, the whole family were taken into his home in Concord as guests for some months.

The intimacy of the two families was very close, and continued so as long as Dr. Ripley lived. There was nothing connected with Ralph Waldo's boyhood that he looked back upon, all his life, with more pleasure, or mentioned in his conversation and writings with more enthusiasm, than this great-hearted friend, and the many good times enjoyed in Concord roaming the fields and the woods while a guest in his hospitable home.

Dr. Ripley was a type representative of the early American church and the Puritan life of New England. He was one of the last of those strict Puritan Congregational ministers who had served the New England churches for two hundred years, and who, notwithstanding their narrow theology, had been leaders in building up the religious life, the moral character, and the educational institutions of the country. Emerson grew to differ widely from him in religious doctrine. Dr. Ripley had clung to the theology of the past; Emerson advanced to the front of modern thought. But Dr. Ripley possessed so many rich and fine qualities of heart and head that Emerson appreciated, admired and loved him.

In Emerson's biographical sketch of Dr. Ripley he says: "He was identified with the ideas and forms of the New England Church, which expired about the same time with him, so that he and his coevals seemed the rear guard of the great camp and army of the Puritans, which, however declining in its last days into formalism, in the heyday of its strength had planted and liberated America. It was a pity that his old meeting-house should have been modernized in his time. I am sure all who remember both will associate his form with whatever was grave and droll in the old, cold, unpainted, uncarpeted, square-pewed meeting-house, with its four iron-grey deacons in their little box under the high pulpit,—with Watts' hymns, with long prayers, rich with the diction of ages; and not less with the report like musketry from the movable seats."

In his later life, as Unitarian thought more and more spread among the churches of New England, Dr. Ripley and his church joined the movement, but he remained always conservative. He was not by nature a controversialist. The doctrine he preached was not of a kind to antagonize anybody; he cared more to help men practically and to build up the moral life of his parishioners and his community. His sermons were not learned, nor intellectually great, but they were effective,—people liked them because they dealt with near-at-hand living matters and because they were spoken by a minister whom they loved and trusted, and who, they were sure, spoke every word from his heart, with the sole purpose of encouraging, strengthening and comforting them.

Dr. Ripley devoted himself without stint to his pastoral work. He knew everybody in his parish, old and young, rich and poor,—and everybody's father and mother and grandfather and grandmother. His long pastorate of sixty-five years (from 1778 to 1841) enabled him to do this as no new preacher could. He felt responsibility for every one of his flock. All the children must be educated. All suffering must as far as possible be relieved. Did any boy or young man show signs of going to the bad, he must be admonished and everything possible must be done to save him.

Emerson relates the following incident from his boyhood experience. He was taken by Dr. Ripley to attend the funeral of the

father of one of the families in his congregation. On the way the Doctor expressed his fears that the oldest son, who was now to succeed to the farm, was becoming intemperate. He must warn the young man. They arrived, and the faithful pastor addressed each of the mourners separately: "Sir, I condole with you." To another, "Madame I sympathize with you." When he came to the eldest son, "Sir, I knew your great-grandfather. When I came to this town he was a substantial farmer in this very place, a member of the church and an excellent citizen. Your grandfather followed him, and was a virtuous man. Your father is to be carried to his grave, full of labors and virtues. It rests with you to bear up the good name and usefulness of your ancestors. If you fail, 'Ichabod, the glory is departed.' Let us pray."

Emerson tells us, "An eminent skill he had in saying difficult and unspeakable things, in delivering to a man or a woman that which all their other friends had abstained from saying, in uncovering the bandage from a sore place, and applying the surgeon's knife with a truly surgical spirit. Was a man a sot or a spend-thrift, or too long time a bachelor, or suspected of some hidden crime, or had he quarrelled with his wife, or collared his father, or was there any cloud or suspicious circumstance in his behaviour, the good pastor knew his way straight to that point, believing himself entitled to a full explanation; and whatever relief to the conscience of both parties plain speech could effect, was sure to be procured."

"With a very limited knowledge of books," says Emerson, "his knowledge was an external experience, an Indian wisdom, the observation of such facts as country life for nearly a century could supply . . . . . He showed even in his fireside discourse traits of that pertinency and judgment, softening ever and anon into elegancy, which make the distinction of the scholar."

He had the courtesy characteristic of the gentleman of the old school, and the hospitality that made all visitors welcome in his home.

From Emerson's early boyhood until Dr. Ripley's death when Emerson was a man of thirty-eight, the affectionate friendship between the two was a source of joy and inspiration to both. The strong personality, the unflinching moral courage, the religious zeal, the kindly and generous nature of the older man doubtless had their part in influencing the developing boy and young man. When Emerson was ordained to the ministry, Dr. Ripley delivered the address to the candidate, an address full of affectionate pride in his young friend and confidence in his future. Emerson's years of residence in Concord, later, cemented the friendship and the mutual esteem and affection in which each held the other.

TO PADEREWSKI

By JAMES H. COUSINS

Master ! and freeman of the world's free lands !
You, with no gesture of a hand that deigns,
Suffering with Chopin for a land in chains,
Laid by your art at Freedom's rough demands.
Now, though your hair no aureole expands
Of russet flame, the inner fire remains;
But man's long sorrow softens now your strains,
And his sure triumph thunders from your hands.

Who says the snow has fallen on your head ?
Nay ! you have mounted to the soul's pure snow
With eyes unflinching and unwavering tread,
By paths which only Alpine spirits know,
Whose end is on the white accomplished peak
Where the immortals with immortals speak !

LAUSANNE

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

By Dr. BOOL CHAND, M.A., Ph.D.

The role of Constituent Assembly in history has been twofold: it has been used as a slogan, as a creed in order to concretise the fundamental issues in a struggle for freedom; and it has been used as a method, as a procedure for the framing of a constitution. To confuse the two roles, or to minimise or ignore the value of Constituent Assembly as a slogan in the fight for freedom, is to be blind to one of the basic factors in the development of human society and human polity.

Society does not change its institutions as need arises: on the contrary, it actually takes the institutions which hang upon it as given once for all. For decades the oppositional criticism is nothing more than a safety valve for mass dissatisfaction, a condition of the stability of the social structure. In order to create the mood for insurrection entirely exceptional conditions are needed, and in the creation of these exceptional conditions the employment of a suitable slogan—which in the course of time may become the creed—plays a most important role. The fact is that the power of a community or party depends not only upon its numbers and its economic resources but also upon its beliefs; and when a belief is so constituted as to bring out in effective outline the exact nature of its ultimate ideal and objective, the inspiration of that belief can be quite really intensive.

A study of the history of important revolutions in the world will show that the demand for Constituent Assembly has invariably acted as a slogan and belief of that kind. In the case of the French Revolutions of 1789 and 1848, the German Revolution of 1848 and the Russian Revolution of 1917, there was always a demand for a new constitution to be framed by a popularly elected Constituent Assembly.

In the case of any revolutionary insurrection such a demand is indeed perfectly natural. The very idea of revolutionary activity is to destroy the reverence for the fictitious sanctions of the established order. And if the destruction of reverence for law is not to lead to chaos and confusion, it becomes necessary for the leaders of the revolution to find moral and legal sanctions for the establishment of a new system of law, of a new constitution—and that is just what a popular Constituent Assembly is called upon to do. Constitutions are thus essentially the children of revolutions, or to put the same thing differently, revolutions are always made in order to secure a new constitution or a new scheme of social and economic relations. Any Constituent Assembly, therefore, usually starts by formulating the fundamental laws, which represent the principles underlying the revolutionary activity resulting in the convocation of that Constituent Assembly. Later on, these fundamental laws are incorporated in a document called the constitution of that particular state.

2

The point of these general remarks is to establish that a popularly elected Constituent Assembly is essentially an instrument of revolutionary ideology and that in the present conditions of India the convocation of a popular Constituent Assembly will not be productive of any really good results.

For this view there are several reasons. Firstly, the successful convocation of a popular Constituent Assembly demands the existence of a really strong and inspiring leadership, and such leadership we do not find in India today—not, at least, wedded to the idea of a true and popular Constituent Assembly. In his famous article declaring his conversion to the idea of Constituent Assembly, Mahatma Gandhi wrote :

> "The Constituent Assembly, if it comes into being—I hope it will—as a result of an honourable settlement between us and the British people, the combined wit of the best men of the two nations will produce an assembly that will reflect fairly and truly the best mind of India. Therefore, the success of the experiment at the present stage of India's history depends on the intention of the British statesmen to part with power without engaging India in a deadly unorganised rebellion."

Or again, Mahatmaji said that

> "If they (*i.e.*, British Government) summon a Round Table Conference as they propose to do, they can surely summon a Constituent Assembly."

These statements will establish beyond all doubt that what Mahatma Gandhi wants is a Round Table Conference, perhaps composed differently from the previous ones, but convoked

under the aegis of the British Government and therefore incapable of performing the functions which a Constituent Assembly is historically, politically and legally required to perform. The idea is not to repudiate the self-assumed authority of the British Parliament and thus make a legal change in the relation of dependence.

The slogan of Constituent Assembly is all right in the beginning when it can be but propagandist in its character. Then it serves its purpose by posing the political problem, by clearly formulating the basic issues of the struggle for independence and by putting in the ideal of independence a concrete political content. But when the propagandist period is over and the time comes for the practical achievement of the ideal of Constituent Assembly, it is necessary that there should be a strong political party or group prepared to lead the country on to the realisation of that ideal. At the present moment, the Congress High Command is unprepared to assume that leadership, if the ideal be conceived of as a popular Constituent Assembly. The Socialists in India are too amorphous and unsolidified a body even for their continual existence, far less for leading a Constituent Assembly to success. The proletariat is socially immature, politically backward and organisationally weak. Barely 10 per cent of the industrial workers are organised, and of the organised workers a very small percentage is under socialist influence.

Secondly, there exists in India at the present moment a highly difficult communal situation. The Muslims, separately organised in a Muslim League, are prepared for the sake of their misconceived communal interests even to take an anti- or at least half-heartedly- national view. A couple of years ago it may have been fairly reasonably possible, by pushing the policy of a mass contact with the Muslims, to organise the Indian fight for freedom on a truly universal and national basis. But the short-sighted policy of the Congress—talking on the one hand the language of co-operation and goodwill, and neglecting on the other to really secure the active support of the Muslims for the Congress programme; refusing to recognise the existence or at least the representative character of the Muslim League, and yet failing to present the acquisition of solid strength and following by that organisation—has unfortunately resulted in the division of the mass of the population into two strongly entrenched positions. This unfortunate position is likely to be used by the British Government in order to liquidate Indian progressivism; and if that possibility is to be prevented, it is advisable to seek to gain the object of Indian independence by the process of agreement between the leaders of the various parties and communities that matter in India and through the type of Constituent Assembly that would enable and facilitate the making of such agreement.

Personal negotiation and personal agreement is possible only in a small body of delegates and representatives where personal contacts can be established, rather than in a popularly elected Constituent Assembly where the elements are naturally rather discordant and which is bound to be intoxicated with theory.

> "A small body of delegates come to know each other better, to appreciate the strong points of another's case and to realise the weaker points of their own. The impact of mind upon mind has its effect, and after some time a sort of corporate sense is born out of which there may emerge, if not a common will, at least a 'common desire to produce results."

A third feature complicating the Indian political horizon at the present time is the existence of 500 odd Indian States, the feeble remnants of pre-British feudal states perpetuated by the British Government with a view to create out of them 'its political allies and reliable social support to the domination of India.' These states are the reserves of British imperialism, and reserves are drawn upon in the time of crisis. Their existence in India, with their separate territories, armies and administrations, is more than likely to lead to the failure of any attempt to frame the future constitution through the procedure of a popular Constituent Assembly.

The fact is that a popular Constituent Assembly is essentially a slogan of revolutionary times, and in India at the present time revolutionary activity is neither possible nor useful. Where there is absence of strong leadership in favour of revolution, where forces of reaction are so strongly entrenched as they are in the Indian situation, any talk of revolutionary ideology is nonsensical. In India the primary need of the moment is the securing of national freedom, and national freedom must be secured by the combined action of all the classes. The combined action of all the classes can be secured by personal negotiation rather than by the employment of revolutionary tactics.

3

It seems to us that the procedure that will be really efficacious in the Indian situation

would be 'the procedure that was adopted for the purpose of bringing into the existence the constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa', particularly perhaps Australia. In his remarkable Convocation Address recently delivered at the Benares Hindu University, Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of India, detailed the Australian procedure thus:

"In Australia a Federal Council with very limited powers had been set up by Statute as long ago as 1885 and the idea of federation had never lacked support. At a conference held at Sydney in 1891, each Australian State sent delegates and passed a number of resolutions. In 1895 a Premiers' Conference agreed that ten delegates elected by the electors of each State should meet to draft a constitution, to be afterwards submitted to a referendum in each. The Convention met in 1897 and drafted a constitution which after consideration by different parliaments was finally completed in 1898 and submitted to a referendum in each State. The draft was considered by another Premiers' Conference which suggested amendments for the purpose of meeting criticisms; and after discussions with the British Government an Act was introduced which became law in 1900."

With reference to this proposal, it has been pointed out by some that the position of India in the British Empire is not analogous to that of Canada, Australia and South Africa or other parts of the Empire populated almost exclusively or mostly by English settlers; that these Colonies became parts of the British Empire because Englishmen went to these countries and made them their homes, that they were never really conquered, that they were the outposts of British Imperialism, and that therefore the progressive development of self-government in these countries was a natural process; but that India is a vast country with a distinct culture and national entity conquered by a foreign power, and that this state of affairs has within it the germs of a revolt or national movement. So that, since the ultimate ideal of Indian national movement is 'complete independence' from Great Britain, we in India are faced with a wholly different outlook from what was employed in the Colonies for the improvement of their status to Dominionhood.

This plea, even if theoretically correct, fails to carry ready conviction. Whatever the differences in the racial composition and the procedure of the incorporation of the British Colonies and India within the British Empire, it seems to us quite incontestable that the economic policy of Great Britain in relation to both these units has been of more or less a similar character. To say that England's economic relation with the Colonies was built upon the export of British labour and that England's economic relation with India is built upon the export of British capital inspired by the desire to make greater profit than at home by exploiting the cheap labour in India is to say nothing conclusive at all; for as soon as the emigrant British population came and settled down in the various Colonies and made those countries their home, the export of British capital started into these Colonies inspired by the very same desire as prevailed in the case of the export of British capital in India. That there have been no essential differences between the operation of the economic policy of Imperialism in the Colonies and in India will be clear to those who remember the essentially economic character of the revolt of the thirteen American Colonies against the Mother-Country in 1776.

Perhaps the racial character of the population of the so-called Colonies and India is not so very different after all. It is true that the small native population in some of the Colonies was usually either exterminated or so strongly crushed that it became too weak to make an effective stand, yet in most of the Colonies that have by now attained the status of Dominions there has from fairly early times in their history been an undeniable intermixture of foreign European or other population with the immigrant British settlers. In Canada, for instance, there is a solid mass of French population even up till the present day; in South Africa the Dutch Boers have always claimed a controlling position in the Government practically ever since the formation of the Union; and Ireland is almost wholly populated by an un-British people with a highly emotionalised dislike of union with Great Britain. In our view, these facts establish a fundamental similarity between India and these other Colonies of Great Britain; they are all as much or as little integral parts of the imperialist system which is likely to be converted into a Commonwealth of Nations.

There are differences, of course. India is a large country with practically inexhaustible natural resources, and the British people are naturally less anxious to leave this country and thus lose the large contribution that its possession makes to the wealth of Great Britain than was the case with the Colonies. But when the struggle for independence starts and the demand for freedom effectively arises, there always is a point beyond which it becomes uneconomic to hold a country in subjection. Already in India the old type of colonial rule is giving place to a new economic policy which makes considerable concessions to Indian capitalism. On a number of occasions in recent

times the Indian bourgeoisie have exercised their economic and political freedom to the discomfort of British Government. To give just two examples,

(1) a private member's bill providing for the reservation of the coastal carrying trade to Indian shipping was carried through the Legislative Assembly in the teeth of Government opposition; and

(2) the Public Safety Bill, designed to close the doors of India to foreign Communists, was thrown out by the nationalist majority in the Legislative Assembly and the Government had to reconcile themselves to the situation by dropping the legislation so earnestly desired.

Among the many economic concessions granted to Indian capitalism, it may be mentioned that since 1923 no Government of India loan has been floated in the London market, and that majority of the members of Commissions—like the Industrial, Fiscal, Currency and Agricultural Commissions—whose findings have constituted the basis of the new economic policy have been representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie.

Theorists have thus to realise, firstly, that all these tendencies mark the operation of the 'decolonisation' of Indian bourgeoisie, and secondly, that the accomplishment of bourgeois democratic revolution is a necessary milestone, in the context of the Indian situation, on the road to India's independence. In the circumstances as they are, the accomplishment of bourgeois democratic revolution in India is possible only through the combined action of the various political parties; and combined action is possible only through the type of Constituent Convention that was used in the Colonies to achieve responsible Dominion constitutions.

A SONG FROM THE KHYBER PASS

By SAROJINI NAIDU

Wolves of the mountains,
Hawks of the hills,
We live or perish,
As Allah wills.

Two gifts for our portion
We ask thee, O Fate!
A maiden to cherish,
A kinsman to hate.

Children of danger,
Comrades of death,
The wild scent of battle
Is breath of our breath.

More bright than the scarlet
On dawn clouds displayed
Is the colour of life-blood
That gleams on our blade.

And lovelier than cymbals
That sound from the plain
Is the wail of the vanquished
Bemoaning their slain.

Yet sweet in the twilight
When tumult has ceased,
When red feuds are sated
And honour appeased,—

Aloft in our watch towers
Our arms to ungird,
And quaff foaming goblets
Of honey and curd.

And sweet in the stillness
And fragrance of night,
To find for a pillow
Twin moons of delight;

To find for a curtain
A tent of dark tresses,
And crowning our valour
A wreath of caresses.

Wolves of the mountains,
Hawks of the hills,
We live or perish,
As Allah wills.

[From *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

THE FORESTS OF BIHAR

By J. N. SINHA,

Divisional Forest Officer, Bihar Forest Service

Introduction

THE forests of Bihar suffer somewhat from the accident of distribution. The best timber forests are situated in the far-off depths of Singhbhum while the market exists in the populous tracts of the Gangetic plain. The distance by rail puts up the cost of transport to an uneconomic pitch and much good timber has to be left unused. Timber from Nepal and Gorakhpur on the other hand, can be floated down at trifling cost and has captured the market. This accident of distribution also puts an unfortunate veil on the subject of forest, and the majority of people in the more enlightened parts of Bihar know nothing about it. All that they know is that forest means jungle to destroy which is virtue; they have no patience to listen about the science of silviculture or the bearing of forests on agriculture and the general welfare of the country. That sounds too distant. In recent times, however, welcome appreciation has been dawning.

Chota-Nagpur is the principal forest area. Singhbhum district, as mentioned above, contains the best and most extensive forests. Next comes Palamau. Manbhum and Hazaribagh occupy the third place. The tale of forest destruction in the district of Ranchi is a sorrowful chapter. On the other side of the Ganges, Bettiah Estate in the Champaran district has 102 sq. miles of forests. It is managed by the Bettiah Estate but the Forest Department tender advice in certain technical matters.

Accurate figures relating to the total area of forests in Bihar are not available, but it is roughly estimated at 9,500 sq. miles. Of this only about 2,100 sq. miles are under the control of the Forest Department and subject to scientific working. The rest, about 7,000 sq. miles, is in the hands of private zemindars and under no pretence at management. The Ramgarh Raj forests in the district of Hazaribagh covering an area of 160 sq. miles are under scientific management but not to the degree of efficiency that obtains in forests directly under the Forest Department.

The distribution and area of State-owned forests managed by the Forest Department are as follows :

District		Reserved Forests (area in sq. miles)	Protected Forests (area in sq. miles)
Singhbhum	..	733	299
Palamau	..	225	24
Hazaribagh	..	56	38
Santal Parganas	..	49	243
Gaya	..	11	—
Ranchi	..	7	—
Manbhum	..	—	14
Total	..	1.081	618

About 400 sq. miles belonging to private forest owners are under the Forest Department by lease for management. This method of management is further described in the following paragraphs.

In addition there are certain State-owned forests not under the management of the Forest Department. They are under the control of the District Officers concerned :

District		Area in sq. miles
Singhbhum	..	85
Palamau	..	15
Hazaribagh	..	20
Santal Parganas	..	143
Shahabad	..	50

Classes of Forest

Forests under Government control are either Reserved or Protected. Broadly distinguished reserved forests are free from rights and are the absolute property of the State. Protected forests, on the other hand, are subject to rights of villagers within whose village boundaries the forests lie (sometimes distant villagers too have rights). Reserved forests, however, are also sometimes burdened with rights. The essential technical difference between the two classes is that no rights may accrue in Reserved forest whereas in Protected forest they may. In the matter of scientific management there is no material difference between the two though the Reserved forests are instinctively regarded by the forest officials with the indulgence of the first-born child.

Types of Forest

Sal (botanical name *Shorea robusta*) is the principal timber tree of Bihar. It grows best in Singhbhum, specially in the tract known as Saranda, where it easily attains a diameter of three feet. Sound good trees of 5 to 6 feet in diameter have also been found. Large quantities of railway sleepers and beams for house-building are manufactured and sent out. Elsewhere in Bihar, Sal grows according to the quality of the soil and the treatment given to it in the past. In the part of Singhbhum known as Porahat and in Palamau district bamboo in mixture with Sal exists in considerable quantities. Demand for bamboos for the manufacture of paper is growing rapidly. Already a factory has been established at Dehri the supply to which comes mainly from the Government forests in Palamau district. The bamboos of Palamau are floated down the Koel river from near Daltonganj to Sone-East-Bank railway station on the E. I. Railway and from there are taken by rail to distant places in U. P. and C. P. In the Kolhan area of Singhbhum, Sabai grows abundantly; part of it is natural, the rest has been planted. Messrs. Balmer Lawrie & Co., Ltd. have been utilising it for the manufacture of paper at Raniganj. Asan (*Terminalia tomentosa*), Piasal (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), Gamhar (*Gmelina arborea*) are some of the more important species of trees that occur in varying proportions with Sal all over the Bihar forests. In the district of Hazaribagh the growth of Sal is not good owing to the presence of mica which forms impervious layer in the way of root development. In Santal Parganas the quality of Sal is moderate. There it is not the soil so much to blame as the bad treatment given to it. The *Paharias* in that district live on the tops of hills and practise what is known as shifting cultivation. This consists in cutting down an area of the forest, burning it for its ash and then broadcast sowing of maize or pulses. The crop grows well for a year for it gets the accumulated surface fertility which the deep-going roots of forest trees do not consume, and the rich ash. The following year that area is abandoned and a fresh area is mown down. After three or four years the first area may be revisited but the succeeding crop is poorer and practically speaking not more than one crop grows well. This practice is highly destructive to forest and though in the Santal Parganas efforts are being made to conserve forest the impress of shifting cultivation is unmistakable. Nor has shifting cultivation been abandoned.

All the forests of Bihar are situated in hilly areas.

Management

(a) Basic Principles

All the forests under the charge of the Forest Department are managed on strictly scientific lines. The guiding principle of the Forest Department's policy is conservation. But conservation does not mean abstention from cutting. Money put into the bank earns interest. The interest can be drawn and spent without impairing the capital. Forest trees grow, and it is consistent with conservation to take out the annual growth—indeed it is necessary for the proper upkeep and improvement of forest. But it is not possible to chip off from every tree the quantity of growth that it has put on during the course of the year. Therefore the trees in definite forest areas are enumerated, their rate of growth is determined by research experiments, and the annual increment in cubic feet is calculated. The cubical increment is then reduced to number of trees, and these may be cut away annually from that forest. How and where to cut the trees so as not to cause damage to the forest is indicated by the science of silviculture. In congested crop a few trees may be removed with advantage, or a parent tree over established natural regeneration should be cut away to give space and light to the young plants. In ways like this the annual increment is removed and sold. Revenue comes in and at the same time improvement to the forest results.

(b) Working Plant

The first thing to do in a forest taken over for management is to prepare a working plan, similarly as when a building has to be constructed its plan has to be made first. The Working Plan embodies all the data relating to the description of the crop, the soil and geological information, altitude and aspect, the demand of the market, past treatment of the forest, etc., and then with proper arguments and justification lays down prescriptions for the future work. Working Plans are generally revised every 10 years in the light of experience gained during the period.

Different forests necessarily need different prescriptions. The more inaccessible forests of Singhbhum are managed for the production of large timber for two reasons :

(1) The soil is fit to grow big trees;
(2) Small timber cannot be sold as the lead from the forest to rail-head is uneconomic.

The rotation is 120 years; that is to say, seedlings grown today will be ready for cutting after 120 years. Forests in comparatively populous parts, where the demand for firewood and small building material is great, are managed to produce that kind of material. The rotation in these cases is generally 30 to 40 years. In certain areas the soil is so poor that large timber cannot be grown; if trees be left standing longer they will deteriorate and get hollow and rot. Bamboo forests are worked differently from timber forests. The rotation in bamboo forest is 3 to 4 years; that is to say, the same areas are visited over again at intervals of 3 or 4 years. A proportion of the mature shoots (*i.e.* shoots 3 or 4 years old) are cut away from every clump, and a few of the mature and all new shoots are left over for the next rotation. Sabai grass, lac, kendu leaves for biri making, have all different methods of management. A working plan lays down in detail the entire programme of work that is to be done in the forest in course of the period of its currency. Each class or kind of forest has a separate working plan; for instance, there are more than 12 working plans to cover in parts the forests of Bihar under Government management.

(c) Scientific System of Management

It may be of interest to touch on the scientific systems of management. There are several well defined Silvicultural systems for management of different types and conditions of forest. For example, forests intended to grow big timber are worked under "Uniform System". Where Sal, the principal species, occurs only scattered with preponderance of less valuable miscellaneous species "Selection System" is applied. In both these systems the principle is that natural regeneration must be assured before any tree is cut. Forestry enjoins that no man has the right to cut a single tree until he can assure that he is going to replace it by an equally good or better tree. In closely grown crop reaching maturity a few trees are cut out so that the canopy gets opened and healthy seed production is stimulated. Later when seeds have fallen and germinated the canopy is opened up further to allow sufficient light for the growth of seedlings. When the seedlings have established themselves beyond danger of mortality the mature trees are cut down. The new forest thus commences.

In poorer forests where demand is great the system followed is "Coppice with Standards". The future crop in this case is obtained from shoots that spring up from stumps of cut trees. The forest concerned is first sub-divided into parts, called "Felling Series", the number depending upon the consideration of convenient exploitation centres. Each Felling Series is then treated as independent forest and further sub-divided into years of rotation, generally 40. Each such part is called "Coupe". One coupe is laid out and cut every year. The felling proceeds systematically from one side to the other, so that by the time the 40th coupe is completed the shoots in Coupe No. 1 will have grown to 40 years age and may again be cut. Forty years is selected as the period of rotation because Sal grows in that time to girth of 3 to 4 feet and this size is the most useful for the needs of villagers.

The Coupe is not however cut down completely. A few trees, called "Standards", are left standing; their number is about 8 to 10 per acre. These standards supply seed for filling up blank areas and also yield some big timber in next rotation.

(d) Tending Operation

After the Coupe is felled tending operation starts. One stump sends up several shoots. At intervals of about 5 years the shoots are thinned down so as to leave finally only one shoot per stump. Also if shoots of less valuable species or climbers are interfering with the growth of Sal or other valuable shoots, the former are cut down.

Whenever adequate natural regeneration is not obtained, or where there are patches of blank spots, sowing or planting is done.

ORGANISATION

(a) Constitution of the Forest Department

The head of the Forest Department of Bihar is the Conservator of Forests with headquarters at Ranchi and his charge is called "Circle". The Circle is divided into "Divisions," and officers in charge of them are designated Divisional Forest Officers. There are 7 territorial Divisions and two non-territorial :

Name of Division	District	Headquarters
Territorial—		
Saranda	Singhbhum	Chaibasa
Kolhan	do.	do.
Porahat	do.	do.
Chaibasa	do.	do.
Dhalbhum	do.	Ghatsila
Palamau	Palamau	Daltonganj
Santal Parganas	Santal Parganas	Dumka
Non-Territorial—		
Research	Circle	Ranchi
Working Plans	do.	do.

In addition a Division under the name of Ranchi Division is likely to be started soon with headquarters at Ranchi to manage the private forests in Ranchi district that are being controlled by Government under lease. At present an officer is posted at Ranchi for the purpose, and he is known as Private Estates Forest Officer.

A Division is sub-divided into "Ranges." The number of Ranges varies with the area and distribution of forest in the Division. Rangers are generally in charge of Ranges, but competent Deputy Rangers or Foresters are also sometimes appointed. Sometimes Gazetted Officers are also in the beginning of their service placed in charge of Range for training as a Ranger is the most important unit of management. A Range is further sub-divided into "Beats", a Beat being in charge of a Deputy Ranger or Forester. The last sub-division is of Beats into "Sub-Beats", a Forest Guard being in charge of Sub-Beat.

There is a Forest Research and Working Plans Officer at Ranchi to conduct research and experiments throughout the Circle, and to compile working plans.

(b) Recruitment

The Forest Service is broadly divided into two classes :—(1) Gazetted and (2) Subordinate. The gazetted rank comprises Imperial and Provincial Forest Services. Now however there will be only one Gazetted service. There will no more be Imperial Service. Officers are trained at Forest College, Dehra Dun. Candidates must be graduates, preferably of science. The course extends over a period of 2 years. The training cost is borne by the Government which sends up the candidates.

The Subordinate Forest Service comprises Rangers, Deputy Rangers, Foresters and Forest Guards. Rangers are directly recruited and trained at Rangers' College, Dehra Dun, also on a two-year course. Recruitment by promotion from lower ranks is also made. Deputy Rangers are not directly recruited; they obtain rank by promotion from Foresters. Foresters are appointed and subsequently trained at Eastern States Forest School at Champua in the Keonjhar State.

FINANCIAL RESULTS

The total revenue in 1937-38 was Rs. 7,00,926 and expenditure Rs. 5,69,143 giving a surplus of Rs. 1,31,783. To this surplus should, for proper appreciation, be added the value of free grants to right-holders which amounted to about Rs. 1,66,000.

Free grants are given to right-holders in the neighbourhood of forests. The right-holders are allowed to take from the annual coupe all that they require for personal consumption either free of charge or at concession rates. They are also allowed to graze their cattle on similar terms in areas which are not closed for regeneration purposes for young crop has for some time to be protected from cattle.

ACTS AND LAWS

The Indian Forest Act (Act XVI of 1927) is applicable to Bihar as to all other provinces of India. It lays down the procedure of constituting reserved or protected forest, mentions acts which may not be committed in reserved and protected forests and prescribes penalties for contravention, provides for control of forest produce in transit, etc. All the offences covered by the Indian Forest Act are also, of course, covered by the Indian Penal Code, but the conditions of forest offences are unique and their nature is always trivial so the need for a separate Act to deal in a simple way with forest offences was recognised.

The Act also provides that private forest owners may apply to Government asking for their forest to be managed on their behalf by Government on such terms as may be mutually agreed upon. This provision has been made use of to an appreciable extent in Bihar. The Act also gives conditional and rather ineffective power to Government to assume control of private forests when it may be necessary to do so for prevention of flood or protection of soil on hill slopes, etc. But this power has not been used.

It is being increasingly recognised that private forests which form the bulk in Bihar are being rapidly ruined and in their train come floods in the plains, impoverishment of the soil on slopes and diminution of water supply in springs. The majority of small forest owners naturally care more for immediate gain than for the forests' bearing on national weal. Government have not sufficient powers under the existing laws to effectively control private forest. A Bill known as Chota-Nagpur Private Forest Bill to meet such cases is on the legislative anvil of Bihar. It is designed to operate only in Chota-Nagpur and to apply to those forests in respect of which revenue Setlement has been done. The main provision is that private forest owners will be advised to manage

their forest on stated scientific lines. If they fail to do so then Government may take over the management. The costs of management will be defrayed by Government and deducted from the income, the net revenue going to the owner.

Benefit of Forest

(a) Influence on Rain Water and Soil Conservation

That the presence or absence of forest in any country or part of country has its effect on climate is undisputed; the forestless tracts of Rajputana, the Sahara and of parts of the United States of America confirm it. The details of the effect are, however, disputed. For instance, that forest is a factor in the distribution and local precipitation of rain has two opposite schools of thought. But the greatest benefit of forest lies in its capacity to maintain water supply in the sub-soil and to prevent the run-off of soil on the slopes. In denuded parts of Chota-Nagpur, for instance, though large quantities of rain fall in the monsoon months even so early as December all the smaller streams get dry and there are no springs. Let apart supply of water for agricultural purposes, even cattle go thirsty. In addition the soil gets washed off by the rushing waters and the land rapidly loses fertility. In the deforested parts of the U. S. A. it has been found that during the last 20 years fertility of the land has gone down by half. The Federal Government is faced with a serious situation and has inaugurated a Soil Conservation Service spending Rs. 5 crores a year just to rehabilitate the land by methods of contour trenching, crop rotation, etc. It takes Nature thousands of years to make one inch of soil; it takes rain water only a year to wash it away from the unprotected land.

In forested areas, on the other hand, the soil is generally porous and much of the rain water soaks in. The tree trunks and debris of leaves and dry wood offer resistance to the downward flow-off. The roots of trees bind the soil like earthball held tight in the hand whereby soil wash-off is checked. The water that soaks in emerges later in the shape of springs and feeds the streams and rivers. In the better forests areas of Singhbhum streams never dry, and even in the burning sun of May and June the little streamlets sweetly sing their course. It will be understood how by conserving moisture and soil forest serves as the handmaid to agriculture. A forested area is like the wise man who saves up his income for lean days; a denuded area is like the reckless spender who lives from hand to mouth, and perishes.

Close at the heels of soil erosion follow the cutting up of land into ravines. Then the land for ever passes away from the realms of economy. Large areas in Chota-Nagpur are a dismal sight of deep gullies and ravine. So much land that once grew something now grows nothing. It will never grow anything.

The plains of Bihar, it may be argued, have no forest yet agriculture is so good. The reason for this is that the land there is plain and the rain water collects and considerable portion of it sinks in. The rest flows away gently not eroding the soil. On the undulating countryside of Chota-Nagpur, on the other hand, the rush-off is violent and out of it all the evils start. The importance of forest to Chota-Nagpur is so great that it may be safely said that its welfare is interwoven with forests.

(b) Prevention of Floods

Floods start from deforested hilly areas. The annual Ganges flood has its origin in the denuded Punjab mountains. U. P. and Bihar add their share to the orgy of destruction. The Palamau district alone is about 5000 sq. miles in extent and forms one compact catchment area of the Koel and thence of the Sone and finally of the Ganges. Rain water over such a vast area meeting no effective forest barrier and rushing down in mad torrent inevitably causes flood and ruin. The hillsman knows not where the water goes; the plainsman, from where it comes. It is all the unseen hand of Fate ! Yet the hand is easily seen if one looks close. The effective remedy against floods lies in the proper treatment of the catchment area.

Well-managed forests yield financial profits, but the financial aspect must be considered a secondary one. The real importance of forest consists in its indirect effects.

(c) Forest Products

Forest supplies timber, firewood, bamboos, Sabai grass, myrabolams, kendu leaves for biri making, kath from Khair trees and endless varieties of medicinal plants and herbs. The local people also obtain a few kinds of fruits and edible roots. Forest work provides employment on a large scale; indeed, forest may be said to be an unfailing famine insurance.

Forest Tribes

In the remote forest areas are met delightful aboriginal tribes—the Ho, the Munda, the

Oraon, the Kheria, the Santal. The spontaneous joy of their dance is irresistible. They are simple and honest and the remnants of good humanity in this spoilt world.

Animals

Forest animals comprise many species. Tiger, leopard, bear, deer, sambhar and pig are the commonest. Wild elephants are found in parts of Porahat and Dhalbhum.

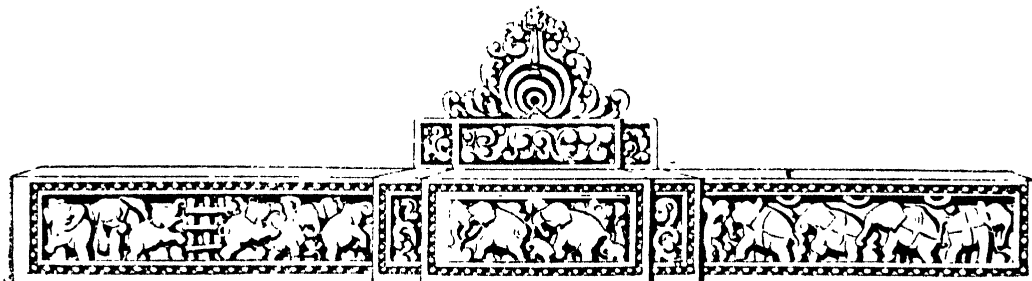
Shooting of animals is regulated by rules framed by Government. Permission to shoot is given on payment and on conditions which ensure the preservation of forest fauna and prevent wholesale slaughter. Where game is in deficit sanctuaries are established.

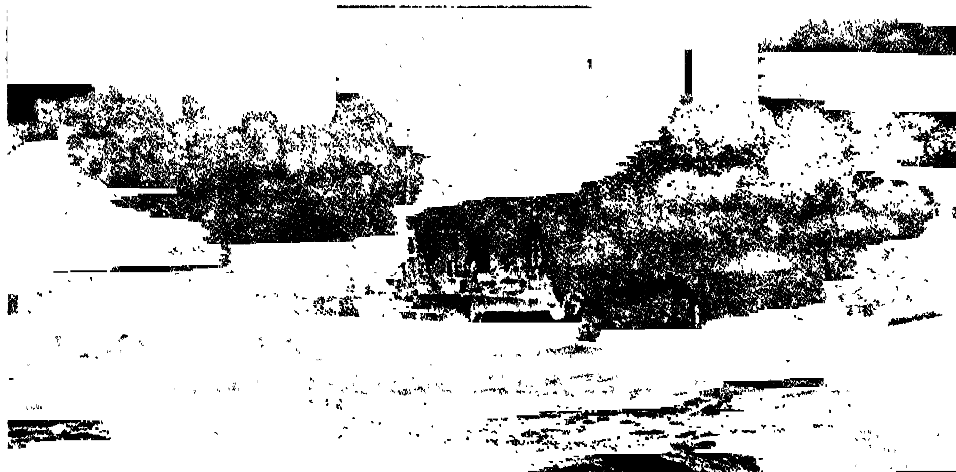
Privare Forests and Rights

As has been said above private forests in Bihar are extensive. Their area is vastly greater than that of forests under the control of Government. Forest is a long term business; the Sal tree that is planted to-day will yield small timber and poles in at least 40 years and good timber in over 100 years. Who among the private individuals can look so far ahead? The lure, on the other hand, to make easy money from forest cutting can be indulged without much apparent disaster, for the effects of forest, either good or evil, take years to show up. It is indeed as difficult and indirect to prove the benefits of forest or the disasters of its destruction as to prove that the world is round. The indiscriminate, and what to the trained eye is unmistakably ruthless, cutting of forest in the hands of private parties is proceeding apace. On the Ranchi plateau the destruction is glaring. In other parts of Chota-Nagpur too it is painfully apparent.

Consciousness on this point has fortunately been growing. Government have been able to induce a number of landlords in Ranchi district to lease out their forests to Government for management for a period of 45 years on condition that the landlords will receive rental at the rate of Rs. 40 per sq. mile *per annum* plus half the net profit when it accrues; they do not share the loss on management. In Singhbhum district a notable example is the lease of forests belonging to the proprietor of Dhalbhum Estate, over 200 sq. miles in area. All such forests are being managed by Government at a considerable financial loss to them as the forests have long been depleted of timber and are at the present stage incapable of yielding much revenue. The great objective however is the saving of these forests in the interests of the Province and country generally. In Manbhum the story is less encouraging for out of about 400 sq. miles of hill forest only 14 sq. miles are under scientific management by Government. There are, however, hopes that gradually most of the private forests of Bihar will be brought under control to ensure their preservation and improvement.

Nor can the control of forest be in any degree termed undue interference with private rights. Proprietorship in forest has in no civilised country been permitted to be absolute. Finland, Switzerland, Germany, Frânce, Japan and most other countries have instituted intense control of all their private forest. And with very good reason. If you own a flourishing wheat field you may let loose your horse to trample it down and make it his camping ground; the loss is yours and nobody else's. But if you destroy your forest on the hills the consequences are shared (in greater proportion than by you) by your neighbour and by the distant people in the plains. The house in the middle of the town is yours. You have the undisputed and absolute right in and over it. Yet you may not set fire to it.





Leningrad : By-weekly ship leaving for London

INSIDE THE U. S. S. R.

Fourteen Days Hard

By Prof. SHYAMA CHARAN, M.A., M.SC. (*London*)

CHAPTER VI

The Social Life of the Comrades

May, 30 (*continued*)

On return from the Pushkin City we passed through the Nevsky Prospekt—I forget, I should say the 25th October Prospekt. Jesson stopped a passing flower seller and purchased a bunch of white flowers which he pinned to the corsage of Mlle. Zoya.

Alexander turned up after lunch and we went wandering about the city. I had some spare meal coupons and so enquired in the hotel if they could be used for inviting guests. I was informed that we could utilise them in this way provided the guest accompanied us. We invited Alexander to dine with us at the Astoria, the best hotel restaurant run by the Intourist in Leningrad.

We sat in the open air restaurant, which was covered with a glass roof removable on fine days. I ordered a bottle of beer for 2·75 roubles for our guest. As Jesson was due to leave for Moscow at 9 P.M., he phoned to the Hotel Europe to send the taxi with his luggage to the Astoria from where he could be picked up and taken to the station.

Alexander told me that they had spent a few hours last night dancing in the Hotel Europe. Jesson seemed to be particularly happy in being accompanied by a couple of buxom Russian girls with whom he danced all the time that he was there. He had hopes of further adventures with them but Alexander smiled at his simplicity or rather cunning, and said that Russian girls were not like girls in other countries, they were economically independent and had no need of his money.

Shortly the taxi arrived when Jesson left us and went away to the station.

Accompanied by Alexander, I now went to the 25th October Prospekt—right this time !—and visited the Arctic flight exhibition of photographs. The Russians have made several expeditions to the North Pole and have established stations along the route. They intend to have an Aerodrome right at the Pole itself. This new route when fully developed and opened will shorten the journey to the various parts of the world.

From there we went to the People's House—a kind of carnival. The usual booths, refreshment, kiosks, dancing halls and the other attractions were being fully utilised by the visitors.

Leningrad and the other cities of the

U. S. S. R. have now Cultural Homes for the workers. They have palaces of culture, stadiums, libraries, schools, hospitals, etc. Attempts are being made to raise the standard of living and culture all round. It is said that once some foreigners remarked to a communist that he was travelling in I class, a procedure quite at variance with the theory of the Soviet—equality for all.

The comrade replied with a smile that he saw nothing wrong in it,—he and his countrymen were trying their best to see that everybody travelled in I class.

In other countries, however, the so-called socialists are making an endeavour to lower the standard of living instead of raising it up.

In one such cultural centre in my own country I was asked to give a talk to the People's Workers. They were all living on a very simple unbalanced diet consisting mostly of carbo-hydrates. Some of them however desired to have a glass of milk daily to sustain their energies. But the orders were that no milk was to be used in the camp as it was an article of luxury. It was neither permitted to be purchased privately by the workers, if they could afford it nor was it to be supplied by the camp authorities. But some were emphatically of opinion that it was most essential for them, considering that they were all vegetarians. When therefore I asked them how they managed without it, they looked round for eavesdroppers and then whispered, Sir, we take it confidentially in our rooms at the dead of night.

However, when I drew the attention of the authorities to this state of affairs and told them that as far as food was concerned they ought to raise the standard of living of the workers rather than bring it down, they saw the point in it, and I am glad to say that since then the policy of milk prohibition has been revised, and the workers permitted to indulge in this luxury.

Piece-work and competition have been introduced in the industries. This is what the Russians say about piece-work in their country :

"Labour and Socialist competition have become interchangeable terms in the Soviet Union. This movement, which has spread practically throughout all industries is based on *the enthusiasm of the workers.* Unlike competition in the ordinary sense of the word, Socialist competition implies a mutual struggle for the attainment of common aims, such as raising the standard and quantity of output of a given factory, completing or even overfulfilling the plan of work. Among the most advanced and prevalent forms of Socialist competition are the shock brigades.

"Since the basis for this drive is to speed up industrialisation and thereby raise up the standard of living in U. S. S. R. the Government encourages those belonging to the shock brigades by granting certain privileges over and above the usual return for their labour. They may be given longer holidays, special rations, trips abroad, facilities to improve their qualifications as workers, etc."

In Russia now the wages and hours of work are differential and not the same for all. The latter are seven per day, while the brain workers are expected to do only 6 hours, even which it is intended to reduce to five.

"Wages are graded according to scale and also to the relative importance of the given industry in the national economy. Piece-rate payment is the method now usually adopted in the U. S. S. R.

"The basic wage policy in the U. S. S. R. is as follows :

"(1) A systematic increase in wages and consequent improvement in the material position of the workers;

"(2) Wage increases are dependent on the growth in labour productivity. Every factory and enterprise is required to raise output to a given level and on the basis of such achievement the wage scale is raised;

"(3) Men and women engaged in similar work receive the same rate of pay;

"(4) Rates of pay are based upon both quality and quantity of output.

"A differential scale exists for various types of work, the work involving more skill or which is more difficult to accomplish receives a higher rate of pay. This system has resulted in arousing the workers to raise their qualifications;

"(5) The wage rates in the more vital branches of national economy are higher than those of less importance. For instance, miners and metallurgical workers receive higher wages than those engaged in light industry."

Special mention must be made of the privileges granted to women workers. Expectant mothers engaged in brain or clerical work are given two to three months' leave of absence, and those engaged in manual work upto four months (eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement). Assistance during confinement and child nursing is also given. In specially wearying and unhealthy industries, as also in underground and night work, no female labour is allowed. Pregnant women and nursing mothers are in no circumstances allowed to work overtime or in night shifts.

Similarly children under fourteen are on no conditions allowed to enter into employment. Those between 14 and 16 years of age are permitted to work in exceptional cases for a maximum working time of four hours.

Social insurance is compulsory for all workers, whether employed by the State or by private institutions and enterprises. The capital for it consists of subscriptions of those who insure businesses, institutions, works, private persons who use hired labour and of other sources of income which do not affect the

earnings of the workers. The insurance includes :—

1. Medical Aid
2. Temporary incapacity relief for sickness, disablement, quarantine, child-birth, and sick-nursing a member of the family
3. Special assistance for infant nursing, sick-attendance and burials
4. Unemployment relief
5. Permanent disablement relief
6. Assistance, in the event of the bread-winner's death, or in the case of dependents being abandoned by the bread-winner.

Soviet law demands that all workers be provided, free of charge, with special clothing, boots and any other requisite, necessary to protect them from burns, dust, cold, etc. Working clothes are provided to all workers in every enterprise regardless of the fact whether they are engaged in dangerous work or not.

The factories are equipped with the latest safety devices. Recently the Leningrad Institute has produced a safety device based on the use of photo-electric cells which stop the machinery automatically when an object—say a hand—enters the danger zone. All the factories are gradually taking to it.

The system of education has been revised. All children are not permitted to have education. The Kulaks for instance are debarred from sending their children to school. For others it is free up to seventeen years of age. Ninety per cent of the students are from among the workers and peasants.

After the revolution higher education was thought to be an affair of the bourgeoisie and was therefore given up. Boys and girls from the fields and factories were sent direct to the Medical and Engineering colleges. After a few years, however, they realised that such persons could not get on with the technical subjects prescribed for study, without a preliminary grounding in the Higher Secondary Schools. So now everything has been restored to its previous status.

I read an amusing story about the Soviet propaganda education : A problem which could not be solved by the worker soldiers in their class :—

"Three brothers received an inheritance of equal portions; the first brother lost part of his inheritance to the third brother while gambling; the remaining 12 roubles his wife took away from him; the second brother added five roubles to his share and loaned the sum to the third brother; the third then bought a grocery store for 125 roubles. How much did each brother inherit ?"

Kroschka stood before the blackboard—tall and broad shouldered—and looked sheepishly at the white letters written there.

"The devil knows," he said at last, "it's all mixed up." He tried to think again, rolling the chalk between his fingers.

"If the wife would'nt take the roubles, then may be I could figure it out." He scratched his head. "And why on earth did he give his wife the money ?..... "

Then he shouted, "The devil take all these store-keepers."

"Hard isn't it ?" asked the teacher.

"Who could understand it ?" demanded Kroschka, relieved. "Someone lost, someone won, and someone bought a store. What business is it of ours ?"

The teacher now rubbed out the original form of the question and rewrote it saying, "We'll send those store-keepers to the devil. Take this problem :—

"Three workers finished a certain piece of work and earned a certain sum of money which was divided equally among them. The first one sent 12 to his famiy; the third one borrowed from the first the rest of his money and from the second his whole share and five roubles more and paid a debt of 125 roubles. How much did each earn ?"

This was immediately solved by Kroschka.

Children are well looked after here as they are the future State. They are under the direct guardianship of the city fathers. But this does not exempt parents from the duty of looking after them. They are not permitted to be starved or ill treated.

Theoretically in other parts of the world the District Judge is supposed to be the guardian of all children. But he exercises his authority only in the case of the issues and heirs of the rich, and that too on a petition being made to him.

Russians are ruthless to their critics. I was informed that trials are stage managed. Only a fraction of the persons arrested are brought to trial, who like good actors confess their guilt and are awarded death sentences, which, they know, are not meant to be carried out. One does not know what actually happens to such men—they simply vanish from the face of the earth. Journals are censored. Freedom of opinion is only for the party in power. The others have none whatever.

Suffrage is enjoyed by all working people of both sexes above eighteen years of age and members of their families who are supposed to be engaged in domestic labour. The following are debarred from voting :—persons employing hired labour with the object of making profits;

private tradesmen; the clergy and the members of the royal family; ex-ministers and police officers. Very few of these, however, will be found to exist in the land now—as most of them have been liquidated.

"The declaration has put an end to the policy of national oppression, persecution, Pogroms, and violence, by proclaiming the equality and sovereign rights of people inhabiting Russia, even to the extent of secession and formation of Independent States."

The recent Ukrainian pogroms against the Jews (1938) however belie the above. Counter-revolution is the scape-goat for all suppressions.

I parted from Alexander at the People's House. He stayed on in the House dancing with some of his friends. He promised to turn up next day and take me shopping to spend my roubles.

I walked back to the hotel and retired to bed at about 11 P.M. after a sumptuous dinner.

Communism, what is in a name ? It is like a hedge which needs trimming. The branches are lopped off and the hedge made even and uniform. If it is vigorous and there is plenty of manure and water, it again sprouts up and becomes full of branches spreading above and all round. Its evenness is gone. This is what has happened to Russia. Various classes under different names are again coming into being. The people of the older generation no doubt look like peasants and workers and are rough and coarse in their manners. But the new generation has again acquired the soft hands and and other characteristics of the old bourgeoisie.

CHAPTER VII

On Board the Siberia to London

(May 31)

Again a rainy day. I did not have a rain coat. The cost of the cheapest Macintosh in Leningrad was 250 roubles, about ten pounds, while a travelling cap was a pound. So I decided to wait till I reached London.

Packed up my suitcase and had it taken down to the hotel office at noon as my daily tourist ticket expired then.

Used up both the remaining breakfast tickets in having a good breakfast and taking some oranges from the restuarant at 4 roubles each.

The money that was left with me had to be used up somehow. So I bought some postage stamps for children at home and visited a department store to make purchases. In the end I selected a leather purse for 8·50 roubles, the like of which would have cost me a shilling in London. Gramophone records were being sold at 63 roubles each.

After these purchases only one rouble note was left which I stowed away in my wallet as souvenir. I also laid aside a few kopeks for the same purpose.

At 3-30 P.M. left for the docks in a taxi. The ride was a long one. We were stopped at the entrance gate of the docks, where my passport was examined. It had been returned that day with the exit visa. The gates were thrown open and we went towards the pier where the ship was lying at anchor ready to depart.

A thought came to my mind about the feelings of those who wanted to escape from Russia. How difficult it must have been for them to pass this gate for the ships in the river.

The books that have been written about Russia are by those who fled away from the land. They were fugitives—however right they might have been in their actions. And as fugitives they were hunted down. I am sure they would have had the same fate in any other country.

Soon we reached the docks and went into the waiting halls. The whole structure is beautifully designed. The ante-room was decorated with polar bear skins, and had shops and refreshment counters. Our luggage was taken to the customs shed, where we were asked to wait for the arrival of the officers.

I wandered about, looking at the passengers and the arrangements. The ship had not docked till then. We were told that either it would steam up in time, or we would be taken over to it.

In the post office I found some pictorial stamps of Russia. I bought as many varieties as I could for the remaining rouble. The total, however, went upto 101 kopeks. When I wanted to return a kopek stamp, the lady-clerk at the counter asked me to keep it and not bother about a kopek.

Now, I wrote out a letter in pencil to the Intourist at Moscow to permit me to pass through Russia on my way back from London and give me a tourist visa so that I might see Moscow before I left Europe. I asked for a reply, by air mail, in London. It was received two months later in India saying that they were sorry, and that no second application could be entertained for a tourist visa till a period of six months had expired from the time of the first refusal.

At the Hotel when I returned to it, the office clerk told me that I could write to Moscow for permission to visit the town for a day only.

But it would take some days to get a reply. So the matter ended there and I could not see Moscow or Lenin's tomb.

At last the customs officers turned up and our luggage was very rigorously searched. When my turn came, all the articles were decanted out of suitcase, and letters and books etc. were placed on the side. The officer then examined the latter. Picture cards purchased in Leningrad were inspected, pages of books were turned over, and letters were read. I was asked about the money. I showed them the amount with me, and in spite of the regulations they were good enough to let me take away with me a few kopeks as souvenirs. The passport was again examined.

Then the officer turned his attention to the sealed case and asked me to open it. I said that the box was sealed up at the Baku custom house and I was given to understand that it would be passed through unexamined. The officer told me that as it was in my custody it must be opened. They did see that the seal was of the customs house—but I must open it. Twine had been used to tie it up and throughout that journey I was afraid that it might break in the way and land me in trouble. But it survived the long journey.

I cut the cords now and threw open the box for their inspection. They looked at all the articles in it, but did not bother about letters, etc. All the same the examination was rigorous. They then chalked both the boxes, whereat the search came to a close. It took half-an-hour.

Now I wandered about, once more, looking at the persons who were to be my shipmates during the next week. They were only seven or eight in all. But the examination took more than two hours. Some of them were going back to their countries after working several years here, and had to be thoroughly examined.

When everything was over, the examined luggage was loaded in a van and we were put in a bus and taken to the ship, which was moored further up. The customs officers accompanied us.

As soon as we were aboard and our luggage was hoisted in, the ship whistled and we were soon off, up the river. Goodbyes were said all round as there were many other passengers, about thirty young men and women comrades who had come direct to the ship. They were bidding farewell to their friends.

After going some distance the ship turned round in the open river and steamed full speed towards the Gulf of Finland. Its name was *Siberia*.

It left at 6-30 P.M. two and a half hours late. We passed through the sea canal and Kronsdat, the military base of Leningrad. Huge warships and submarines were lying all round.

In the hard class the cabins had four berths. A few only had two. I shared mine with an American. There were two other passengers in the same class. One was a Canadian engineer with a baby, and the other another American tourist.

Everything was neat and clean. The ship was far better than the one we had in the Caspian.

The usual routine of a voyage now commenced. There were no bath rooms in the III class. I was therefore permitted to use the upper class ones. We dined separately in our own dining room, while the I and II class passengers dined in a big room on the main deck. The drawing room and the lounges were common to all. I only used to come down to the III class for the meals and to sleep and the rest of the time was spent on the decks.

Breakfast was at 9 A.M.—Cheese, eggs, ham, sardines, coffee, tea, cocoa, bread and butter.

Lunch at 1 P.M.—Hors d'ouerves, meat dish, pudding et compate, tea, etc

Tea at 4 P.M.—Lemon tea, biscuits, pastry and jam.

Dinner at 7 P.M.—Soup, chicken or meat dish, sweets, tea, etc.

We were waited on by the same steward who served the captain. Our food was similar to that in I class except that we had no caviar and had one dish less.

The Canadian-Finnish with the baby had a tragic history. His first Russian wife died leaving a baby daughter, who was about a year and a half old now. Then he married another one. He had to leave the country as his contract was over and the Soviet did not want him any longer. But they would not permit his wife to accompany him, though he was allowed to take away the child. She had come to bid him goodbye on the docks. On board the ship, therefore, he used to look after the sickly child, helped by the stewardess. The baby dined with us, but once when she was sick, the Canadian had her fed in the cabin.

In the II class there was an English lady who had taught in Russian schools for thirteen and a half years and was now being sent back. She told me that the authorities of one school

had ordered a set of Kipling's works, on the covers of which was printed a Swastika,—a symbol which the Soviet cannot tolerate. The bindings had to be replaced by fresh ones without the hated Swastika.

The Swastika, the holy symbol of the Aryans and the Hindus, has been brought down into the mud by the Germans. While I was travelling in China and Japan, my wife who accompanied me, had a pendant with a Swastika. All the time we were busy explaining to everybody, that we were not Hitlerites or Pro-German. The Swastika in the pendant was only a symbol of the Hindus.

In London, later, when I required a visa from the German Consulate for travelling through Austria, I told the officer-in-charge that the Germans were using the Hindu symbol as their national emblem. He did not agree with me and said that it was their original Nordic symbol. But when I explained its history to him and told him that in every village in India he would find in every house, if not in every room, a Swastika plastered on the walls and the floors in red, not in the mourning black as theirs, he replied, "Sir, may be you are right. We live and learn."

Coming back to our ship, there was another English lady on board who had married a Russian but later divorced him. She was going back to her native land accompanied by her son, aged about eight. He had pretty eyes and was very fond of painting and drawing ships.

There was also a young American lady tourist in the same class. The others were all Russians. They had brought a large number of gramophone records and played them the whole day and night.

Once while wandering on the decks I went right up to the bridge, where a gentleman politely intimated to me that the passengers were not allowed on that particular part of the ship.

(June 2)

Very cold, windy and foggy. The fog horn has been blowing most of the time.

I discovered that the Russian passengers were going to France for their higher education.

(June 3)

A gentleman in a navy-blue suit introduced himself to me as the Captain of the ship. It was the first time that I saw a captain in a lounge suit on duty. He was a very nice man and could speak English. He said that he hoped that I had no urgent work in London to necessitate my early arrival there. I told him no. He then said that they might reach London a day later as they were going to Havre to land the Russians first and then would return to London. I asked him if the late arrival of the ship would be notified in London. He said yes. The notice would be posted up on the wharf.

I had no English money. All my resources were in Indian currency notes, letters of credit and travellers' cheques. I did not have even sufficient money for the porter and the taxi in London. So I had written from Iran to a friend of mine in London to meet me at the docks—Hays Wharf—with some change.

I found that all the foreign voyagers, who were being sent back, had also no money with them.

According to their contract their salaries had been deposited in their banks abroad. All the money, which they had in roubles had to be disposed off in making purchases. The ladies had been rushing about buying bottles of scent and sundry other things at the docks—which explains the presence of the curio and other shops there.

They all had written to their relations to meet them with some loose cash at the docks in London.

The American tourists were well provided with dollar notes.

At 5 P.M. we sighted Kiel. Land locked bay, warships and submarines everywhere, and airships circling overhead. Before entering the harbour we passed a curious monument to the dead soldiers. A tower with a semi-circular pavilion round it.

We passed on into the canal lock. A warship was standing ready on the pier next to the canal. The sailors had lined the decks and the guns were pointing towards the sky. A gangway was put across and a pilot came forward accompanied by his mate, with a lantern and a bag. He was politely asked to go as another one had already turned up on our entering the harbour. He went away cursing in English.

Owing to the high tide the difference in the level of the sea and the canal was only ten inches. The gates were soon opened and we swung into the canal.

It was amusing to watch the "hammer and sickle" devotees glaring at the worshippers of the Swastika and *vice versa*. The ship used to go up to Hamburg before, but does not do so now.

We passed under a huge bridge and were now in the canal proper. A green and lovely country lay on either side, with cows grazing

peacefully and cottages dotted about here and there. In the evening the canal was lit on either side with electric lamps. The total length of the canal is about sixty miles.

The sunset was simply gorgeous when we passed through a large town. There was a swing bridge and also a very high railway bridge further up the canal.

I have been through the Suez Canal before and it seemed from a low deck chair as if we were going across a desert. While in the Kiel Canal it seemed as if we were gliding through a beautiful meadow.

The gramophone and the Radio were alternately giving dance music in the saloon.

In the III Class cabins there were no arrangements for washing. All the wash basins were in a common lavatory. No hot water was laid on at this time of the year—it being official summer. So our shaving, and washing etc., had to be done with cold water supplanted by a mug of hot water borrowed from the kitchen. But the bathrooms in the upper classes had very nice hot water arrangements.

German ships and boats were passing us flying red flags with black Swastikas on white circles. An atmosphere of suspicion and distrust was prevalent all round. All the books in the smoking room had been removed and locked away. Soviet books were not permitted on German waters.

(June 4)

The canal was passed in the night and now we were in the North Sea. Several ships were visible as this was a well frequented route. Warning about the wrecks under the sea was given on the charts hanging on the decks.

The Russian students going to France talked very little French but could speak Spanish fluently as they were originally destined for Spain.

A beautiful sunny day. Sea slightly choppy. Many down with mal-der-mer.

The Canadian who had been working in Kuralia said that its border was well guarded, and now there was a no man's land of several miles' extent between Russia and Finland. Any person found there without a warrant was shot. He also said that "Mohamedonians in South Russia do not eat pig as they hold it sacred"! What a blasphemy! They do not eat it because it has been declared unclean by the prophet and not because it is sacred.

(June 5)

Passed Dover with regret at noon. A tantalising sight, so near and yet so unattainable.

Radio from England. Good music and then a sudden burst into advertisement patois,—disgusting use of the invention. The whole ship was fitted with loud speakers so that music was relayed to all its parts, including even the kitchens.

Sighted the French coast at about 4 P.M. and docked at 11 P.M. at La Havre.

Beautiful lights on the shore as carnival was in progress there. Music and dancing. We docked on the other side and could not land till morning.

(June 6)

The Russian students left the ship. A pretty girl, evidently Spanish, turned up, and escorted the passengers ashore.

It seemed that they were after all going on to Spain. The captain gave a breakfast to the lady in his cabin. He was still in grey bags and blue blazer.

As I was taking a few snapshots, the mate on duty, a bewhiskered fellow, asked me to stop doing so and later asked us all to go inside the smoking room. The English lady, with the pretty son said that he had made enemies with her for life.

Some new passengers came on the ship.

The French customs examination on the shore was very cursory. Quite a contrast to those in Iran and Russia.

We were not permitted to leave the ship, which sailed at noon for London.

Russians seem to be more welcome here in France than in Germany.

At 9-30 P.M. passed the Leas of Folkestone and a pilot with a lame leg turned up to take the ship over to London.

Could not sleep much owing to my impatience to reach London, though I had retired early to bed. Woke up several times to peep out of the porthole. Passed Ramsgate and Margate at 1 A.M.

(June 7)

When I peeped out of the porthole the ship was just passing under the Tower Bridge. A welcome sight. It was too early and the ship had to wait for an hour or so for high water to dock.

The luggage had been packed and we had dressed. A hasty breakfast was taken. We were waiting for the customs officers and our friends to BAIL US OUT. We had no money evén for the porters.

I could not see any sign of my friends and was soon called to the III class deck for the

customs examination. A very cursory one. When the officer asked me how long I had had my camera with me, I told him that I had bought it for about three pounds in India a few months ago. He permitted me to take it duty free when I assured him that I had no intention of selling it in England and that it would be out of the country in a couple of weeks' time.

My suitcases were placed on the deck, where I waited in patience the arrival of my friends. Soon I was informed that a porter was searching for me with a letter in his hand. It was soon handed over to me. It was heavy! It contained the requisite money and change. A note was enclosed to the effect that my friends had come to the docks on the 5th and 6th and were told that there was no information as to when the ship was due. It had been delayed by a couple of days. So, as it was a busy day for them, they could not come and had sent the money on, as required.

I tipped the porter and really enjoyed his "Thank you, Sir." The other passengers on the ship remarked, "So you have been bailed out." They too were bailed out one by one as their friends and relations turned up.

I sent for a taxi, my luggage was put on it and soon we rolled on to the London Bridge. At last I felt free!

In Iran I felt that I was going through an armed camp unescorted and challenged at every step. While in Russia the feeling persisted that I was being carefully escorted through a well managed—but still—an armed camp. It was in England alone that I could breathe freely once more and wander about without any feeling of restraint.

I have seen many countries during my travels who have been proud of their so-called "Democracies." But, I am not flattering England when I say that in spite of its Monarchy, it is the freest country in the world today.

(*Concluded*)

DESIRE FOR A HUMAN SOUL

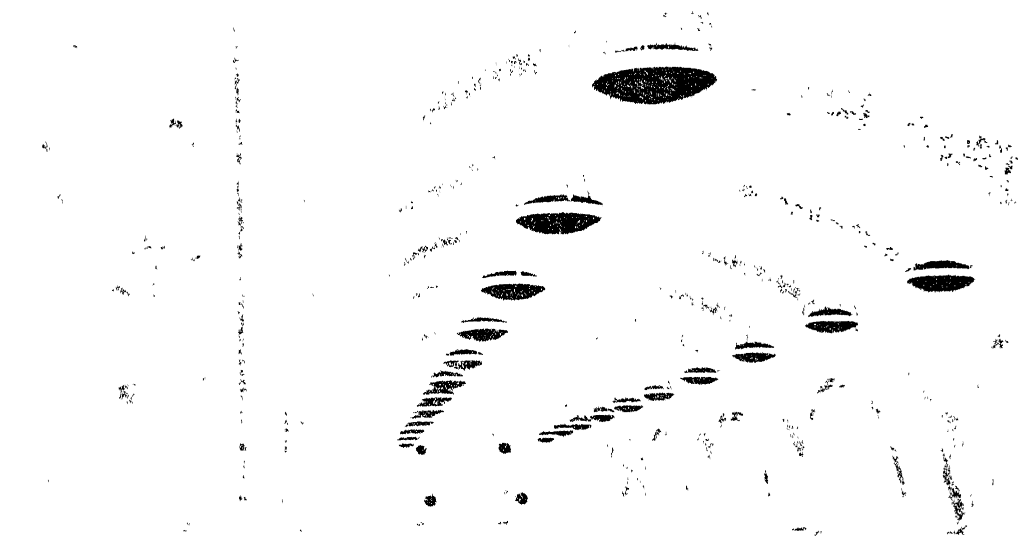
By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

All fruitless is the cry,
All vain this burning fire of desire.
The sun goes down to his rest.
There is gloom in the forest and glamour in the sky.
With downcast look and lingering steps
The evening star comes in the wake of departing day
And the breath of the twilight is deep with the fulness of a farewell feeling.

I clasp both thine hands in mine.
And keep thine eyes prisoner with my hungry eyes;
Seeking and crying, Where art thou,
Where, O, where!

Where is the immortal flame hidden in the depth of thee!
As in the solitary star of the dark evening sky
The light of heaven, with its immense mystery, is quivering,
In thine eyes, in the depth of their darkness
There shines a soul-beam tremulous with a wide mystery.
Speechless I gaze upon it,
And I plunge with all my heart
Into the deep of a fathomless longing:
I lose myself.

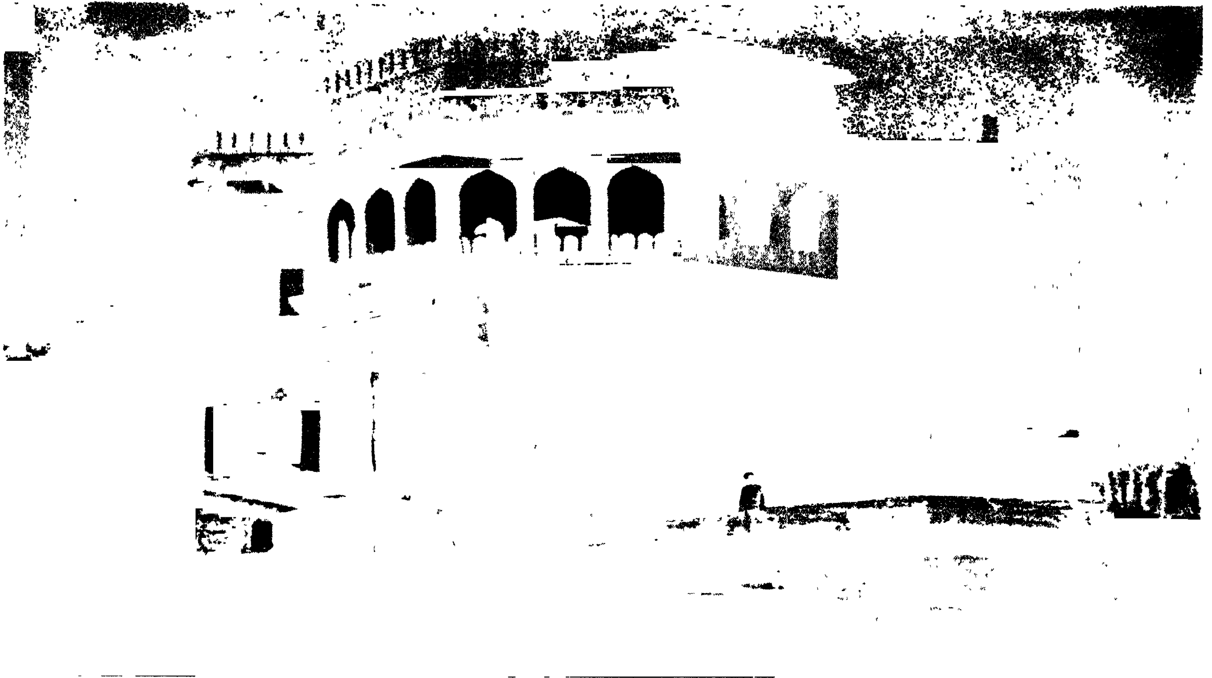
[The above translation is interesting as being the first attempt made by the author (then a youthful poet—the translation is dated 1887) to render one of his Bengali poems into English. It was never intended for publication and has been only recently unearthed from among old files by his private secretary. The Poet has, however, allowed it to be published, as it is, in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*.]



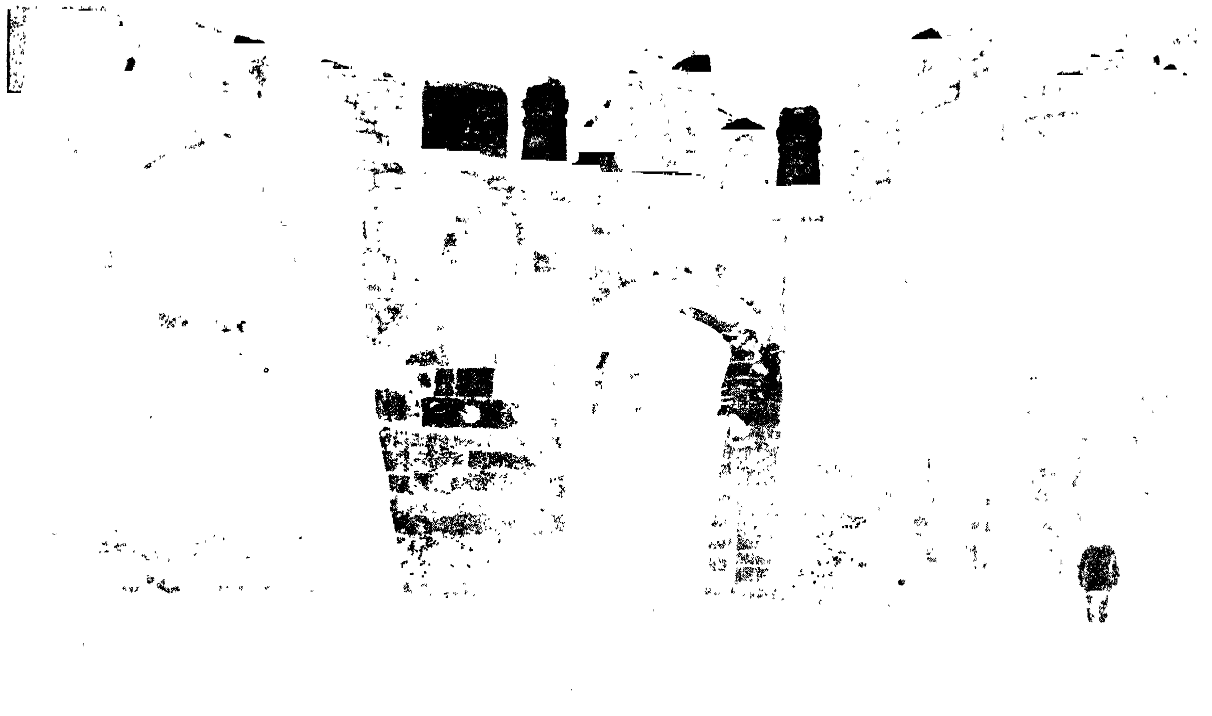
Moscow underground railway station—note the statuary



A view of the palace inside the Kremlin



Baradari, near garden house, Daulatabad



One of the several gates (Mahakot Darwaza), Daulatabad

Daulatabad Fort, from a distance

DEVAGIRI

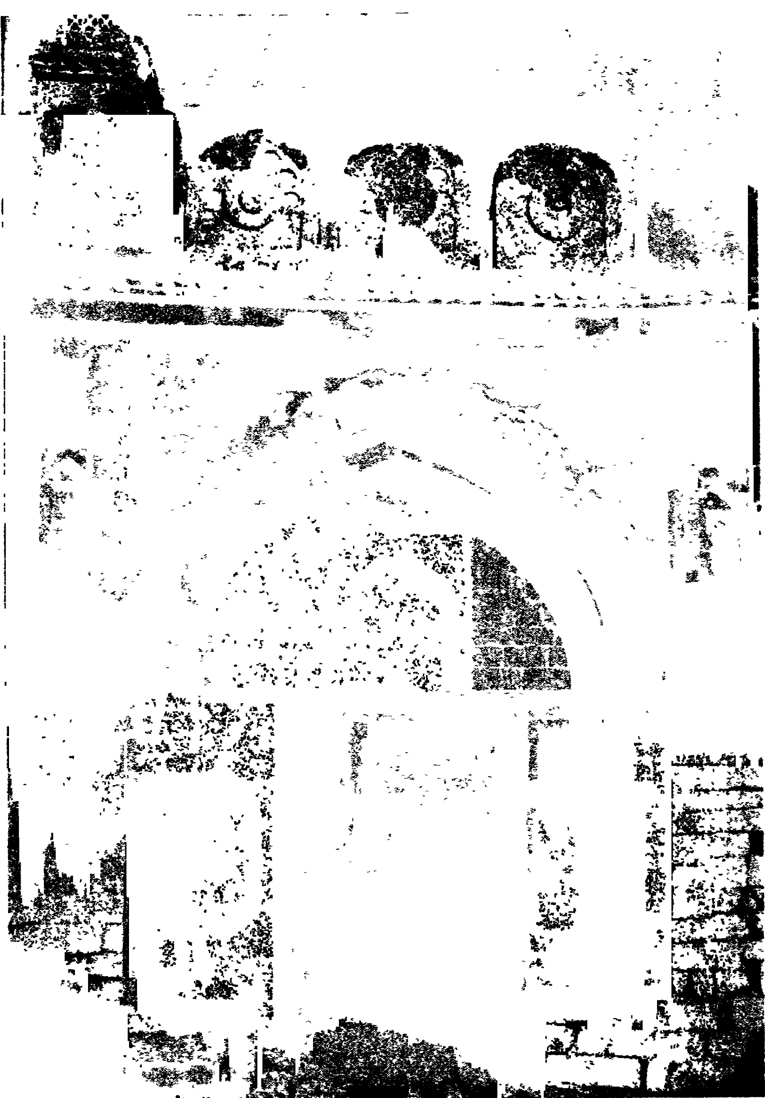
By ADRIS BANERJI

The rock-fort of Daulatabad, with the fortified town at its feet, is situated about 8 miles north-west of Aurangabad, in the dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. This conical shaped hill is the site of the ancient city of Devagiri, identified by some with Tagara, mentioned by Ptolemy. Little is known of its ancient history. In the last decade of the twelfth century, when the power of the Chalukyas of Kalyani declined, Bhillama I, a feudatory King of the southern imperial house, threw off the mask of allegiance, and with Devagiri as his capital, established a new kingdom in the Deccan. The dynasty established by him is known in Indian history as the Yadavas of Devagiri, and it was overthrown by the Khaljis of Delhi.

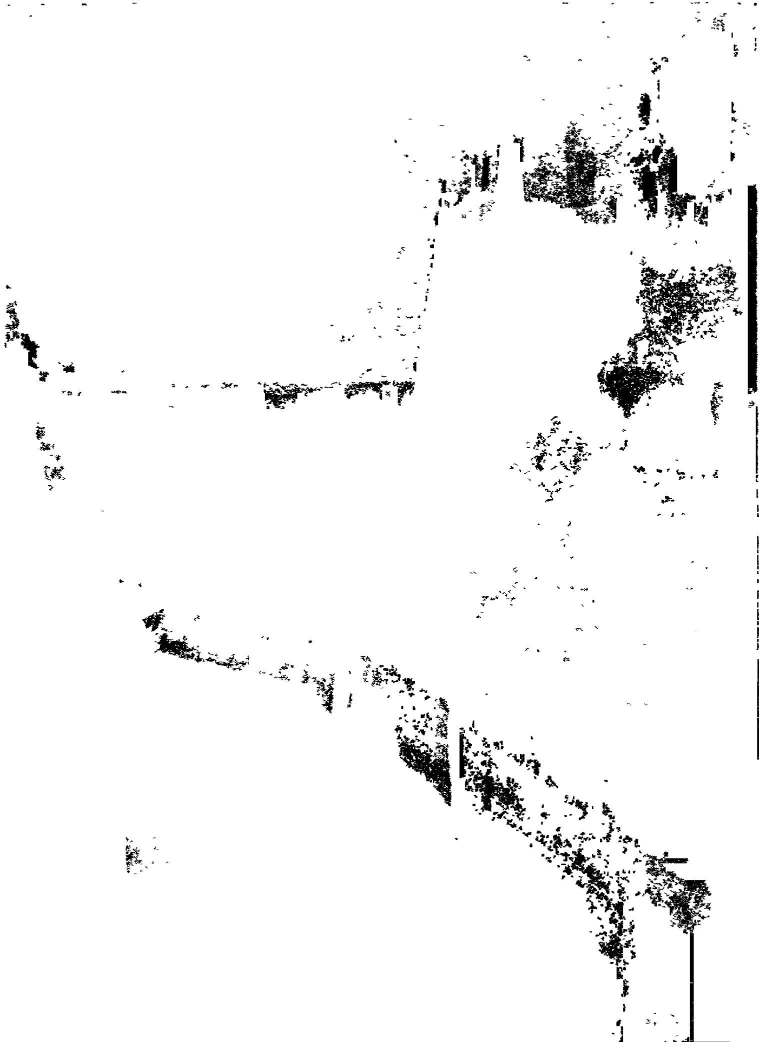
The early Sultans of Delhi were so busy consolidating their position in northern India that they could but pay little attention to the peninsular region. It was Alauddin Khalji who led an expedition to the little known regions of the south. The Turkish host occupied the fortress of Devagiri in 1297 A.D., and the Yadava King, having agreed to pay tribute, was restored to his throne. Even then, territorial annexation in the south was not the policy of the Delhi rulers. The Raja of Devagiri twice made default in the payment of tribute, and in 1307 and 1310 A.D., Malik Kafur beseiged the rock-fort of Devagiri. It was then that the Hindu and Jaina buildings suffered terribly. At last in 1318 A.D. the last Hindu King of Devagiri was captured and flayed alive in his own stronghold.

With the accesion of the Tughluqs to the throne of Delhi a change of policy took place. No longer the armies marched only for loot and plunder but with the definite objective of annexation of territories. Muhammad Tughluq won a resounding victory over the Kakaktiyas of Warangal whose allegiance to Delhi had become half-hearted. He then led a series of expeditions against the distant Pandyan Kingdom of Madura and appointed a Governor there. This extension of territorial possessions which necessitated greater vigil over the newly conquered provinces, as well as the rebellion of his cousin, who was Governor of Deccan, impressed upon Muhammad Tughluq the necessity of a more centrally situated capital. He chose Devagiri, which he re-named Daulatabad. It was a far more carefully calculated move than the establishment of a new city in the arid regions of the Punjab by Firuz Tughluq. If due to the inherent weakness in the administrative system and the unreliable character of the officers of the State holding high positions, he had to re-transfer his capital, no blame attaches to his conduct.

With the Bahamani dynasty rising over the ruins of Tughluq provinces in southern India, Daulatabad passed into their hands and remained in their possession till 1526 A.D. Then it came under the sway of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, from whom it was wrested by Akbar. During Malik Ambar's able administration, the fort was recaptured from the Mughal



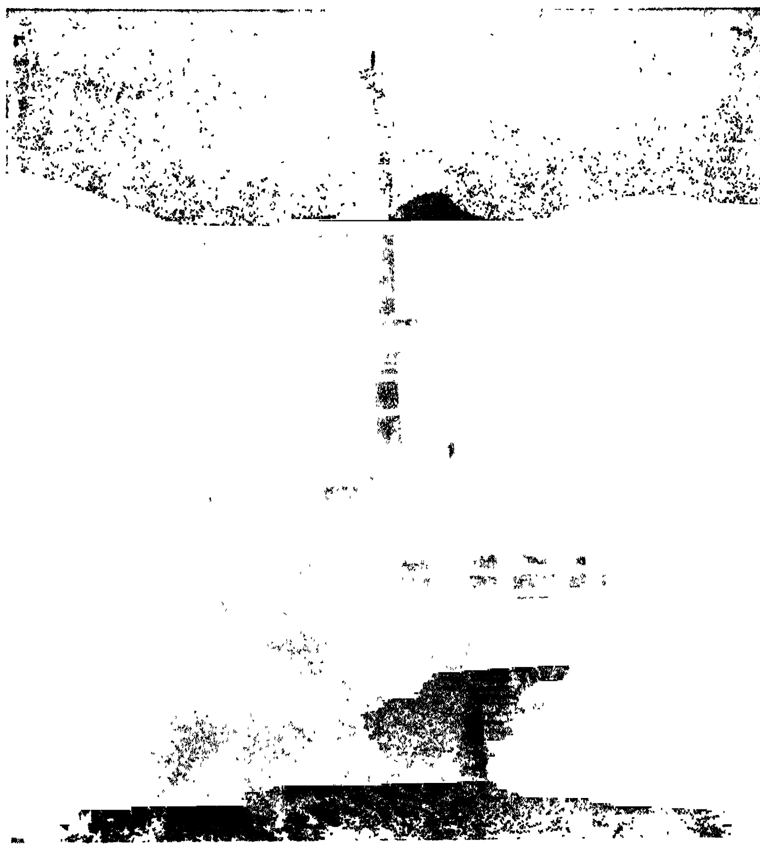
Eighth gate in the neighbourhood of Chini-mahal, Daulatabad



The moat surrounding the upper citadel with ruined battlements

subahdars of Deccan and remained in the possession of Nizam Shahis till 1633 A.D., when it was re-conquered by the Mughals in the reign of Shahjehan. During the rule of the Mughal *faineants* it came under the control of Asaf Jah, the first Nizam of Hyderabad.

The hill on which the fort is situated rises perpendicularly from the surrounding plain. The outer wall of the circumvallation is 2¾ miles in circumference. Between it and the base of the fort, there are three separate lines of fortifications. The wider wall encloses the city of Daulatabad. The citadel itself is surrounded by several walls, ruins of which can still be seen. The first entrance is merely an opening in the wall, and beyond it is the second rampart with a large square gateway, on inner side of which can still be seen groups of lions and elephants made of stone. The gateway of the third defences was much stronger and larger, and the bastions bear effigies of lions and elephants in relief. The roof of the porch is domical with lotus and other floral designs elaborately carved on it. The road from this entrance makes an abrupt turn to the right to reach a further line of defence. Beyond this is the limit of the lower portion of the fortress. To enter the inner defence, the visitor has to pass through a small doorway along a roughly paved road.



Naqqarakhana with the *minar* built by Alauddin in the background

The space between the fourth rampart and the inner defences of the fort, is occupied by the ruins of palaces, temples and *darghas*. At a short distance to the right of the *naqqarakhana* on the top of the fourth gateway, are to be found the remains of an ancient temple and in front of it is Pir Kadu Sahib's *dargah*. An immense well 100′ square and 40′ deep lies near this structure. Tombs of unknown warriors and ruins of a garden-house are also to be found in the neighbourhood. In front of the garden is another masonry tank about 150′ square and 22′ deep. The next object of interest is the *minar* built by Alauddin in c, 1445 A.D. To the left of the *minar* is the ruins of a Jaina temple, later on dedicated to Kali. Its *garbhagriha* is now used as a mosque.

At a distance of 60 yards from the portals of the inner defence is a large gate called the 'Black-Gate' from which the road turns to the right leading to the fifth gateway; an ascent of a dozen broad steps leads to the sixth, which has an oblong porch, with a semi-circular roof, constructed with the materials of older Hindu buildings. Another ascent of 50 or 60 steps leads to the seventh gate, to the left of which is the entrance of the palace of the Yadava Kings, and at a short distance beyond this is the eighth gate, in the neighbourhood of which lies Chini-Mahal. It would be remembered that Aurangzeb-Alamgir conquered Golconda after a long seige lasting for about a year (1687-8 A.D.). After the surrender of the Fort, Abul Hasan, popularly known as Tana Shah, the last Qutb Shahi King, was sent as a State prisoner to Daulatabad. Chini-Mahal was built by him,



The Black Gate (Kala Kot Darwaza) Daulatabad

The entrance to the upper Fort had to be reached in olden days by a draw-bridge thrown across a moat. Within the upper citadel are to be found the ruins of an ancient palace. Beyond this, the passage from the bridge ascends to a bastion, said to have been erected by Aurangzeb. From this point the passage winds along a gallery hewn out of virgin rock. This leads into a small courtyard, at one corner of which is a broken flight of steps leading to an elevated plateau containing ruins of ancient habitations. From the courtyard runs a covered gallery 60′ in length, terminating in a small vestibule with carved pillars. Beyond this is a slender tunnel, containing numerous chambers cut out in the rock. Another series of steps lead to a platform; a further ascent to a small opening, and the shrine of Fakir Sultan is reached. A path to the right leads to the Kauri tank, formed by a crevice in the rock filled by spring water. A further steep ascent and the summit of the rock is reached.

On the east side of the fortress is a stone staircase, built into the Fort wall, which descends to a small bridge across the trench and leads to a cave 19′ × 15′ × 6′, which contains a mutilated figure of a Devi.

MYSORE BEHIND THE AGES

Her Historic Remnants

BY FAQIR MOHAMMED,
Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society

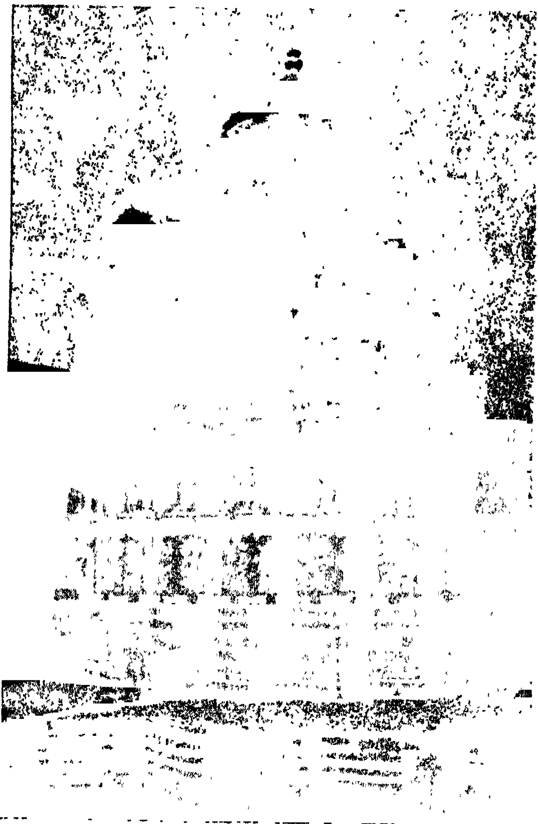
TO AN archæologist in quest of antique masterpieces, Mysore will probably prove a paradise abounding in the oldest historic remains of South India. Topographers hailing from Old Delhi and Agra note a marked difference in her emotional architecture symbolising the crusades of antiquity. All that is sublime in human genius, all that is true in Indian history, has been registered inch by inch on the four walls of the temples of art. And where hyperbole fails, real aptitude for art succeeds in recalling the warlike feats performed by the makers of history.

STATUE OF GOMATESWARA

One of the oldest ruins is the image of Sri Gomateswara, the *yati* of the Jains, which is a monolith carved in granite, measuring sixty feet high and is declared the highest statue existing outside Egypt. This imposing image whose majestic bearing is acknowledged by Fergusson, the great authority on architecture, celebrates the grand pilgrimage of the Jains, known as the *Maha Mastakabhisheka* which occurs once in fifteen years and the last festival that was celebrated in 1924 was a landmark in the history of this island. The pilgrimage consists in the anointing and bathing of the image and it was here that the Emperor Chandragupta Maurya took an oath of complete renunciation from murder and bloodshed in the third century B.C. and spent his last days in penance, fasting and meditation. The adjoining temple which commemorates the name of the Mauryan Emperor, is paved with every inch of history. The monolith of Gomateswara symbolises *Nirvana* or the highest stage of spiritualism that a Jain can attain. The limbs are relaxed, the eyes are partially closed in meditation and the brow is calm, lighted by a tranquil smile. This nude masterpiece which is held in great reverence by the Digambara or the sky-robed class of Jains, who regard nudism as an indispensable sign of holiness, symbolises the power of the *yati* who stood motionless during his long period of penance. The feet of the Guru rest in the figure of a lotus and the image which was erected by the sculptor Anitto Nemi at the commands of Chamunda Raya, is visible from many miles of the surrounding country. A romantic rendezvous of Jain pilgrims, Sravanabelagula was once the seat of culture where Jainism saw its golden age in the third century B.C.

HALEBID TEMPLE

The village of Halebid which was once the capital of Emperor Ballala, commands one of the oldest, unfinished masterpieces, famed as the



[Photo : Shanker Studio
The temple at Somnathpur

"Hoysalesvara Temple," which is 720 years old and was built by Ballala in 1219 A.D. Numerous rows of beautifully carved images crowned with ornamental canopies and the lavish decora-

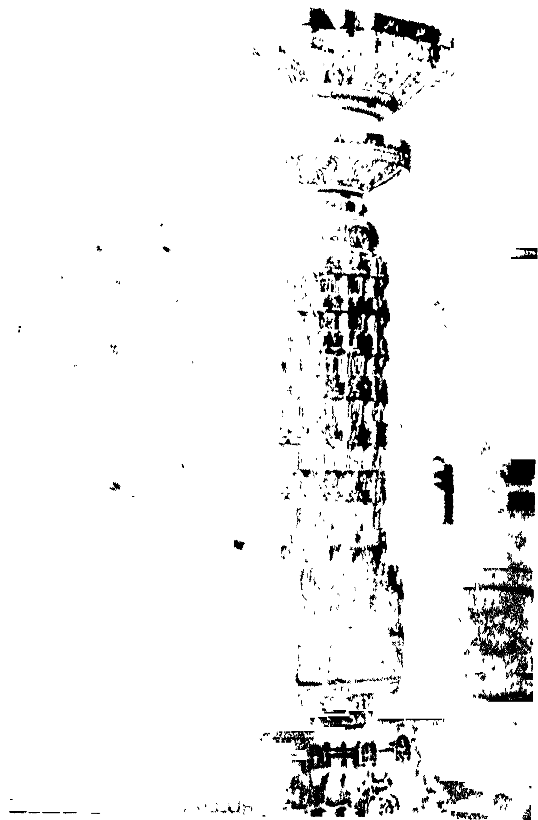
tions which hide every inch of the four walls from top to bottom, celebrate the crusades of the Mahabharata on one side and the episodes of the Ramayana on the other. Chariot-races, oriental dances and the sexual side of soldiers



[Photo : Shanker Studio
The sixty-feet high statue of Sri Gomateswara at Sravanabelagula

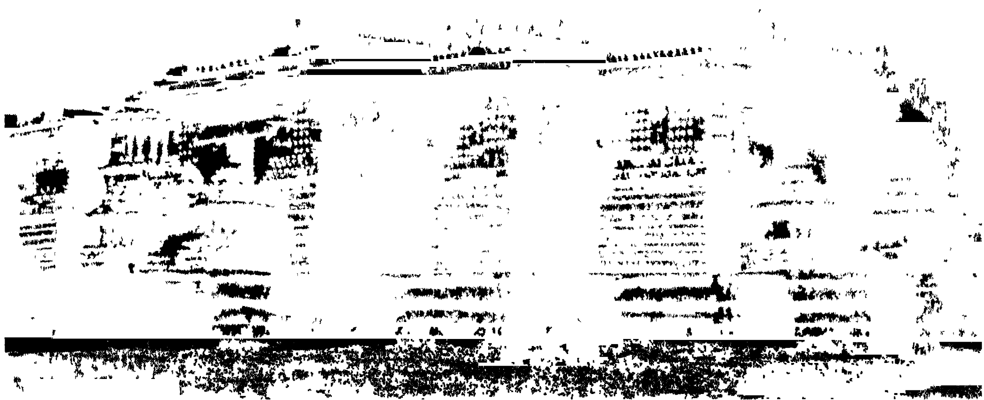
in the battlefields, stand out in spectacular sculpture. Many images are in reclining and sleeping postures with revelry painted in abundance. Here a topographer sees a greater amount of skilled labour than is exhibited in any other part of Mysore. The eastern and southern parts of the temple have pavilions in which colossal bulls have been coined behind which stands a shrine with the image of Surya, the Sun-god. Its pedestal is carved with seven horses and on all sides of the deity you see a consort shooting an arrow. The eastern side is more prominent than the others as it narrates the battle between Krishna and Indra for the Parijata tree. The sculptures of some of the walls have decayed immensely and cannot be recognised and identified with historical characters. But the carvings of the north-west walls show the classics in fine relief. Mohini's bird is seen playing with her necklace. Ravana is lifting the Kailasa mountain which is carved with tigers and elephants roaming in a forest. The figure of the dancing Ganesha is the most prominent of all.

Analysing the wall-sculptures we admire numerous details worthy of remembrance. The south-east wall of the temple shows Rama with his monkeys. The gods and demons are churning the milky ocean. Siva is in a dancing pose. On the southern wall is told the story of Rama. But the connection of the story is lost in several



[Photo : Shanker Studio
The temple at Belur

places owing to the misplacement of stones when the temple was repaired four years ago. The south-west wall shows Sampati, the charming bird looking through a telescope held up by monkeys and locates Sita. The war of Lanka is in emotional detail. The north-west part of



[Photo : Shanker Studio

Old temple at Halebid

the temple narrates the fight between Arjuna and Siva.

Carved in minute elaboration of detail so broken up by large masses as to present height and play of light and shade throughout the carvings, the temple is a unique masterpiece of antique art. The variety of outline and the arrangement and subordination of facets in which it is treated give it a symmetry of outline sublime in human skill. The pillars of the pavilion facing the temple look as if they had been turned in a lathe and are so polished as to produce a combination of crystalline and reflective effect. The monolith image of Ganesha is situated in the verandah of the Hoysalesvara temple whose interior is inhabited by pigeons and other country birds and the country torches that used to burn in olden days have been preserved in their original places and the scene gives a rough idea of the form of ancient worship. The village Halebid which is a deserted remnant, marks the site of the demolished city, Dorasamudra, the capital of Hoysala kings.

Somnath and Belur

The temple at Somnathpur which was built in 1265 A.D. by Soma, a distinguished officer in the service of the Hoysala King Narasimha and sculptured by Jakanachari, is full of eventful memories, as it recalls the days of Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi, who having declined the tremendous offer of gold, by the worshippers, beseiged the temple. This is a triangular construction and a gem of medieval art. With its three stellate towers and geometrical proportions, it resembles a Chinese Pagoda whose pillars at the lower extremity look like a stationary merry-go-round. The height of the pillars from the plinth is 32 feet and not a square inch of their surface is without decoration. And no superfluous treatment in the endless concourse of figures and designs can be detected. The interior is so dark that the ornamental beauty of the carved ceiling cannot be seen without a torch. The exterior is coined with the statues of gods and goddesses of the Hindu mythologic pantheon and the most picturesque part of the carvings is the terrible battle between the Kauravas and the Pandavas in bold relief, which is nothing but an eventful chapter of ancient Indian history.

Leave Somnathpur and come to Belur. The temple at Belur which is still the home of daily worship is a masterpiece of the Hoysala fashion and was built by the Emperor Vishnuvardhana in 1117 A.D. Its doorway is a mass of delicate carving teeming with vividness and variety of design. The romance of this structure lies in its twenty perforated screens and each facet speaks eloquently of the amount of labour involved in its creation. The temple which is dedicated to the deity Chennakeshava, owes its beauty to the sculptor Jakanachari and is full of bewitching design. Belur which was the capital of the Hoysala King Ballala I has become a place of pilgrimage for the student of art. The temple of Vijaya Narayana was built by Ballala's brother Vishnuvardhana (1106 A.D.) who waged a war over the Cholas and the masterpiece celebrates his victory over the Chola



[Photo : Shanker Studio

Temple at Belur

dynasty. Inscriptions on the temple date its construction as far back as 1117 A.D. Traditionally, Jakanachari is held as its chief builder as the main carvings were perfected by him independently, whereas the autographed insriptions present commemorate the collective genius of artists like Dasoja of Belgaum and his son Chavana, Nagoja of Gadag, Masana of Lakkundi and other unknown builders, who migrated to the Kannada country from their Chalukyan homes. The temple was renewed by the officers of the Vijayanagar kingdom and the latest renewal was effected by the sculptor of Nawab Hyder Ali in 1774 A.D. During the late Muslim days the hall of the temple was the court of a Bijapuri Governor and in late years the building was damaged by the Mahrattas who carried away most of its gold and copper sheets that safeguarded its inner images. During Hyder Ali's time the main tower was built protected by a gold covering.

The entire expression of this masterpiece is an exhibition of jewellery accompanied by a joust of arms. Hundreds of elephants are shown in a spectacular march. Dancers, hunters and musicians are carved in graceful poses. Several illustrations from the Ramayana are effected on a series of ornamental towers. The twenty perforated screens are paved with classic romance and the first stone screen displays a cushioned seat supported by roaring lions. The seat is occupied by a King holding his Durbar. Historians identify this luminary as Vishnuvardhana Hoysala, the builder of the temple. Queen Santaladevi is seated on an adjacent seat, which is a toilet scene. The screens are crowned with forty bracketed images 2½ feet high, showing feminine dancers in classic rhythm, emulating Mohini. The objects of interest are the star-like towers with numerous turrets. The railings illustrate the events of the Mahabharata. The brackets exhibit some celebrated personalities of the Hindu mythology. Vasanta sprinkling perfume on her lover, Krishna playing the flute and the drum-dancer are some of the points of interest. On the south-west portion of the temple are sculptured the two classic dances known as *Rudra-Vina* and the *Sarasvati-Vina*. The sculpture depicts damsels admiring their curls, plucking fruits and the huntresses in a petticoat of leaves. The story of Ravana, the King of Lanka, who carried the mount Kailasa is emotionally carved on the exterior of the sanctum. The north-east side has a variety of poses such as a lady admiring a ring, sculptured by Mayanna and the flute-dance by sculptor Malliyanna. Many of the pillars supporting the temple are lotus-shaped and elegantly carved, the most conspicuous of which is the Narasimha pillar, which formerly used to turn on its own axis. Every inch of this temple is hidden with exquisite carvings and the north-east part of the ceiling narrates the latter-half of the history of the Ramayana.

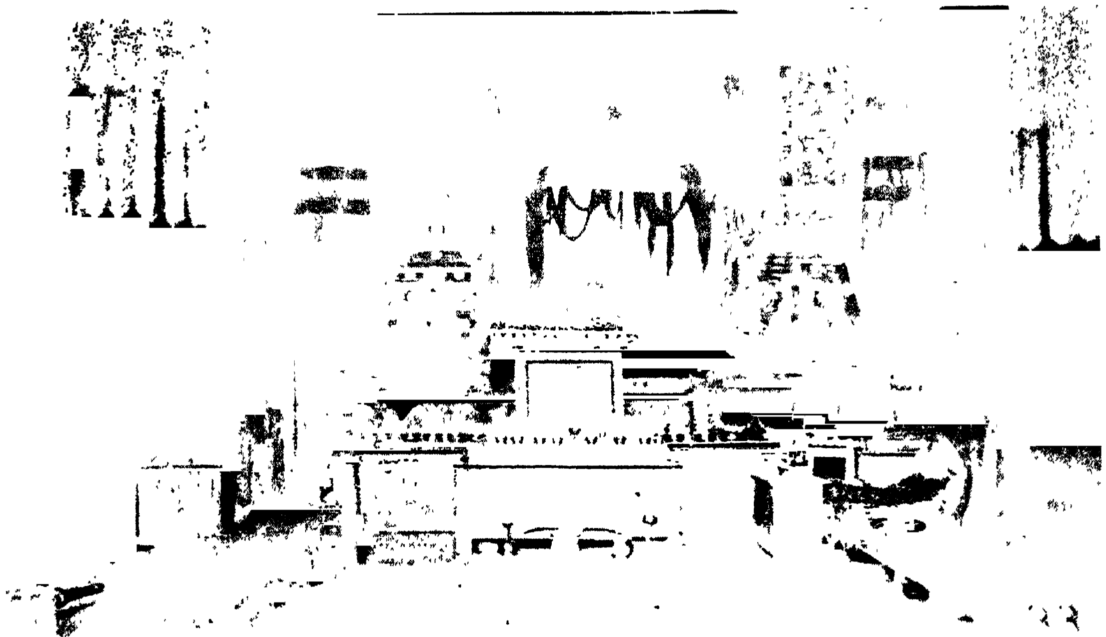


The temples around Amritsarovar, Belur



[Photo : Shaker Studio

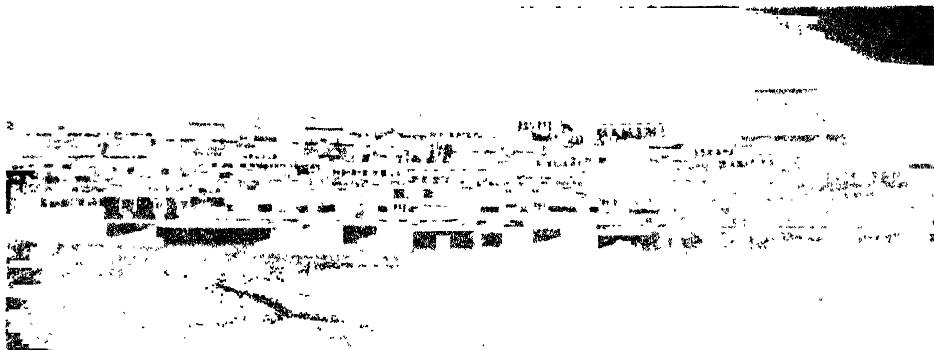
Temple at Somanathpur



An altar in a monastery



The Potala, the official residence of the Dalai Lama on the red hill



Serra monastery, one of the largest monasteries

TIBET

The Only Theocracy in the World

By DAVID MACDONALD, B.A.

The traveller may enter Tibet from many points along the Himalayas. The journey is hazardous and needs planning. Perhaps one of the easiest routes is through the north of Bengal, over the Jelap and the Natu La,—'La' means a 'pass'—at an altitude of 14,000 feet. The road at its best is a bridle track and after crossing the pass dips sharply on to the plateau. The country is bleak and desolate. The austere monotony of the scenery is broken by the few sheltered valleys where cultivation is possible and by the scattered lakes where the wild duck and geese from India come to breed. Days are spent in the saddle. The pony trots over plains of powdered sand or struggles over flinty mountain trails. On the way, at appropriate stages there are hamlets, collection of wind-blown hovels, and here the traveller may rest his horse and refresh himself. In a week after crossing the frontier one is in Gyantse, the third town of Tibet. To the north is Lhasa, the romantic and sacred city. To the east, the town of Tashi-lhunpo. These days Lhasa is no longer a mysterious city but it still retains the fascination which prompted the eminent Bengali explorer, Sarat Chandra Das, to make his hazardous journeys in 1879 and 1882.

The People of Tibet

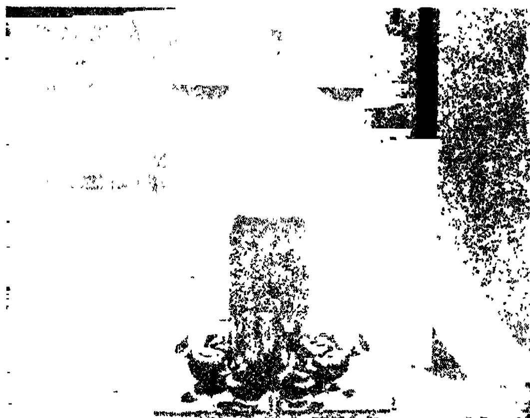
That much for the topography and environs of the country. The people of Tibet, unlike their desolate environment, are as pleasant as one could meet with anywhere. There are the rich and the poor. Some live in fine houses while others know only a tent, but all are cheerful, generous and hospitable. It is only courtesy that a guest should be invited to a meal which lasts half the day ! There are endless dishes of noodle-soup, dumplings, mutton, rice, fried-liver, sliced-eggs, pork, sharks'-fins, sea-slugs, sheeps'-stomach, and out of courtesy the guest must taste each dish ! In the intervals of eating one is pressed to bowls of chang'—a beer brewed from barley—and for social prestige one must drink ! In between the courses, however, one has time to admire the lovely costumes of the host and hostess, and to cast an appreciative eye on the carvings of the low divans and tables at which we sit. One discovers that in Tibet art is not divorced from life. One also has a suspicion that Tibetans are only hedonists who are fond of picnic and play. Later, the traveller corrects this opinion when he meets with the mainspring of Tibetan life—that of religion.

Lamas and Monasteries

This is evident as the traveller moves through the country. Whether on the mountain trail or in the monastery he meets with men in garnet coloured robes and tonsured heads. These men are lamas, Tibetans who have renounced the world for the religious life, and it is the frequent sight of these lamas which

draws our attention to the emphasis which Tibet places on religion. It is with surprise that we learn that there are over 30,000 lamas and that they live in the 3,000 monasteries in the country.

A word about these monasteries and the monastic life. The largest monasteries are those of Serra, De-pung, Gan-den, and Tashi-



The late Dalai Lama—thirteenth Priest-King of Tibet

lhunpo. These are built, like all monasteries, on auspicious sites where water is near and with their courtyards facing the rising sun. In the monasteries are colleges, living quarters, brewerys, bakeries, and everything else which makes the life of so many thousand monks self-sufficient. It is interesting to reflect that there was a time when such institutions existed in India, but somehow, after seeing these monasteries perched high on a mountain one fails to associate these institutions with the plains. Mountains and monasteries seem to complement one another.

Life in a monastery is a life of routine. Services and prayers are held at appointed hours. The blowing of a conch-shell summons the lamas to the monastery courtyard where most of the ceremonies are held. A lamaist mass, however, is held in the monastery chapel and is most impressive. The solemn chanting of hundreds of deep male voices, the clash of cymbals, the blowing of horns, is something to remember. As the length and frequency of these services tax the strength of the most spiritual, at intervals, young novitiates step between the rows of squatting lamas and hand out cups of Tibetan tea—a brew of tea, butter, and a pinch of soda well churned in a mixer four feet high. These novitiates must learn by heart so many volumes of scripture and be able to debate on metaphysics and Buddhist law against all comers before they are privileged to join the full-fledged monks.

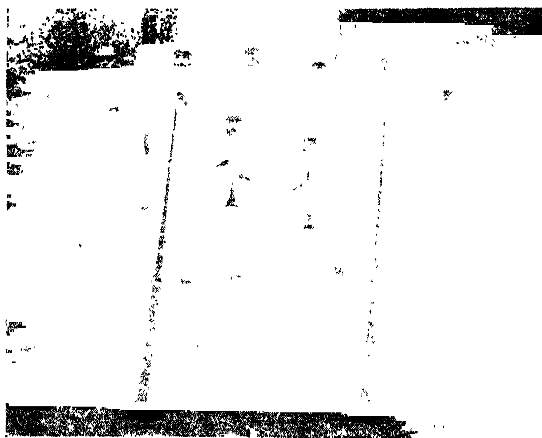
The Dalai Lama

The supreme head of all these monasteries and monks is the Dalai Lama—'The Great Ocean.' He is reputed to be an incarnation of the powerful Buddhist deity Avalokita. The Dalai is elected, rather discovered, by divination. Lamas armed with horoscopes search the country for children born at the time of the High Lama's death. Rumours of portents and supernatural events in distant villages are followed up and, when the prospective Dalai Lama is found, certain tests are applied so that there may be no doubt about the reincarnation. One of the tests is that the child selects from a number of articles placed before him only those which belong to the late Dalai Lama.

The late Dalai Lama, the thirteenth Priest-King of Tibet, was a man of outstanding ability, virtue and piety. His death in 1933 was a severe loss to Tibet. Since then a search has continued for the new Dalai Lama and today, in 1939, the lamas have found him in a small village on the Sino-Tibet frontier. He is said to be an unusually intelligent boy who is already asking his retainers if his people are happy !

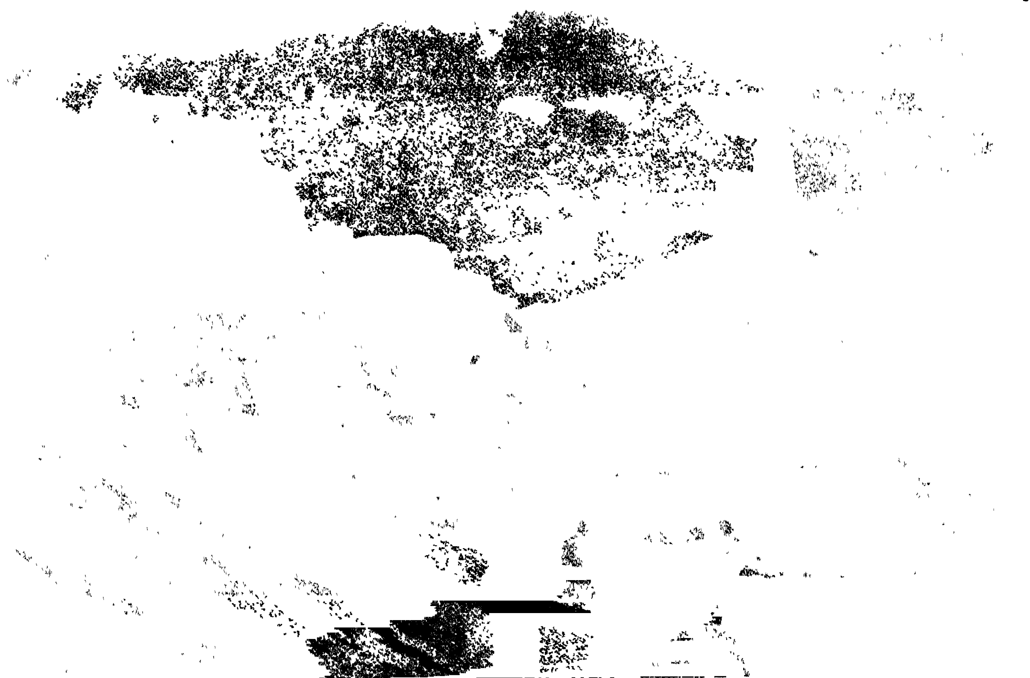
The Potala

The official residence of the Dalai Lama is the Potala, a group of magnificent buildings



A group of Lamas

on the 'red hill' which dominates the city of Lhasa. The Potala contains the tomb of the late Dalai Lama, is full of gold, jewels, rich tapestries, wonderful jade and porcelain pieces,



A monastery in Western Tibet

contributions of the faithful throughout the centuries.

Lamaism

What of the 'ism' which the lamas profess? Lamaism is a strange mixture of Shiva-cult, Shaminist worship, and Mahayana Bhuddism. And for Lamaism, Tibet is indebted to the Indian Tantric, Padmasambhava. Legend has it that Padmasambhava arrived in Tibet from India after an exacting journey and that he spent most of his time casting out the evil spirits from the land. Today, Lamaism is distinguished by the two sects (1) Nig-ma-pa or Red Hats and (2) The Ge-luk-pas or Yellow Hats.

Om Mani Padme Hum

And what of the traveller who entered the country at the beginning of the article ! What are his impressions as he rides back over the pass into India with his head full of Lamaism and Padmasambhava ? He is convinced of the conservatism of the country. One-fifth of the population are lamas, each family sends a son into the Church, and this probably accounts for Tibet's conservatism. But there are signs of disintegration. From the bazaars of Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Gantok, machine-made cloth, imported cigarettes, and even an occasional radio-set make their way into Tibet and Lhasa with the result that Tibetans are becoming more and more interested in the material side of life. Some of the well-to-do families have even sent their children to India for their education. This experiment has already produced an engineer and the subsequent result is that Lhasa now has electric lights. Then there is China and the U. S. S. R. Each country presses unconsciously and subtly on the culture and interests of the people of Tibet. What will be the result ? India is interested, for Tibet is the buffer state between empires and India's frontiers. Time alone will show whether the Himalayas and cold deserts are sufficient protection or whether the only Theocracy in the world will disappear and with it the mystic formula—'Om Mani Padme Hum' —'Hail ! Jewel in the Lotus !'

THE BUDDHIST ROME OF ASIA

By G. L. SCHANZLIN

AMONG the sacred cities of Asia, Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, occupies no inconspicuous place. Along with Benares and Brindaban, with Jerusalem and Mecca, it has for centuries been the spiritual capital of multitudes of believers belonging to a variety of races and nations. When Buddhism disappeared in India as a leading religion, it still had before itself centuries of growth and strange types of development in other parts of Asia. During these centuries in its two great geographical branches tied within its bonds of a great cultural tradition not only the countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, but practically all the races in the north, living east of the Thian Shan way to the Pacific coast and the Japanese archipelago.

While the Pamir plateau had not served as an absolute barrier to stem the flood of Islamic penetration from the west, it was the plateau of Tibet around which rallied the sons of Sakya-muni to keep intact their ancient heritage. Whatever tribes and races were swept westward of the Hindu-Kush by the great Turkish migrations, and by the great Mongolian expansion of the house of Genghis Khan, finally were merged and swallowed up into that other great Asiatic sphere, the world of Islam. But all the tribes that remained east of that line fell under the sway of that later offshoot of Northern Buddhism, which as Lamaism centred around and radiated from the holy city of Lhasa in Tibet.

It is true, Tibet with Lhasa came into that type of religious leadership comparatively late in Asiatic history. While earlier Buddhism had been carried through Nepal into Tibet at least as early as the famous Nam-ri Sron-btsan, the founder of the first notable Tibetan kingdom, in the seventh century A.D., it does not appear that Lhasa occupied a place of pre-eminence in the Buddhist world till many centuries afterwards. In fact, the Buddhism of the above king had its roots in the two famous princesses he married, the daughters of the king of Nepal and of the Chinese emperor respectively, rather than in direct missionary efforts of Indian Buddhists. The organizing of Tibetan Buddhism by the Indian pundits Padma Sambhava, and later on, by Atisa, was the work of the following centuries.

How did it happen that Lhasa, about from the Mongol period on, began to attain to its place of religious importance for all Eastern Asia ?

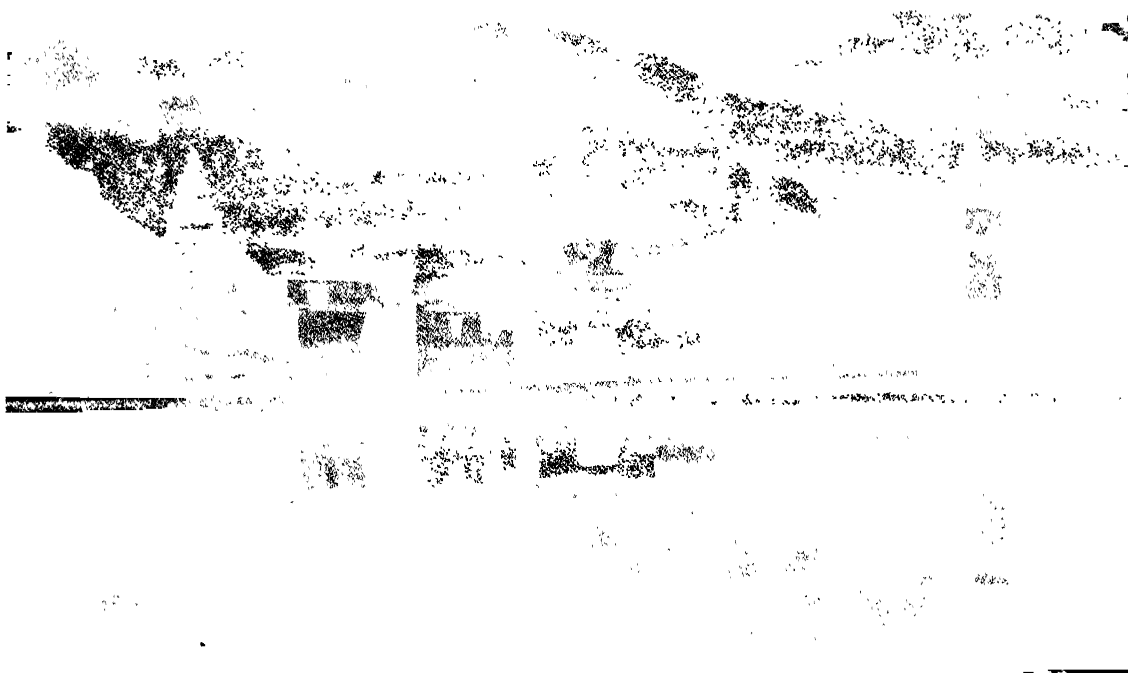
In all that period lying between the eleventh and the sixteenth century there are few definite facts recorded, or accessible to the world, of the slow development of Lhasa as a centre of cultural and religious influences. Tibet, being a rather inaccessible and unfertile country, unable to support a large population and therefore hardly ever in a position to play



[*Asia*

The new Dalai Lama

an important part in the political history of Asia, was perhaps for all these reasons the classical case of a land where religion could



Northern entrance of Lasha

flourish more undisturbedly than it could have done in a milder climate, in a more fertile country.

Somewhat alike to Mecca in desert Arabia, or to Jerusalem on the barren plateau of Judea, Lhasa had not even the advantage of being situated on or near some great highway of the nations; it could not attract military conquerors for its wealth, nor even invite their attention on account of its strategic position. It fell under Chinese domination, at least intermittently; and because it could never become the capital of a great kingdom or empire, it was so eminently fitted to become, in time, the seat of the priest-kings, or god-priests, of the Lama hierarchy.

I am not aware that there ever has been published an adequate history of the course of events or coincidence of factors leading to that result and outcome. The fact remains that, for all the territories between the Karakuram Pass and the confines of China (Eastern Turkestan excepted), Lhasa has been a sort of Buddhist Rome or Mecca, and even in China the Lamaist religion has probably largely replaced older types of Buddhism in that country. So it may be true what somebody has said, true at least for the region indicated :

"A vague but earnest picture dim and blind,
Half-outlined intellectual architecture—
Lhasa with principalities and powers
Ruling the spiritual world and ours."

Whoever conceived the idea of providing Northern Buddhism with a geographical centre could have been no common man. It was little short of a genial conception to create such a centre from which could radiate all the cultural influences of a great religion into the countries between the Pamir plateau and the coast of the Pacific. When the great and ancient Buddhist centres of Khotan, Kashmir and Yarkand fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, it was around the natural citadel of the Tibetan plateau that the sons of Sakya-muni rallied in their determined stand against the followers of the Prophet of Mecca.

It would have been better to say that the conception of Lhasa as the spiritual capital of the northern section of eastern Asia was the plan of one bold mind, carried on and carried out during some centuries. It seems that in the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, Tibet was affected early in that great catastrophe. Under Kublai Khan, the great conqueror's grandson, begins that curious alliance between church and state, represented by the

slowly developing hierarchy of the Red Lamas at Lhasa, and the Mongol court of China.

There is a curious passage in the report which the Friar Odoric brought home from his travels in Asia. His journal extends from 1318 to 1330. He seems to have covered a larger territory in his travels than the other friars, but his account lacks the spiciness and good sense of the account of the earlier journey of William of Rubruk (1253-55), as well as of that of the prince of early travellers, Marco Polo, who was in Asia between the two in time, from 1271 to 1295.

Good Odoric claims to have been in Tibet and says as follows :

"Going on further" (he came from the empire of Prester John with the capital Kosan, by way of the province callel Casan). "I came to a certain Kingdom called Tibet, which is in subjection to the great Khan also, wherein I think there is more bread and wine than in any other part of the world. The people of this country do, for the most part, live in tents made of black felt. Their principal city is surrounded by fair and beautiful walls, being built of white and black stones, which are disposed chequerwise one by another, and curiously put together. Likewise, all the highways in this country are exceedingly well paved.

"In this city none dare shed the blood of a man, or of any beast, for the reverence they bear a certain idol. In this city their Abassi, that is to say, their pope, is resident, being the head and prince of all idolaters, upon whom he bestows and distributes gifts after his manner, even as our Pope of Rome accounts himself to be the head of all the Christians." Komroff: (*Contemporaries of Marco Polo,* page 244. London, 1928.)

Odoric then goes on to say that Tibetans expose their dead to the vultures, all except the skull, out of which the son, having eaten the flesh thereof, makes a drinking cup. The women have their hair plaited in a hundred tresses, and they have two teeth in their mouths as long as the tusks of a boar. Odoric could not have been a very critical observer, although the eating of the bodies of dead relatives is also mentioned by Rubruk, who, however, adds that of late they had left off this custom, but still make the memorial drinking cups of the skulls of their parents.

What we are concerned with here is the description of Lhasa by Odoric. Even if some of his account is based on hearsay, it is interesting to note how correct a picture he has drawn of Buddhist convictions as regards taking the life of any living creature.

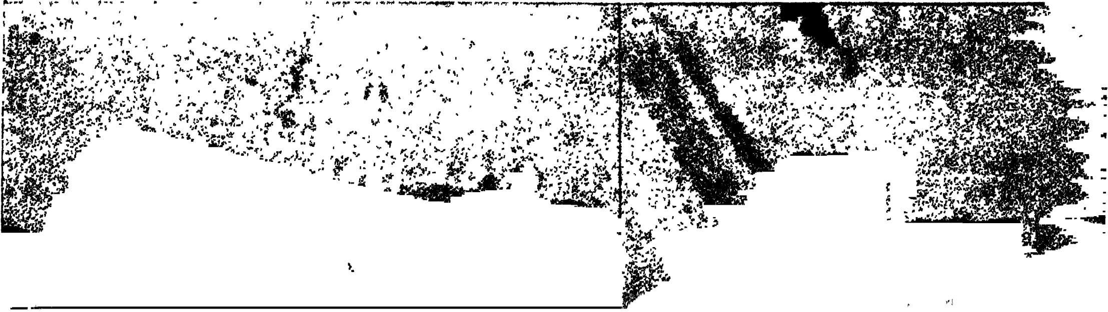
What was the character of the chief priest in Lhasa whom he mentions ? Kublai Khan, who around 1260 A.D. founded the Yuen, *i.e.*, Mongol, dynasty in China, was according to all accounts the first who gave that early Buddhist abbot of Lhasa temporal power in Tibet, and perhaps also in Mongolia, which at this time was opened to Buddhism. It is believed that this abbot had been instrumental in converting the emperor to the Buddhist faith. Kublai died in 1294. It is not clear whether the chief lama (to give the chief priest what was perhaps a name arising in later years) had by the time of 1300 already begun to supersede the ancient kings or kinglets of Tibet, who had their ancient palace on the red hill at Lhasa, where later on was to rise the famous Potala complex of buildings. It is most likely that this chief priest of



[*Asia*
The parents and brothers of the new Dalai Lama

Tibet, residing most likely in Lhasa, was the one who was the original founder of that system of priest-kings, although we do not know whether they made any claim to being incarnations of Buddhas or Bodhisats.

Buddhism, being cut off from the land of its birth during the turbulent centuries of Muhammadan invasion and conquest in India, saw in the rising star of Mongol empire its opportunity of fulfilling its mission as world religion in all the eastern lands under the sceptre of the Chinese branch of the house of



A village corner



A wayside inn

Genghis Khan. Like later in Manchu times, it was again a foreign dynasty on the dragon throne they were dealing with, a dynasty which had much to gain by such an alliance with the most powerful political group in Tibet, the Buddhist hierarchy.

Tracing the steps by which Lhasa came into its later pre-eminence as one of the holy cities of the world, we now come to the great reforms of the northern Buddhist church, effected by Tsong Ka-pa in the fifteenth century. If Buddhism in eastern Asia had its Constantines, called Asoka, Kanishka and Kublai Khan, it had also its far-sighted and ambitious priests, who became popes and incarnations; it also had its reformers. Wiser perhaps than the reformers of Christianity in Europe, who believed to be able to push the church of their age fourteen centuries back into the first century A.D., the changes effected by Tsong Ka-pa were in the nature of reform rather than that of a reformation. He must have been a man of tremendous energy and will-power, re-introducing and enforcing celibacy for the regular priest- or monk- hood, and bringing the whole system of Lamaism into a more consistent shape, bringing it also outwardly to a greater compactness, as a great semi-political institution.

Yellow became the sacred colour of the new church, as red had been the colour of the older Tibetan church. (In outlying parts of the country, like in the present Himalayan state of Bhutan, the red caps held their own, all the priesthood of that country adhering to the old faith. The ruler, unhindered by the injunction of celibacy, is, I believe, both a lama, an incarnation of Dharmaraj, and also both the scion and head of a dynasty). The relations with China during the time of the Ming dynasty (1368-1630 approximately) were perhaps not as close as they had been under the Mongolian dynasty. Tibet during all that period remained, however, in a condition of semi-dependence to China.

With the coming of the Manchu dynasty in China, Lamaism in Lhasa and Tibet reached its full development. Again we see the close alliance for mutual interests which during these last centuries has tied the hierarchy of Tibet to the great empire in the east. Kang Si, the second Manchu ruler, was a worthy successor of all the great monarchs of that ancient country, and practically all his successors down to the middle of the nineteenth century were rather remarkable men, in no way inferior in statesmanship to any of their contemporaries. That also the imperial colour under that dynasty was yellow may be a coincident, or there could be some connection with that same colour as the official badge of the Lama church.

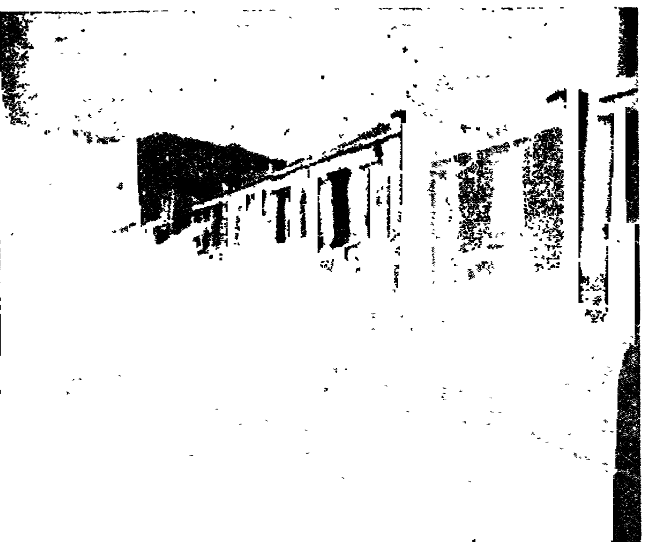


A nobleman's dwelling

The market place

There is much difference of opinion as to the creation of the double head of the Tibetan church and state, the Dalai-Lama at Lhasa, and the Panchen Lama at the great monastery of Tashi Lumbo. According to George Roerich, the title Dalai Lama (Dalai, apparently a Mongolian word meaning ocean), was given as early as 1576 by the Mongolian ruler Altan Khan to the third Grand Lama at Lhasa, who then had the Tibetan title Gryal-ba. The fifth Grand Lama then, in 1642, negotiated with the Manchu princes, who were engaged in completely overturning the Ming government. In the middle of the eighteenth century, during the trouble with the Sungars, military help was given to Tibet by China, and Tibet became more and more a vassal state of the larger country. Not merely that, but throughout the Manchu period Lamaism had a very favourable reception in Peking and many other places in North China; in fact it became one of the official religions of China, replacing the older forms of Buddhist worship.

During the Manchu period, all of Mongolia was organized ecclesiastically under a full-fledged system of Lamaistic hierarchy, with "living Buddhas" in Urga and all other centres. The Tanjur and Kanjur were translated into Mongolian and printed by the imperial government in the typical Tibeto-Chinese book-form from blocks. What the future of the Lamaistic system will be, especially since the temporary downfall of the political power of China in conflict with Japan, is an interesting question. Should Japan be destined to play the part of the Mongolians and Manchus, it will probably also in this matter follow their precept and example and patronize the church of the yellow caps. How much innate moral and spiritual strength Lamaism possesses to weather all the changes which are so startling in their perplexity, scope and world significance, is a question which the future years will answer. Proudly to this day at least, holy Lhasa has preserved its seclusion, its old world charm and sanctity.






In the streets of Lahsha



A ferry on the Tibetan Indus

A festival in a Buddhist monastery, Kumkum Bihar

GREATER RELATIVE GROWTH OF THE MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL: PARTLY APPARENT

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

The Muhammadans in Bengal have increased during the last 50 years, 1881-1931, by 51·2 per cent; while the Hindus have increased by 22·9 per cent only during the same period. The percentage of the Muhammadans to the total population has increased from 49·69 per cent in 1881 to 54·44 in 1931. But part of this increase seems to be accidental, more apparent than real; due entirely to the time when the Censuses are taken.

If the growth of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal, (although at different rates), had been uniform throughout, their relative proportion at any given time T would be represented by PT : QT in Fig. 1, where the

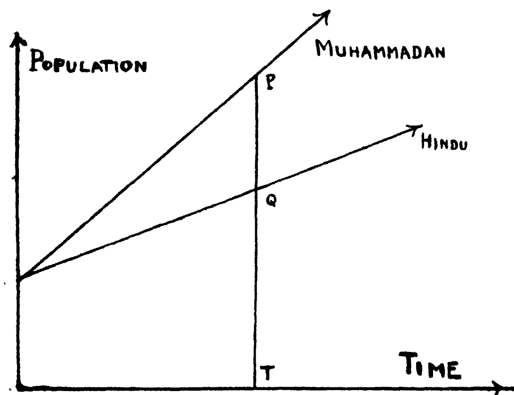


Fig. 1

x-axis represents time; and the y-axis the population; and PM and QH the growth of the Muhammadans and the Hindus respectively.

But the growth of both the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal is not uniform. Up to the year 1933, birth-rates by religions were not published in the Bengal Public Health Reports. Only the death-rates by religions were available. From the published death-rates, we may reasonably infer that the growth of both the Hindus and the Muhammadans followed an alternating long term periodicity of about ten (?) years. Their respective growth would be represented by the continuous wavy lines PPM and QQH in Fig. 2; and their relative proportion at any time T would be represented by PT : QT. But this PT = P′T (corresponding to PT in Fig. 1) + PP′; and similarly QT = Q′T + QQ′. If the ordinate PQT passes through the crests of both the wavy lines, representing the growth of the Hindus and the

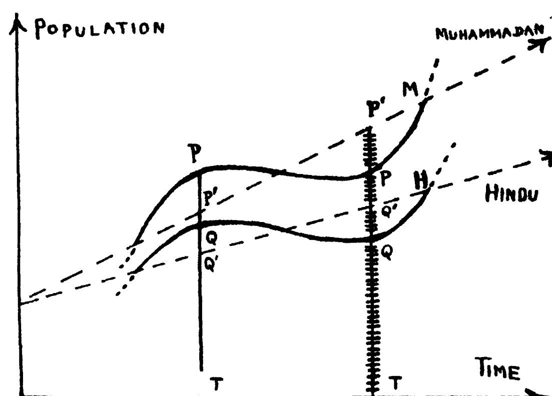


Fig. 2

Muhammadans, then both PP′ and QQ′ would be positive, and would have to be added to P′T and Q′T. But if PQT passes through the troughs of both the curves, (as in the serrated line in the diagram) then PP′ and QQ′ would be negative, and would have to be deducted from P′T and Q′T. It all depends upon the time when the Census is taken.

But it so happens that although the periodicity in the curve of growth of the Muhammadans is very nearly the same as that of the Hindus, the crest of the Muhammadan periodic curve coincides more with the trough of the Hindu curve than any other point; and the Muhammadan trough coincides with the Hindu crest. In the former case, the relative proportion PT : QT=(P′T+PP′) : (Q′T—Q′Q) . . (i) ; and in the latter case PT : QT=(P′T—PP′) : (Q′T+Q′Q) . . . . (ii) as in Fig. 3. If the Census is taken at a time, when the Muhammadan population is passing through the crest, the relative proportion would be given by the former equation (i); if the Census is taken when the Muhammadan population is passing through the trough, the relative proportion would be given by the latter equation (ii).

Our Censuses are taken at intervals of ten years from 1881; and it so happens that the first

years of the Census decade coincide with the crest of the Muhammadan curve of population

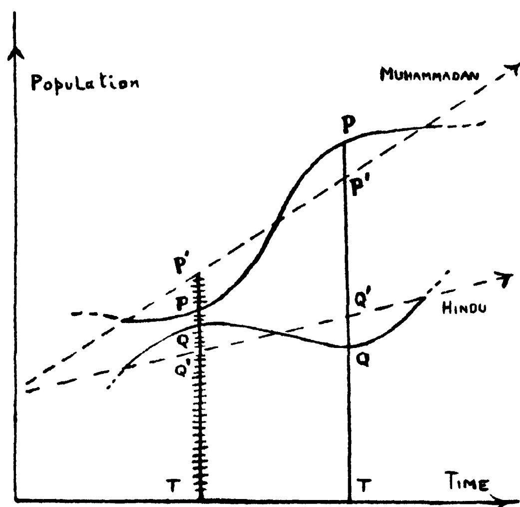


Fig. 3

growth, and the trough of the Hindu curve. Thus the relative proportion of the Muhammadans is accidentally somewhat exaggerated; while that of the Hindus is lowered.

Further as population increases with time the amplitude of the wavy curve of growth increases. The Muhammadan growth is calculated from the line PP′ in Fig. 4, P and P′ being

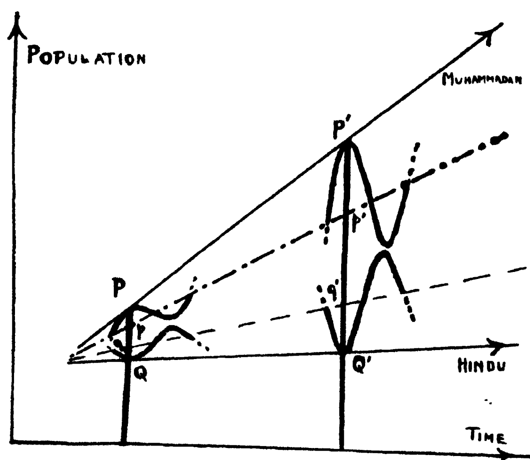


Fig. 4

the observed populations at the two different Censuses; and not from the dotted line pp′ representing their average growth. The line PP′ being more inclined than the line pp′ to the x-axis, the apparent rate of growth of the Muhammadans is exaggerated to that extent. Similarly the Hindu growth is calculated from the line QQ′ in Fig. 4, Q and Q′ being the observed populations at two different Censuses; and not from the dotted line qq′ representing the average growth of the Hindus. The line QQ′ being less inclined than the dotted line qq′, the rate of growth of the Hindus is lessened to that extent. The advantage in favour of the Muhammadans operates in two ways: (1) the Muhammadan growth appears exaggerated, and (2) the Hindu growth appears depressed. In Fig. 4, the inclinations are very much exaggerated to emphasise our argument. This advantage the Muhammadans have in addition to the accidental advantage of their crest coinciding with the Hindu trough at the time of the Censuses.

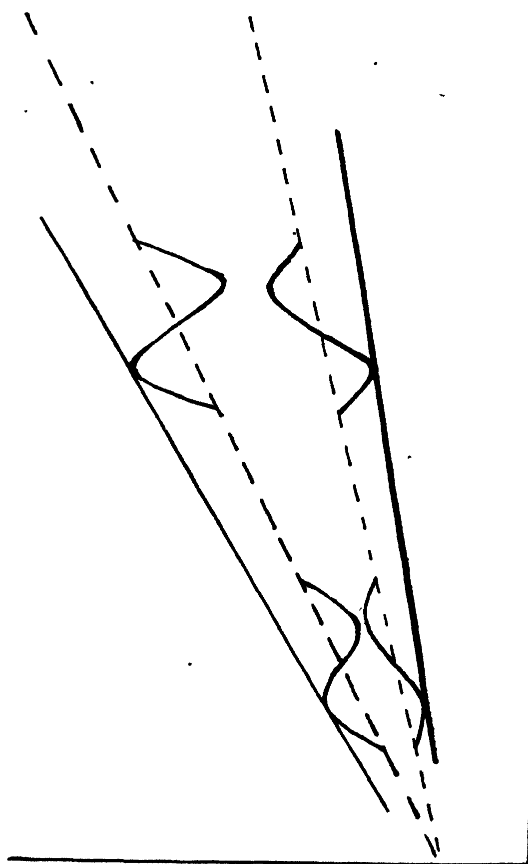


Fig. 5

The Bengal Public Health Report for 1923 observes thus at p. 35:

"In former reports very little attention has been paid to mortality among different classes of the com-

munity, owing to the fact that nothing of much importance is observable when one year is merely compared with the preceding one. When, however, the figures for a number of years are examined certain remarkable phenomena become apparent. It was found, for example, * * * that deaths among Hindus and Mussalmans, respectively, exhibit a remarkable alternating periodicity, mortality tending to be specially high, for example, among Hindus for a few years, then diminishing for a few years, and then increasing again; and while this is happening the deaths of Mussalmans react in an absolutely contrary manner. * * * On the average for every 1,000 Hindu deaths there are 1,159 among Mussalmans, but the proportions vary in different years from as low as 1,055 to as high as 1,295. Similarly, while on the average 865 Hindus die for every 1,000 Mussalmans, the proportion varies from as low as 762 to as high as 948. At the present time, there are 854 Hindus to every 1,000 Mussalmans in the population, or to reverse the order 1,225 Mussalmans to every 1,000 Hindus. But this does not explain the extraordinary changes that occur with rhythmic regularity in the mortality of these two communities. Mussalmans are found in greatest numbers in Eastern Bengal, an area which has long been recognised as more healthy than the Western portions of the province, where Hindus are in majority. But while this might account for a generally lower death-rate among Mussalmans than Hindus, it will not explain the rhythmic and alternating increase and decrease that occurs in the mortality of the two communities. Geographical situation is, however, concerned in this phenomena, and the fact that rainfall exhibits a tendency to vary inversely in the west and east of the province suggests that this also is a factor. Another special difference between Eastern and Western Bengal, which also has a bearing on this question, lies in the fact that while the price of jute mainly governs the economic situation in the east, it is the character of the rice harvest on the other hand which is of supreme importance to the western districts."

The effect of this rhythmic and alternating periodicity in the death-rates of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal will be apparent, if we closely examine and compare the death-rates of the two communities over a pretty long period of time. If we confine our attention to the decades ending in O's, *i.e.*, practically to the Census decades as our Censuses are usually taken in the months of February or March of the years ending in 1's, the advantage to the Muhammadans of a cumulative favourable death-rate in increasing their relative percentage over the Hindus is *far greater* than if we confine ourselves to the decades ending in 5's.

In the following Tables, the respective death-rates of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal are shown, since the reconstitution of the Province. As we are dealing with comparative death-rates of the two communities, any error due to omission to record deaths is likely to affect both the sets to an equal extent, and is thus of secondary importance.

TABLE I

Year	Death-rate among Hindus	Death-rate among Muhammadans	Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans
1911	27·6	26·3	+ 1·3
1912	31·1	28·6	+ 2·5
1913	30·3	28·5	+ 1·8
1914	31·8	31·4	+ 0·4
1915	32·2	33·4	— 1·2
Average	30·6	29·6	

Cumulative total excess (1911-15) = + 4·8

TABLE II

Year	Death-rate among Hindus	Death-rate among Muhammadans	Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans
1916	27·8	26·9	+ 0·9
1917	26·5	25·9	+ 0·6
1918	38·0	38·1	— 0·1
1919	37·3	35·2	+ 2·1
1920	32·6	32·7	— 0·1
Average	32·4	31·8	

Cumulative total excess (1916-20) = + 3·4

The above figures for death-rates are compiled from the Bengal Public Health Reports. To allow for the increasing inaccuracy in the figures for later years on account of the change in population, we make the following corrections to the quinquennial cumulative totals. The Muhammadans have *increased* during the decade 1911-1921 by 5·2 per cent; while the Hindus have *decreased* by 0·7 per cent during the same period. The relative excess growth of the Muhammadans over the Hindus is thus 5·2 + 0·7 = 5·9 per cent. Assuming this growth to have been uniform throughout the decade in question, we are to increase + 4·8 by ½ of 5·9 per cent; and + 3·4 by 5·9 per cent. The corrected cumulative totals are, therefore, + 4·9 and +3·6 respectively.

TABLE III

Cumulative totals during the period	Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans
1911-1915	+ 4·9
1916-1920	+ 3·6
1911-1920	+ 8·5

We now turn our attention to the decade 1921-1930. The following figures showing the respective death-rates among the Hindus and the Muhammadans have been taken from the Bengal Census Report, 1931, p. 136, where the

rates are computed on the estimated population on the 1st of January of each year, calculated on the assumption that the population has changed at a uniform rate from one Census to the next. By this method the increasing inaccuracy for the later years have been reduced to a minimum.

TABLE IV

Year	Male Death-rate among Hindus	Male Death-rate among Muhammadans	Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans
1921	30·8	30·2	+ 0·6
1922	25·2	26·0	— 0·8
1923	24·7	26·4	— 1·7
1924	25·4	26·7	— 1·3
1925	24·1	25·1	— 1·0
Average	26·0	26·9	

Cumulative total defect (1921-25) = — 4·2

TABLE V

Year	Female Death-rate among Hindus	Female Death-rate among Muhammadans	Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans
1921	30·4	29·0	+ 1·4
1922	24·4	24·0	+ 0·4
1923	24·2	24·6	— 0·4
1924	24·3	23·9	+ 0·4
1925	23·7	23·2	+ 0·5
Average	25·4	24·9	

Cumulative total excess (1921-25) = + 2·3

TABLE VI

Year	Male Death-rate among Hindus	Male Death-rate among Muhammadans	Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans
1926	24·4	23·7	+ 0·7
1927	24·4	24·1	+ 0·3
1928	23·7	24·2	— 0·5
1929	21·5	21·8	— 0·3
1930	20·7	20·7	+ 0·0
Average	22·9	22·9	

Cumulative total excess (1926-30) = + 0·2

TABLE VII

Year	Female Death-rate among Hindus	Female Death-rate among Muhammadans	Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans
1926	24·7	22·6	+ 2·1
1927	25·2	23·9	+ 1·3
1928	24·6	24·1	+ 0·5
1929	22·5	22·3	+ 0·2
1930	21·5	20·6	+ 0·9
Average	23·7	22·7	

Cumulative total excess (1926-30) = + 5·0

TABLE VIII

Combining the two sets of cumulative totals for males and females, we get :

Cumulative totals during the period	Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans
1921-1925	— 1·9
1926-1930	+ 5·2
1921-1930	+ 3·3

The figures given in the following table are compiled from the Bengal Public Health Reports. No correction can be applied to them as we do not know the trend of the growth of population during this period.

TABLE IX

Year	Death-rate among Hindus	Death-rate among Muhammadans	Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans
1931	21·8	22·3	— 0·5
1932	20·4	20·1	+ 0·3
1933	23·1	24·3	— 1·2
1934	22·8	23·7	— 0·9
1935	21·8	22·8	— 1·0
Average	22·0	22·6	

Cumulative total defect (1931-35) = — 3·3

Taking the several quinquennial periods together, and grouping them in decades ending in O's and in 5's, we get the table below :

TABLE X

Period	Cumulative Excess +, or Defect —	Cumulative Excess +, or Defect — during the decade ending in O's	Cumulative Excess +, or Defect — during the decade ending in 5's
1911-1915	+ 4·9	+ 8·5	..
1916-1920	+ 3·6		+ 1·7
1921-1925	— 1·9	+ 3·3	
1926-1930	+ 5·2		+ 1·9
1931-1935	— 3·3	..	

During the decade 1911-1920, the cumulative excess of death-rates in favour of the Muhammadans was + 8·5; in the next decade 1921-1930, the excess in favour of the Muhammadans was + 3·3. But if we consider the decade 1916-1925, the excess in favour of the Muhammadans is + 1·7 only; and in the next decade 1926-1935, the excess in favour of the Muhammadans was + 1·9 only.

Thus the time when the Censuses are taken helps the Muhammadans greatly in increasing their relative percentages, as well as producing the impression that their growth is far superior to that of the Hindus. The respective population growth of the Hindus and the Muhammadans during the last two Census decades are shown below :

TABLE XI

Community	Percentage growth during 1911-1921	1921-1931
Muhammadan	+ 5·2	+ 9·1
Hindu	— 0·7	+ 6·7
Relative excess in favour of the Muhammadans	+ 5·9	+ 2·4

It is interesting to note that these relative excesses in favour of the Muhammadans are proportional to the cumulative excess advantage the Muhammadans have over the Hindus in the matter of favourable death-rates. If + 8·5 of cumulative excess death-rate during 1911-1920 accounts for the relative excess growth of + 5·9 per cent; then + 3·3 of cumulative excess death-rate during 1921-1930 would account for a relative excess growth of + 2·3 per cent, which is very nearly the case. In other words, the advantage the Muhammadans have over the Hindus in the matter of favourable death-rate during the Census decade accounts for nearly 96 per cent of the relative excess growth.

Had the Censuses been taken in 1925, or in 1935 the relative excess growth of the Muhammadans over the Hindus would have been reduced to 1·3 per cent. The **real** relative excess growth in favour of the Muhammadans would, however, lie between that observed at the Censuses, and that calculated above; and from the limited range of our observations on which our calculations are based, it would be some 2·7 per cent per decade instead of that observed at the last two Censuses, *viz.*, 4·1 per cent per decade; the mean of 5·9+2·4 as stated above.

POLISH HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

By SANTOSH KUMAR GHATAK

HISTORY repeats itself—nowhere is this adage more true than in that unfortunate land, Poland. History has repeated itself in Poland not once or twice but four times and has repeated itself in the most tragic manner. Partition of Poland is not a new thing in Polish history, for Poland has been partitioned before in the years 1772, 1793, 1795 and 1815.

In the year 1772 Poland was partitioned by Russia, Prussia and Austria. Catherine the Great of Russia appropriated the country east of the Duna and the Dneiper rivers; Frederick the Great of Prussia annexed West Prussia except the towns of Danzig and Thorn; and Maria Theresa of Austria occupied Galicia including the city of Cracow.

In the year 1792 Poland was partitioned by Russia and Prussia and in 1795 the third partition took place in which Austria also cooperated. By these partitions Austria obtained the upper valley of the Vistula, and Prussia the lower, including the city of Warsaw, while the rest—the major share—went to Russia. Little Russia (Ruthenia) and approximately the whole of Lithuania was occupied by the Czarina.

The result of all these partitions had been that Poland disappeared from the map of Europe. Early in the nineteenth century Napoleon Bonaparte came to its rescue, and created an independent state out of a part of it. It was called the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and Napoleon became its Grand Duke. But the downfall of Napoleon destroyed even that little semi-independent Polish state. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 Poland was again partitioned among its powerful neighbours Prussia taking Posen, West Prussia and Upper Silesia; Austria securing Galicia and Russia obtaining the remainder.

A century after Poland was resurrected and in 1919 the Polish Republic was created with Pilsudski as its fisrt President and Paderewski as its first Premier. Poland obtained from Germany Posen, a strip through West Prussia (the so-called Polish Corridor) and part of Upper Silesia. The very creation of Poland weakened it, for it had within it a strong

German minority. Besides in Eastern Poland there were the Russian minorities of Ukrainians (or Ruthenians) and White Russians. Thus the seeds for a future partition of Poland were sown by the very settlement which created it. Poland was conscious of its dangers. It knew that Germany and Russia were its two powerful neighbours who had partitioned it in the past and who will partition it in the future. It therefore made it a policy to be on good relations with its neighbours. In pursuance of this policy Poland concluded in January, 1934, a non-aggression pact with Germany, which guaranteed for ten years the existing boundaries between the two countries. Poland concluded another non-aggression pact with Russia.

Although Poland, conscious of its dangers, had been in search of security yet it knew fairly well that a strong Germany would hardly give up its claim for its lost territories. A strong Germany cannot recognise the cession of West Prussia (the so-called Polish Corridor) to Poland. Therefore the non-aggression pact with Germany did not help Poland when Hitler in August, 1939, demanded the return of the Polish Corridor. He violently attacked the Polish Government and accused it of the maltreatment of the German minorities. The political atmosphere of Europe was suddenly electrified and everywhere there was fear of impending war. England and France had assured Poland their help if it was the victim of an aggression. Relying on these two countries Poland resisted the German demands and refused to concede anything.

But matters came to a crisis when on the 24th August Ribbentrop signed the Russo-German non-aggression pact at Moscow. The pact assured Germany of Russian non-aggression for ten years and its immediate effect was the imminent danger to Poland. Russia remaining neutral Poland will be isolated. Poland will be isolated because of the two powers—Russia and Germany—by which it is encircled, one will remain neutral, and because of the two powers—Britain and France—from which it can expect assistance, none can directly help her.

In the meantime Britain had sent Sir Neville Henderson to Berlin to find a way out of the present difficulty. Sir Neville had a series of interviews with the Fuehrer which instead of bridging the gulf between the two countries revealed their serious differences. Herr Hitler told the British Ambassador that nothing else than the return of Danzig and the whole of the Polish Corridor would satisfy him, together with rectification in Silesia. Sir Neville Henderson was further informed by the Fuehrer (on the 28th August) that the German Government was prepared to accept British proposal for direct German-Polish negotiations but counted on the arrival of a Polish plenipotentiary by August 30. The British Ambassador remarked that the latter demand sounded like an ultimation. On the 30th August Sir Neville Henderson, on instructions from His Majesty's Government, informed the German Government that it would be "unreasonable to expect the British Government to produce a Polish representative in Berlin" and that "the German Government must not expect this." On the 31st August German troops marched into Poland without a formal declaration of war.

Poland fell like nine pins before the German attack. The rapidity of the German conquest amazed the whole world, for it was expected that Poland would give at least a tough resistance to its aggressors. But hardly had a fortnight passed than Poland had been vanquished. The reason for this collapse are many, the first and the foremost being the overwhelming superiority of the German arms. In armanents Poland can stand no comparison with Germany. Secondly, Poland alone was no match for Germany and Poland was alone against the Reich. Russia was neutral; and although England and France had pledged their support they could not send direct help to it. All they could do was to attack Germany on the Western front and even that would take some time. Hitler was determined to finish Poland before the Allies could do anything on the Western front. Thirdly, having determined on "lightning war" Hitler attacked Poland from three sides—in the north from East Prussia, in the west from Germany and in the south from Czechoslovakia. Being attacked on three sides by a strong power like Germany Poland could offer little resistance. Even whatever chance there was of Poland resisting the German aggression ended when Russia attacked it from the rear.

On the 17th September the Red Army attacked Poland from the east and on the same day Molotov, the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, issued a note justifying its aggression. The note stated that

"this measure does not affect in any way the Soviet neutrality in the present conflict because according to the viewpoint of the Soviet Government: former treaties are no longer valid since the Polish State no longer exists and the whereabouts of the Polish Government are unknown. The Soviet is endeavouring to restore

order and peace in Eastern Poland which is no longer guaranteed in consequence of defection of the former Polish State and the flight of the Polish Government."

Poland was bitter against Russia. The Polish Government in a statement of the 17th September condemned the Russian invasion of Poland as a flagrant act of direct aggression and complained that the Soviet had thereby flagrantly violated the Polish-Russian Pact of non-aggression concluded in Moscow on July 25, 1932, which by the Protocol signed in Moscow on May 5, 1934, was prolonged until December 31, 1945. To this the Soviet note signed by Molotov replied that

"the Polish German war has revealed the rottenness of the Polish State and its Government. During the ten days of war, Poland has lost all its industrial districts and cultural centres. Warsaw as capital no longer existed and the Polish Government has broken up. It no longer shows any signs of life and this means that the Polish State and its Government actually no longer exist. In consequence the agreements signed between the Soviet and Poland have become invalid."

Apart from the question whether Russia was justified in her Polish aggression or not Poland cannot claim an unstinted sympathy from us. When Germany attacked Czechoslovakia Poland had no qualms in demanding territories and concessions from that unfortunate country. Its demands were modified only by the Russian intervention. Besides Russia had warned Poland that the Russo-Polish pact would end if aggression against Czechoslovakia continued. After this little sting is left in the Polish outcry that Russia has violated the non-aggression pact.

As soon as Russia attacked Poland the Polish Government collapsed. President Mosciki together with the members of his Government fled to Kuty on the Polish Rumanian frontier. The collapse of the Polish Government was followed by the "carve-up" of Poland by Russia and Germany. At first a provisional demarcation line was set up and then followed the final and detailed division of the unfortunate country. The provisional demarcation line proceeded along the River Pissa till it flowed into the River Narew; then the line followed the River Narew to its confluence with the Vistula at Napoleon's fortress of Modlin. It followed the Vistula through Warsaw, cutting the city into two. It pursued that river till its confluence with the San. Thereafter it followed the San nearly to its source and met the Hungarian frontier at Lutkow. Thus the whole of the Polish-Ruthenian border is in Soviet hands. This was a provisional arrangement only, and this was revised later on.

The revised partition of Poland runs roughly as follows: Germany acquires the small tongue of Poland between East Prussia and Lithuania, and the boundary runs from the southern tip of Lithuania in a generally westerly direction north of Augustow till it touches the East Prussian border. Thereafter it proceeds along the East Prussian border to the River Pissa, then south along the original line of partition as far as Ostroleka. Here it again runs south-east to the river Bug and follows its course as the southern boundary of Lublin province. Then it runs west-south-west to the River San, thereafter along the San to the Carpathians. Germany thus acquires in Central Poland the whole Province of Lublin and that part of the Province of Warsaw originally allotted to the Soviet.

By this revised partition Russia has got the lion's share. But what is most important she occupies the Polish-Ruthenian frontiers and thus bars Germany's way to Rumania. Besides she has got an important foothold from where she can exert her influence over the Balkans. The Soviet has also got back her minorities in Ukraine and White Russia. Moreover the most productive of the Polish oilfields are now in the Russian hands. Polish oil production comes wholly from fields at the foot of the Carpathian mountains. The Russian zone has as part of its boundary the river San as far as its source in the Carpathians, and within it are included the most important of the Polish oil-wells. In 1938 Poland stood eighteenth in the list of the world's chief producers of petroleum. Besides getting 80% of the Polish oil-wells Russia has also got some of the Carpathian salt mines. As compared with Russia Germany has been a loser. She has got only a few oil-wells. The most important acquisitions from the industrial point of view are the coal mines of Upper Silesia and Cracow. Germany has also got the textile towns of Lodz, Bielsko, and the metallurgical industries of Warsaw, Lodz and Posen.

Thus has the history of Poland repeated itself. It has been her fate to be repartitioned times out of number by her two powerful neighbours Russia and Germany. But as history shows Poland survived its shocks in the past and rose again. And let us hope that "she will rise again like a rock which may for a spell be submerged by a tidal wave but which remains a rock."

AFTER FIVE MONTHS

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

We have now been five months at war and are still awaiting Hitler's threatened attacks by land and air. Unless and until Germany decides to attack, through Holland or Belgium or both, stalemate will be the order of the day on the Western Front. No doubt the smashing of either the Maginot or the Siegfried Line by direct frontal attack might be a possibility. But the cost in men and material would be too great to justify it.

The German submarine attack has so far failed to make much impression on British shipping and the cost to Germany in submarines and their crews has been very deadly. The German mines have been almost more of a menace, but the indiscriminate sowing of these has caused more loss to Neutral than to Allied shipping.

Great preparations were made at the beginning of the War to be ready for the expected German air attack on London. But so far no German plane has come anywhere near the capital. Possibly the anti-aircraft preparations and perhaps especially the balloon barrage has given them pause. But it may be that an even greater deterrent is the knowledge that if our aircraft can drop leaflets over Berlin, Vienna, and Prague, it is at least possible that bombs could be dropped.

In his recent speech in the House of Commons the Prime Minister said that at present there is a lull in the operations of war, but at any time the lull may be sharply broken and " events may occur within a few weeks or a few hours which will re-shape the history of the world." Germany has something like a million men massed on the Belgian and Dutch frontiers and only a short time ago it looked as if preparations were almost ready for a mass attack through these countries. It may be of course that this is all part of the war of nerves that Hitler in the past has so successfully waged. But the German reports, denied in Holland, that Dutch planes had flown over German territory, were just the kind of preparation for a German attack that we had seen in the past—and most recently in Poland. The tension has died down for the moment, but at any time it may develop with little or no notice. It is just possible that the invasion of Belgium might have taken place had it not been for the unexpected capture by the Belgians of the plans for such an invasion. It seems to have been established that the German plane that was forced to land in Belgian territory was conveying an officer from the front with the full plans for just such an invasion of Belgium. The German officer was prevented by the Belgians, who captured him and the aeroplane, from destroying the papers which, when examined, revealed the whole plan. Probably this was the reason the plan was abandoned just when everything was practically in readiness to put into effect.

Meanwhile the waiting period is being made good use of both by Belgium and Holland, and difficulties for Germany increase as the days pass. Our factories are turning out at an ever increasing speed not only aeroplanes but also munitions of all kinds. In addition the Dominions are also putting forth ever increasing numbers of men, machines and munitions in preparation for Germany's attack.

It is only to be expected that Germany, as well as we, is increasing her output of machines and munitions. But as she has not the unlimited supply of raw materials that the Allies command, and as she had alrady reached practically her maximum output before the War started, time is all on our side.

Of course it is just possible that when the Spring comes the Allies may not wait for Germany to attack, but may themselves take the initiative. Meanwhile Europe has been in the grip of the severest winter that has been known for many years and, except in Finland, fighting has been at a minimum.

There has been a good deal of talk and correspondence in this country on the " Peace Aims " of the Allies. Probably these may prove to be rather more difficult to define than is expected because it is just possible that France and Great Britain may have differing ideas on the subject. Writing in a recent issue of the *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, "Pertinax," the well-known French commentator, for instance, says that it would be surprising if the League of Nations of tomorrow differed radical-

ly from the League of yesterday. If it were transformed to a federal model there would have to be such a self-sacrifice of sovereignty as, he thinks, could hardly in reason be expected. That is exactly where many people in this country will differ from that French outlook. Even the close economic, financial and other co-operation that has been brought about between France and England since the war broke out necessitates some self-sacrifice of sovereignty on both sides and if, as if proposed, these arrangements are to be extended to other countries that may be willing to join, one can see that that estimate of "Pertinax," if it were widely held, would cause a considerable amount of trouble and disagreement.

It is the custom now to speak of the failure of the League of Nations. But the League was never so strong as in 1931, when Great Britain took the lead at Geneva. Its failure was not the failure of the League as such, but the failure of Great Britain and France particularly to support the League. The National Government, formed by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Baldwin and Sir Herbert Samuel, in 1931, took the first step in rendering the League ineffective by their refusal to stand up to Japan when she began her aggression on China. Manchuria, Abyssinia, Albania are all steps by which the Great Powers have hamstrung the League by neglecting to bring its machinery into action. The real weakness in the League was that no member of it, when it was formed, was willing to face what "Pertinax" calls "a self-sacrifice of sovereignty." That they will now have to do if there is to be any federation which would lead us from the law of the jungle, that seems to prevail at present, to a more ordered state of justice, freedom and peace.

In a very remarkable declaration, signed by the President of Yale University and thirty-two other prominent laymen and ministers of Protestant Churches in the United States, it is pointed out that victory for the Allied Powers or for China would not of itself assure the establishment of justice and peace; but that the victory of Germany, Russia or Japan, would inevitably preclude justice, freedom of thought and worship, and international co-operation which are fundamental to world order.

English people are proverbial grumblers and they have indulged this to the full in connection with our railway travel since war broke out. So much of the rolling stock has been required for the transport of munitions and men for military purposes that the travelling facilities for the general public have been somewhat cut down, although certainly not enough to inconvenience anyone seriously. Trains now run more slowly, to preserve the permanent way, and the dimmed lighting that was general after the outbreak of war is now being replaced with a better lighting that makes reading in railway carriages possible. The troubles and inconveniences in this country however are as nothing compared with those in Germany. There the upkeep of the railways has for years been sacrificed to the making of wonderful motor roads, which certainly are very fine but which cannot take the place of the railways which are still vitally necessary.

The German Ministry of Transport, in their Report for 1938, stated that:

> "The railways have been unable during the past year, mainly because of the shortage of raw materials and the overburdening of industry with other work, to carry out the proper maintenance of structures, permanent way and rolling stock. It must plainly be stated that failure to solve the question of maintenance of existing equipment and provision of extensive renewals may cause irreparable damage. Rolling stock which had already been condemned for scrapping has been put back into service. Instead of the replacement of 3,250 miles of rails scheduled as urgently necessary, only some 600 were renewed, and some of these consisted in the laying of used rails only fit for a short term of service."

Instead of helping the railways to overcome their difficulties, the German Government demanded from them an extra contribution of about 500 million Reichsmarks. The steel and materials which might have been used for the improvement of the railways went to the making of guns and munitions. On top of all this, very severe extra strain has been put on the railways owing to the great troop movements, both in the Polish campaign and subsequently on the Western Front. It is hardly surprising therefore that accidents on the German railways have ben increasing to an alarming extent. In the last three months there have been no fewer than eleven serious railway disasters, involving many casualties. The severe winter has caused freezing of rivers and canals, making it impossible to use these for coal transport. The reconstruction of the Polish railways, which the Germans have had to undertake, has had to be done at the expense of railways in the Reich. Nor are the Russian railways in much better condition. Railway transport may well turn out to be one of the decisive factors in the conduct of the War.

Because of her difficulties of transport Germany has been unable to get even the quota of Rumanian oil which had been agreed upon

between the two countries. This again is a serious handicap to Germany, as the Finnish struggle is using up all the oil that can be spared in Russia and there is certainly no surplus of Russian oil at present for export to Germany. It is possible that all these factors are having their effect in holding back the German offensive.

It is quite amusing to hear that the Germans are already training officials destined to control the civil administration of this country, after Great Britain has been brought under Hitler's rule. The school where the training takes place is in the university town of Marburg and the officials are chosen for their knowledge of foreign languages. This same kind of training was carried out before Germany's conquest of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland.

Tuesday, 30th January, was the anniversary of the coming into power of the Nazi Party. It has been usual for Hitler to meet the Reichstag and deliver to them an oration, which was broadcast and to which the workers were compelled to listen on the radio. This year the Reichstag was not summoned and the flying of flags, which had been obligatory in the past, was forbidden this year. Rumour had it in Berlin that Hitler was putting off the celebration until his birthday in April. Then they were told Hitler would proclaim himself King of England, Emperor of Germany, Emperor of Austria-Hungary and King of Poland. Rumour even said that Hitler had planned his triumphal entry into London for April 20th ! It seems a pity that Hitler could not have some conversation with the ex-Kaiser in Holland, who could tell him something of his pre-1914 dreams and of how they turned out. Or if he cares to go further back in history, he might think of the great Napoleon who spent the late years of his life at a place I visited a year ago in St. Helena, where he had time to reflect on the practically inevitable result of having dreams and ambitions of too grandiose a character.

Probably one of the best radio broadcasters in the world today is Mr. Raymond Gram Swing who regularly broadcasts from the United States. He has just published a book, with the title *How War Came,* and one of the interesting things in it, to people in India, is his estimate of our Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, perhaps better known still in India under his old title, Lord Irwin. Lord Halifax, he says,

"is a singular man in British affairs, a man who holds office not through political skill, not through mass appeal, not through any gift of looking like and sounding like a people's leader, but through character. Lord Halifax stands to some extent above the political battle. He is the one man in the Cabinet in London whose resignation, if it were offered over an issue of principle, could bring down the Government. Your Edens and Duff Coopers can go, and Chamberlain can survive them, but if Lord Halifax were to part with him the country would be sure that Halifax was the one who was being truer to the British standard of truth and wisdom."

The President of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem has sent me a copy of the address which he delivered at the opening of the term on 29th October, 1939. The President is a pacifist and has all his life been utterly and absolutely opposed to war as a method of settling disputes between nations. He finds himself now in the position of supporting this War, on the side of the Allies, not because he wants to fight *for* the Allies but because he feels he can do no other than fight *against* the powers that believe in and practise persecution.

"Persecution, that is deliberate and systematic torment of men, women and children because of their religion, or political and social beliefs, or race, or colour. It is the torture of old and young, the sick and the strong. It is the degradation of individual souls and of groups who differ from the persecutor in one way or the other. It is this impulse to inflict never-ending pain and cruelty upon those in the persecutor's power—imprisoning them, stamping them down, putting them to tasks beyond their strength so that they fall helpless in their tracks, driving them from their homes, separating parents and children, depriving them of the right to be free, to study and to work. This, I am convinced, is the deep, underlying cause of this war . . ."

Later on in his address Principal Magnes refers to the mental confusion of the Communists who went from various countries to fight in the Spanish War. These are his words :

"Think of those thousands of young idealists from different lands who laid down their lives recently in Spain fighting in the communist ranks for what they believed a better world. And now with a stroke of the pen the leader of the Communist state putting their memory to shame and forsaking the millions of adherents who have clung to this ideal as to a religion. Think of what can happen to the millions of democratic idealists going into war now for democracy and freedom, if a few of the old men by a stroke of *their* pen leave the democratic idealists to their fate."

It is for us to see that when peace comes, it will not be left, as it was after the last War, to a few old men to sit down and work out a peace of revenge and so bring to naught the idealism of the young men whom they sent out to fight. It is rather a sad commentary that some of the men who were too old to take part in the fighting in the Great War twenty-five years ago but lost the peace by their lack of

ideals are the same men who are today sending out the sons of the soldiers of twenty-five years ago—young men with ideals which must not be allowed to be sacrificed at the end of the War in order to enrich those who stayed at home or to extend our already too far-flung Empire. We are fighting for freedom and it behoves us to make sure that the freedom we are fighting for is a real freedom not merely for ourselves but for the millions throughout the world who today have neither freedom nor self-determination.

Westminster,
February 1, 1940.

A NATIONAL LANGUAGE—HINDUSTANI, URDU OR HINDI ?

BY PROFESSOR MURLIDHAR, M.A.

AN insidious attempt is being made to foist upon unsuspecting India, in the name of the Mahatma and the Congress, a *lingua franca* called 'Hindustani,' which would be nothing but 'Urdu' pure and simple—a hotchpotch of Arabic and Persian with a sprinkling of Hindi spiced with a pinch or two of English—a nauseating preparation of the witches' cauldron. And this unsavoury mélange we are invited to swallow like good boys in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Notwithstanding the benedictions of the supreme pontiff of Indian nationalism and the high hopes held out to us by the Congress ministries that this jargon would prove a panacea from heaven for all the ills from which India is suffering on account of her babel of tongues, we might well pause to enquire what this Hindustani [1] is. The late Congress ministries of U. P. and Bihar could not define it, for they themselves knew not what it was. How could they when the thing itself did not exist ?

Professors of the new-fangled earn-as-you-learn basic training institutions and teachers of the old-fashioned good-for-nothing schools were all out to preach on behalf of the U. P. ministry the virtues of this neo-Hindustani. When asked what this thing was, they were ready with the answer : Why, the speech we use in our everyday life, the language we express our thoughts in ! If so, then why all this worry about it; why all this fuss of calling together of conferences and appointing of committees to devise a new language ? Or, is it a case like that of M. Jourdain, Moliere's hero in his *Bourgeois Gentilhomme,* who had talked prose all his life but knew it not until it was pointed out to him ? If it was their ordinary speech, why then did the Hindi Sahitya Parishad curse it with bell, book and candle ? Wherefore did the "Bihar Anti-Hindustani Committee" characterize it as a "great menace to the national evolution of Indians inasmuch as it is calculated to destroy their cultural and literary heritage" ? [2]

The Hindustani Academy, [3] the bilingual brat of the U. P. Government, that babbles both in Urdu and Hindi with equal fluency, has ventured a definition worthy of its traditions.

> *"By Hindustani is meant a style which carefully avoids classical vocabulary or a type which is not used by the Delhi and Lucknow men."*

But pray, who are these men of Delhi and Lucknow who talk 'Hindustani' ? Uptill now the fellow-citizens of Ghalib, Atish, Nasikh, Azad and Sirshar were known to speak 'Urdu'; how long have they changed their tongue and taken to speak this new jargon that has not yet seen the light of day, whose dictionary and grammar are still in the making ?

The Lucknow and Delhi dialects so long known as 'Urdu' differ from each other, the

1. The word 'Hindustani' is used in many senses : 1. Natives of the Delhi and U. P. tract (for this region used to be called Hindustan in Moghul times—Hindustan proper); 2. the speech of these people; 3. by extension, those who live in India or Hindustan; 4. a specially concocted lingua in which certain language readers for the use of U. P. schools are composed by a few experts who alone know the secret of writing it, just as the technicians of the Skoda Works in the defunct Czecho-Slovakia alone know how to produce the right sort of blades for turbine engines; none else in Europe or America can manufacture them so satisfactorily; 5. the new language that is being forged on the anvil of the Congress gods.

2. *The Leader* (Decr. 22, 1939).

3. This academy is foster-mother to both Hindi and Urdu, and publishes books in them. This white elephant of the Government costing a mint of money every year has not even produced the proverbial manure to fertilize the field of Hindi or Urdu.

one is more saturated with Persian and Arabic than the other; while the speech of the educated Muslim is not the same as that of the cultured Hindu. Which is to be the standard?

The Academy seems to have let the cat out of the bag. Is Urdu then to masquerade as Hindustani? If so, then it is downright deception, and India should stand up as one man in protest against such an attempt to impose upon it, even though the fraud is practised by the Congress and its ministries. Or, is this also a part of the plot that is hatching to make Urdu the *Lingua Indica*, the symbol of Muslim Raj? Has the Mahatma in his eagerness to placate the Muslims fallen into their trap?

Not to speak of those who have not eyes to see for themselves, the blind followers of Saints and Synods, but even men of intelligence and understanding, who are expected to know better, have been misled by the sway of these high-sounding names, this array of imposing authorities. A great deal of misconception is, therefore, afloat about this 'Hindustani,' this would be *lingua franca*.

Presiding at the 'Indian Motion Picture Congress' held at Bombay in May last, Mr. Satyamurti is reported to have said that

"he was gratified at the stride the industry was making and the *impetus it gave to Hindustani*, which he hoped will become the *lingua franca* of India shortly."

By 'Hindustani' he must have meant 'Urdu'; for no such thing as 'Hindustani exists as yet. A committee of expert accoucheurs and skilled midwives, as everyone knows, has been called together to assist at the birth of this freak of nature, this hermaphrodite. What folly to assume a brilliant future for a baby that has not yet been brought into being; that might be still-born and share the fate of the other artificial languages like Esperanto and Volapük! Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Prime Minister of Bombay, presiding at the Ninth Annual Convocation of the "Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha,"[4] advised Hindus and Muslims of Northern India to give up their obstinacy and accept a *common language* "which may be styled as Hindustani." Its vocabulary, he said, may be taken from Hindi, Urdu, Persian and Sanskrit. By Urdu he probably meant Arabic, for Urdu has no vocabulary of its own, but what it has borrowed or is borrowing from Hindi, Persian and Arabic. With this wide field of selection offered this Hindustani would be nothing but Urdu.

What hazy notion these promoters of a *common language* entertain about Urdu, Hindi and Hindustani, one is astonished to find! Mr. Kher pleading for *Hindustani* at the Convocation of 'Hindi Prachar'—what irony of Fate! If the poor Madrasi graduates of Hindi but knew the difference between Hindi and Hindustani, they would surely have meted out to him the same treatment that the Bacchante gave to Orpheus of old—torn him limb from limb.

Now if this Hindustani is to be a mere lingo, a barbarous, outlandish jargon of the market-place, a *lingua franca*[5] in which to address the coolie on the Railway platform or to direct the Jehu in the station yard or to settle terms with the vultures of a holy pilgrimage, then why take the trouble of creating a 'hybrid monster' (as Prof. Amaranatha Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, very aptly dubs it)? Everyone picks up a workable stock of it for such purposes without the trouble of going to school to learn this heterogeneous gibberish.

If it is meant to be a vehicle for the literary, political and scientific thought of the nation, a language for the drawing-room, a speech for polite intercourse, then as Pandit Rajnath (a worthy son of the great Pandit Ajodhyanath) says: "it will be very poor and artificial, and if ever brought into existence, should prove still-born," for it is an artificial speech, not developed by natural process.

In spite of the many evil forebodings, if this Hindustani still manages to live, then the question arises, how will this baby feed itself and grow; wherefrom would it draw its nutrition if it is to shun all classical sources—Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit? A growing language is constantly in need of all sorts of new terms, phrases and expressions for its varied activities. The languages of Europe and America dig into the ancient mines of classical Greek and Latin for their requirements.[6] Should we delve into the speech quarries of Lucknow and Delhi for our necessities and expect to receive a perennial supply of scientific terms and political phrases and literary expressions to come out of the brains of these Zeuses of modern Athens just as Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom, sprang of old

4. *The Leader* (Decr. 22, 1939).

5. 1. A mixed language with Spanish, Italian, French and Greek elements, used as a means of intercourse among the mixed European and Oriental peoples of the Levant; 2. any *mixed jargon* which has a wide currency.—*The Universal Dictionary*, edited by Prof. H. C. Wyld.

6. The American language within the last few years has added about 200,000 words to its vocabulary; and the Oxford University Press is going to publish an American-English Dictionary in several volumes to embody them. After this war the O. E. D. will have to add another volume to its already existing thirteen.

from the head of the father of the Gods of Olympus ?

The vocabulary of an ordinary educated person, it has been calculated, consists of a few hundred words. If, therefore, we are to confine ourselves to the word-stock of these prigs of Lucknow and Delhi or to the Hindustani glossary in course of preparation, this child whom so many fathers share is sure to die of inanition.

Then again if *Urdu with a few modifications* is to strut the stage as 'Hindustani,' how should one know where Hindi would end, and where Hindustani should begin; what would be the line of demarcation between Hindustani and Urdu; and how are all the three to keep within their respective limits without intruding upon one another's domain ? What is there to prevent a breach of the rules unless the creators of this lingo lay down some kind of penalty, enforceable in law, that no word outside their 'dictionary' or the vocabulary of the paragons of speech-perfection of Delhi and Lucknow shall find a place in this new jargon and that any infringement of this regulation shall be punishable with a fine or a certain term of imprisonment ? A complete collection in that case of the vocabulary of the above language-aristocrats should also be included in the glossary for the guidance of the uninitiated. An India-paper pocket edition of the word-book should as well be published to carry in one's pocket for constant consultation and reference, lest one outstep its limits.

If experience later on induces the Committee to widen the field of choice and make a relaxation in favour of the classics and other provincial tongues, then how much of native Sanskrit, indigenous dialects, exotic Persian and outlandish Arabic shall go to the making of this "*lingua franca*" ? Mr. B. G. Kher of Bombay says : "*ad libitum*". This would make confusion worse confounded.

The Bihari with his narrow provincialism might insist upon interlarding it with large doses of his Bhojpuri and Tirhuti; the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur, who are now quite vocal, might ask for a share in this *olla podrida* for their Oraon, Munda and Sonthali, because the language of Delhi and Lucknow is Greek to them. The natives of U. P. other than those of fortunate Lucknow, might in their regional patriotism clamour to add some ingredients of their own *Banarsi*, *Brajabhasha* and *Garhwali*, and, above all, the Muslim might demand his 33⅓ per cent plus a weightage as a matter of right. And are the other provinces so linguistically backward as to be totally ignored and shut out of their respective contributions ?

Since all outside words are banned, must they await permission of this pinchbeck academy or any other machinery that might be set up to keep watch over the maiden purity of this 'Hindustani' virgin,—to enter her sacred precincts; just as 'cocktail', of which the French acquired a taste from their English allies, had to cool its heels for twenty years or more at the door of the French Academy before it was allowed to enter their dictionary and thus acquire the rights of French citizenship ?

Mr. Baburam Saksena, a reader in Sanskrit of the Allahabad University, in a letter to the *Leader* (Oct. 1, 1939) giving reasons for his resignation from the Bihari Hindustani Committee, of which he was a member, says (in substance) :

"1. In trying to have technical terms, based on current words, in 'Hindustani' it was found that they *could not arrive at any technical terms,* but at what may be described as 'technical phrases';

"2. In some cases *they had to suggest two terms, one Urdu and another Hindi.* These would not serve;

"3. What pained him most was that *Sanskrit and Arabic had been put by the Committee on an equal level !*"

The above statement clearly shows that the Committee mean "to invent a monster," in the weighty words of Pandit Amaranatha Jha,—a man who never minces his words even for the sake of the mighty—"that is bad Hindi, worse Urdu and good nothing; mere juxtaposition of a few Persian words without any intelligible design or order"[7]—"a collosal fraud that is being perpetrated in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity."[8]

If Hindustani could justify its creation on any ground it could only be on that of being understood by the masses; but it would be beyond their comprehension, because it is 'Urdu' in disguise.

Mr. Mahadev Desai, the trusted lieutenant of the Mahatma, while directing the deliberations of the *Hindi Prachar Conference* (Madras, Decr. 25, 1939), "deplored that there should be opposition to the teaching of Hindustani from any quarter in South India," and told his audience that "the time would soon come when *these very opponents would thank the Congress Governments* for the steps they had taken for the *propagation of Hindustani.*"

> "Chun Kufr az Qaaba barkhezad,
> Kuja manad Musalmani."
>
> "When heresy arises from Mecca
> Where shall true faith live ?"

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7. *The Leader* (Sepr. 18, 1939).
8. *The Leader* (Novr. 3, 1939).

Mr. President Desai preaching the cause of *Hindustani* from the platform of *Hindi Prachar Conference* is a sight to make the gods, the Hindi Sahitya Parishad and all lovers of Hindi weep tears of blood. It was *Hindi* for the Deccan so long; when did *Hindustani* creep in? Is the so-called *common language* gradually changing colour like the chameleon; would the mask fall off soon and the belauded *lingua franca* be called by its true name 'Urdu'? For the Mahatmaji, who in his goodness is ever ready to bless any person or any cause, has, with his own hand written a letter in Urdu to the first "All-India Urdu Conference" recommending "that every Hindu well-wisher of the country should learn Urdu, and every Muslim well-wisher of the country should learn Hindi." It was 'Hindi' first, then it became 'Hindustani' to placate the Muslim, but as he will have none of it, must it be 'Urdu' now to usher in the millennium?

The Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was prevented owing to indisposition from presiding over this Urdu Conference, in his message "regretted that efforts were being made by both Hindus and Musalmans to *ruin* Urdu." I wish they would bury the debris of Urdu, as it is written at the present day, seven layers deep so that archeologists digging it out five thousand years after may wonder where this rubbish came from, for it would bear no relation to the then existing or dead languages of India.

If the Congress eager for unity-at-any-cost and these unsophisticated admirers of Urdu but knew what conspiracy is being hatched behind this 'verdammt' language, this manufactured tongue, they would pause seriously to think before taking it to their breast.

"The advocates and partisans of Urdu", says "Nudas Veritas,"[9]—to whom all Indians who love their country should feel grateful for bringing this plot to light and drawing their attention to the serious danger that is looming ahead,—"have organised a well-planned and well-financed[10] propaganda," *whose object* as they openly declare, *is to make Urdu the Lingua Indica.*

"One hears of Urdu schools in Madras and Urdu educational efforts in Eastern Bengal, and those (Muslims) who for seventy generations had been speaking Tamil and Bengali are told that *they must now learn Urdu to save their culture.*"

"The purpose of all this propaganda, which is now entrusted to the 'Anjuman-i-Taraqqie Urdu' (Society for the Improvement of Urdu) is neither Language nor Literature, but politics. *Urdu is to be made the dominant language of India,* not for its linguistic or literary value, but *as a potent instrument for the propagation of Islamic ideals, and for the spread of Perso-Arabic culture.* The Urdu language is to be established as a *veritable symbol of Muslim Raj.* Urdu language and literature are only a smoke screen behind which and concealed by which are marching the big battalions of Janab Mohammed Ali Jinnah."[11]

"The slogan of the 'Mushtariqa Zuban' (common language) *is based on policy, and is unreal and insincere. Money is being spent freely,—the resources are well-known and inexhaustible—and every nerve is being strained to achieve the object."*

Some of the resolutions passed by the Muslim Educational Conference[12] held in Calcutta (December 31, 1939) fully bear out what 'Nudas Veritas' has said:

1. The Conference urged the Government of Bengal to make *adequate provisions for the teaching of Urdu as a second language in all Government and aided institutions.*
2. It expressed dissatisfaction at the failure of the Intermediate and Secondary Education Board, Dacca, to give any place to *Urdu as a second language for those students whose vernacular was other than Urdu.*

Urdu is thus to be thrust down the throats of Bengali boys who are quite innocent of this language.[13]

3. It requested the Government of Bengal to take steps to *get Urdu included as one of the classical languages* recognised by the Board.

Since how long has Urdu been lifted to the rank of a 'Classics'?

4. It asked the Government of Bengal to permit the *use of Arabic Script for writing the Bengali language.*

9. *The Leader,* Jany. 8, 1940.

10. Every intelligent reader will easily guess the financial sources of this as well as many other dangerous anti-India movements that have come to the front of late. The Amir of Afghanistan has recently donated Rs. 50,000 to a Muslim theological school in India. Was there no other good cause in his poor country that stood in need of help?

11. What hidden forces are working behind this figure-head Mr. Jinnah it would be in the interest of India to find out. They are of course to be discovered in our own country, not outside it.

12. This was brought into being by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan—when in 1888 the fourth Indian National Congress was being held at Allahabad,—to divert the activities of the Muslims of Upper India from the risky path of politics into a safe channel where it has stagnated all these 50 years. Its achievements may be judged from the resolutions mentioned above, it sits merely to pass resolutions and then passes on to next year's sitting.

13. So ignorant are Bengali Muslim boys and adults of Persian or Arabic or Urdu that they cannot even pronounce their own names correctly. They are physically incapable of uttering their dentals which turn palatals on their tongue: Samshuddin, Samad and Siddiqui, for instance, become Chhamchhuddin and Chhamad and Chhiddiqui even with those Mochholmans who have some pretence to education.

A language that cannot write itself properly, that has to be read by mere guess-work to claim to represent a language derived from Sanskrit!—the blind and halt proposing to lead the two-eyed Olympic runner! Since Bengal has the good fortune to possess a ministry as wise as these wise men of Gosham, there is nothing to wonder if these recommendations are carried out partially or in their entirety in the interest of "Nobiji-ki-Joban"—(the prophet's language), as an old gentleman of Dacca once called 'Urdu' —and for the spread of Perso-Arabic culture!

Already for many years past an organized effort is being made to defile the purity of the Bengali language by deluging the school text-books with Persian and Arabic words. Who shall prevent the majority from exercising its 55% right to cut its nose in order to spite its face?[14] They feel no pride in their mother tongue whose poet has won the Nobel prize in literature for India. Its purity does not appeal to them; they must corrupt it, adulterate it, debase it, with all the offscourings of foreign lands in order to assert their sinister power for evil.

Here is a choice specimen:

> "Hat jor kore dua mango dadi
> Aye khoda doyamoy
> Amar dadir tawrete jyano go
> Behesht nazil hoy."

The same thing is now being pursued in Bihar. No more his cherished Bhōjpuri, his beloved Maithili, or his dear provincial patois for the Bihari! As the school text-books are being adulterated with large doses of foreign words and expressions, he will soon be mouthing the new 'Hindustani' and shaking off his Beotian dullness rank with the chosen of Delhi and Lucknow!

An all-important part of this plot is the most commendable endeavour of his Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad—may his shadow never grow less—to impose upon his Tamil, Telegu, Marathi and Kannad subjects, forming 90% of the population, a language which is utterly foreign to them. Millions of their hard-earned money is wasted upon a national (?) University (which is mere brick and mortar and nothing else) and its futile work of bringing the light of knowledge in all departments of science and arts to these benighted people through the medium of 'Urdu,' into which books from English and other languages are being translated by means of a terminology forged with the help of Persian and Arabic. Very efficient and intelligent way of creating an Urdu (Hindustani) Lingua Indica in the Deccan!

This nomenclature, if based on Sanskrit, which feeds all the languages of the Indian continent (modern Urdu excepted), would have paved the way for a common scientific terminology, and all India would have blessed the Hyderabad ruler for his foresight and his love of the motherland. But those whose eyes are always turned to Arabia and Persia, how can they see anything in their own motherland to love, to admire and to live for?

People who, in their wisdom, long to bring into being a new language must always bear in mind that languages are *evolved, not made.* No fiat of a dictator, or the decree of a Congress Government or even the ukase of a "High Command" can *create* them.

Apart from the plot that is being hatched to seat 'Urdu' on the throne of the 'common language', let us see how far 'Urdu' on its intrinsic merits can deserve such a place.

The word 'Urdu' comes from the Tartar 'Yurt' or 'Urdu,' meaning 'tent,' 'royal court,' 'camp', from which we get the English word 'horde'. It well describes its own origin, for it came into existence as a medium of intercourse between the foreign hordes and the people of the country, like the "pidgin (business) English" of the Chinese Free Ports, or the 'Lingua Franca' of the Levant.

It is nothing but Hindi with heroic doses of Persian and Arabic injected into it to give the thing as alien a look as possible.

Its grammar is the same: 1. Its nouns (except where persons affecting a foreign fashion form the 'plurals' of nouns derived from Persian and Arabic, accordng to their native accidence) are inflected in the same way. 2. Its *pronouns* and 3. Adjectives are no different and they also take the like inflections. 4. Its *verbs* are the same and their conjugation follows the same rules. 5. Its prepositions and conjunctions are alike. How can Urdu then be a different language? According to the science of philology they must be the same. It has been made incomprehensible by an inordinate infusion of foreign words and expressions. It is now Hebrew to the masses.

The cry these days is that the language and culture of minorities must be protected. In most European countries there is a considerable Jewish population, racially and strictly speaking linguistically different. But no one

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14. Who can say if this too is not a part of the conspiracy about which *Nudas Veritas* has sounded his warning note?

ever heard of any European Government's anxiety to allow a certain percentage of Hebrew or Yiddish a place in the common speech or literary language of the nation, whatever medley they might talk among themselves. Books too have been written in these jargons but they are intended for home consumption and not for use in public schools or colleges.

The U. S. of America received every year[15] immigrants from Northern and Southern Europe —people ethnically different and speaking languages dissimilar to their own. The Great Republic never bothered itself to protect the culture[16] and language of these people. In two generations the Scandinavian, the German, the Finn, the Russian, the Greek, the Italian and the natives of the Balkan Peninsula become a part and parcel of Uncle Sam. The Vanderbilts and Hoovers and Roosevelts have become as good Americans as the Franklins, the Lincolns, and the Garfields in language, culture, and love of country, and all within these three hundred years. Have a section of Indian Muslims claiming foreign descent been able to retain their racial and cultural integrity through thrice these centuries intact ?

To talk of the separate culture of Indian Muslims may be a good political dodge; but as a matter of fact it is not different from the general culture of India. (I say 'general', because every province differs in this respect more or less from others, as it does in language). How could it be when 99·9% are descendants of the Hindus ? Even in the Punjab where the pressure of foreign invasion was the greatest, there are only 15% Muslims who claim foreign descent.

The culture * of India is neither purely Hindu nor purely Muslim, but a combination of the two. Our arts, architecture, literature are an amalgam of both. Has the Indian Muslim a civilization different from that of the Hindu ?

In religion, too, we have reacted upon one another. The numerous sects that have taken their rise within the Muslim fold,—the Sufis, Ahmedias, Khojas, Bahais, Hanafis and a good many others—have all been influenced by the religious philosophy of the Hindus. The late Sir Denzil Ibbetson, a former Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, remarked as Census Commissioner that Hinduism had been interfusing and modifying Islam in India with its own forms of faiths and worship.

On the other hand, the monotheism of Islam had inspired Indian Reformers—like Kabir, Nanak, Raidas, Dadu, Chaitanya, Rammohun Roy, Keshav Chunder, Ramkrishna and Dayanand—to present us with a purer and more liberal form of religion.

Religion alone cannot give a separate culture. Have the Chinese Muslims a culture different from their Buddhist brethren? The culture of the German Protestant and German Catholic is the same. The Copts, though different in race and religion, have merged with the majority in language and in their claim for complete independence for their common country, Egypt.

Do the Rothschilds and Barings, the Disraelis and Simons—all Jews—claim a separate nationality for themselves different from that of the Englishman, or any separate protection for their language and culture ? In fact, have they a different language and culture left ? Neither can religion make a separate *nation,* nor give special rights to any minor community except the right of freedom of worship, without of course interfering with the equal rights of others in this matter. The question of language in the case of Indian Muslims does not arise, because Urdu is not a different language at all, as we have seen.

To talk of Indian Muslims as a separate nation, as some of them are doing now, is simply absurd. Says the *Oxford English Dictionary*:

> "A nation is an extensive aggregate of persons *closely associated* with each other *by common descent, language, history* as to form a distinct race or people, *usually organized as a separate* political state, or *occupying a definite* territory."

According to this definition the Bengal Muslims, for instance, are one with the Hindus of Bengal having a common descent, a common language, a common history and occupying a definite territory; the same is the case with the Muslims of Bombay (The Khoja's law of inheritance was till a few years back the same as that of the Hindus) of Madras and of other provinces : all forming a political unit subject to a central supreme government, and all inhabiting a clearly defined geographical area, *i.e.,* India, making one nation. The Muslims of Egypt along with the Copts are Egyptians; the Muslims of Iran with their Christian and Zoroastrian brethren are Iranis. Similarly,

15. Immigration has now been restricted to a large extent.

16. If it be said they are culturally the same being Europeans, why cannot Muslims be culturally the same being Indians and nothing else ?

* In a broad sense "culture" means "civilization."—*Century Dictionary* : Edited by Dr. W. D. Whitman.

the Muslims and Hindus, Parsis and Christians of India are Indians and nothing else.

If, however, the Indian Musalmans call themselves a separate nation, they become an alien people. India cannot allow a separate nation to live within the country and create a state inside a state. Sheikh Saadi has well put it :

"As two swords cannot find room in the same scabbard, so two kings cannot live in the same country."

We can never admit England's or any one else's right to dispose of our country over our heads. The partition of Palestine, where the Arabs have been living for over 1300 years, into Arab and Jewish Palestine made the Arab revolt against the Mandatory Power, and called forth a howl of protest from the Indian Muslims. But in proposing to partition India into a Muslim 'Holyland' (Pakistan) and a Hindu Unholyland (Najisistan) these very people conveniently forget that what is sauce for the goose is also sauce for the gander.

Every country has a culture of its own irrespective of religion. The culture of Turkey is not the same as that of Iran. The Arabs and Turks and Iranis are not the same people in spite of their being all Moslems. Arabian culture has, therefore, little in common with that of either. The Turks have discarded everything Arabian, its language, alphabets and civilisation or culture. The Iranians are gradually doing the same. The Arabs of the desert in the course of their conquest absorbed the culture of Persia, Egypt and Southern Europe; and the Arab culture of Syria, Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordania, Hedjaz is now being leavened by that of the West. The Arabs there are discarding their old ways of life and government.

The Musalmans of India are not a separate race either. They are ethnically the same with the Hindus, as much children of the soil [17] as we are. Even those Indian Musalmans who claim to have come from the sandy deserts of Arabia or the highlands of Iran or the wilds of Central Asia—the Bokharis, the Isfahanis, the Shirazis and Ghaznavis—have through the long centuries become so mixed up with the natives of the country that even the most delicate blood-testing device yet invented will fail to detect a trace of the blue-blood that ran in the veins of their ancestors. Even a College of Heralds would not be able to follow the genealogies of most of them beyond India.

Many a prince or nobleman boasting his descent from foreign soldiers of fortune, from Iranian and Turanian ancestors, may after all be found to be the bairn of a bazaar beauty, or the offspring of a goldsmith girl, or the bantling of a blacksmith woman. [18] Only he has not the frankness to own himself a child of the soil [19] like the simple weaver who admitted,

"Auwalam naddaf budam
Budhu gashtem Sheikh
Ghalla chun arzan shawad
Imsal Syed mishawam."

"I was a weaver first,
Afterwards became a Sheikh,
If food grains are cheap
I hope to become a Syed this year."

The higher we rise the more alien we become.[20] Our vanity is not satisfied until we have traced an ancestry among the barbarians of Central Asia.

Were it not for the cast-off Fez of Turkey and the borrowed *lungi* of Burma what is there to distinguish an Indian Muslim from a Hindu? When his culture is the same, his speech no different, why should he require any special protection ?

Urdu is not the language of the Muslims of Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana and other provinces. The Momin-Ansars—the weaver class—who constitute half the Muslim population of India and

17. A prominent Leaguer is very wroth with those who talk of Muslims as natives of India. He cannot bear to think that his ancestors of the Gobi Desert who came and saw and conquered the country should be put on the same level with its children. But the whirligig of time plays strange tricks. It has brought the Sohrabs of these Rustums so low that some of them have to earn their living as 'chilamchis,' offering a smoke of their 'hukka' to the passer-by for a pice. To call them 'Natives of India' would be flogging a dead horse; we should pity them.

18. King Cophetua was not a solitary instance of royalty having married a beggar girl.

19. Everyone would honour Sir Feroze Khan Noon for acknowledging his Hindu ancestry feeling proud of his Rajput descent.

20. A retired Muslim Judge of an Indian High Court, whose father was a Bengali convert, is reported to have said that he was more at home in Persia and Arabia than in India. If stranded in these lands one wonders how he could have made himself understood except by dumb-show when asking for a piece of bread to appease his hunger or a cupful of water to quench his thirst. His condition would have been no better than that of the subject of these lines:

"Cabul gaye Mughal bani aye
Bolain Mughli bani
Ab Ab kar putau mar gaye
Sirhane rakkha pani."

"Sonny went to Cabul, returned a full-fledged Moghul, spoke the speech of the Moghul and died of thirst crying ab ! ab ! (water ! water !) although the waterpot was at the head of his bed all the time.

live in the villages, do not speak Urdu. It is not the language of the Muslim masses dwelling in the towns and the country. Compared with these the Muslims who profess to think and talk and dream in Urdu are but a handful, a few thousands, a most negligible quantity.

One wishes the Muslims of India had sufficient love of the motherland to say wth the modern Irani :

> "Gar Musalman wa nasara wa gar az zartushtem
> Lek yak pidar wa nasab wa yak pushtem
> Bar kafe kishwar pindar panp angushtem,
> Ta ki jamaem, badandan e ajanib mushtem,
> War paragandah wa fardem, Shikar e anan."

> "Whether we be Musalmans, Christians, or children of Zoroaster (Parsis)
> We are sons of the same father, descended from the same line and race.
> On the palm of the motherland, we are like five fingers
> So long as united, we are a fist to break the jaw of the enemy,
> Disunited and dispersed, we are a prey to them."

It is a pity they have even forgotten the words of the great Prophet : *"Habbul watan min al imän,"* "the love of the motherland is a part of religion." And this mother of theirs they mean to tear to pieces !

(To be concluded)

To Indian Folklorists

We have received the following letter from Prof. Paul G. Brewster of the *University of Missouri*, U. S. A. If any Indian folklorist can give him the information asked for, he is requested to kindly send it to him direct.—Ed., *M. R.*

DEAR SIR :

I trust that I shall not be troubling you too greatly with this letter of inquiry, and that the nature of it may serve, in some degree at least, to excuse the liberty I am taking in writing you.

For more than a year I have been assembling materials for a comparative study of the children's guessing-game commonly known in English-speaking countries as "How many horns has the buck ?" or "How many fingers do I hold up ?" (German "Wieviel Horner hat der Bock," Ital. "Ad anca ed ancona," Swed. "Bulta bockhorn," Estonian "Sikka, pukka, mitu sarve," Spanish "Recotin-Recotan," Finnish "Sarvisilla," Turkish "Kac parmaq," etc.). At present I have variant texts and descriptions of the game from the U. S., England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the Hebrides, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Greece, Turkey, Hercegovina and Switzerland.

As you are doubtless aware, the game is quite old, being mentioned and described by Petronius in one of his *Satires*, and probably known and played in Rome long before his time. I am not yet in a position to make any positive assertions regarding its provenience, but should hazard the guess that it is of Eastern origin. I am writing to ask if you can give me the names and addresses of any Indian folklorists who might possibly furnish me with some information about variants in your country.

Very truly yours,
Paul G. Brewster

"HOW MANY HORNS HAS THE BUCK ?"

A common method of playing is as follows : One player is blindfolded. Another, standing behind him, strikes him repeatedly on the back with a fist, at the same time reciting a sort of rhyme. Then he holds in the air a number of fingers, calling upon the blindfolded player to guess the number. If the latter succeeds, they exchange places; if the guess is incorrect, the game continue as before until a correct guess is made. In some variants the first player gets down on hands and knees, and the other mounts upon his back. In still others he leans his head against a tree or a wall instead of being blindfolded.

(Any information regarding variant forms of this game, or even of games only slightly resembling it, will be gratefully received).

Paul G. Brewster,
Department of English,
University of Missouri,
Columbia, Missouri, U. S. A.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

GANDHI'S CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY: *By S. K. George (with a Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan). Published by G. Allen & Unwin. Price 3/6.*

This small book is of importance out of all proportion to its size; for it represents the reaction of the younger Indian Christians away from the controlled thought which has so often been their medium as they have grown up in missionary circles and not seldom in mission compounds. In certain respects it amounts to more than a reaction and becomes a revolt.

Mr. S. K. George tells us in the course of his book something of his own biography. He was born in Travancore in the Anglican branch of the Syrian Christian Church and was sent to Bishop's College, Calcutta, for his theological training. He remained on in the College and became a lecturer and tutor. Then the Satyagraha Movement filled him with new thoughts about his own Christian religion and gave him a new vision of the life of Christ. He found he had gone politically beyond the tenets of his College and resigned. He even faced imprisonment, though he was not actually imprisoned. Then at last among the Free Churches he found his spiritual home and was able to write this book while in residence at Manchester College, Oxford. He shows in it his deep devotion to Mahatma Gandhi on the one side, while it is not difficult to read between the lines a devotion almost equally great, in his intellectual life, to Doctor L. P. Jacks, the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal*, on the other.

Apart from the argument of the book itself, in which he seeks successfully to relate the Satyagraha teaching of Mahatma Gandhi with the teaching of Jesus Christ in the Sermon on the Mount, the book gives us in a very humble and touching way the story of the author's spiritual pilgrimage. At times, he has had to face the intense isolation of one who is breaking free from his own domestic surroundings. But in the end we feel that at Oxford he has reached a haven of rest and refreshment for his inner life after the stormy days in Calcutta.

He is now very deeply interested in an inter-religious fellowship of faiths in the South which has attracted many ardent thinkers, but with that this review can hardly deal. The book itself should be read. A sympathetic preface by Sir S. Radhakrishnan adds to its value.

C. F. Andrews

RAW MATERIAL AND FOODSTUFFS—*Production by Countries, 1935 and 1938. League of Nations. Information Section. Ser. L. o. N. P. 1939. II. A. 24. Pp. 75. Price 2-6, $0.60.*

There was never a moment in history at which information about supplies and sources of raw materials and foodstuffs was more urgently and more generally sought than today.

The volume entitled *Raw Materials and Foodstuffs—Production by Countries, 1935 and 1938,* which has been published by the League of Nations. will meet a very real need. It brings together in a handy form information which previously could only be obtained by much research. Indeed, the volume contains the most complete statistics ever published on the production of raw materials and foodstuffs, by countries. The information relates to some 200 different commodities and nearly 140 countries or areas.

The tables are so compiled that the complete production of any country can be seen by a glance at a single page.

The volume not only details the production of each commodity, by each country, but also shows in a single table the main sources of supply. In this table (Table II) the ten most important producers of each commodity or such similar number as may account for approximately 80% of world output are given in the order of magnitude of their production. Whenever possible their approximate percentage contribution to the world output is entered in brackets.

Another table shows the percentage shares of the various continents in the world production of primary products.

In utilising this book of reference, the reader would be well advised to study the preface which, in addition to explaining the scope of the tables, draws attention to certain of the statistical traps into which the unwary may be liable to fall.

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, in publishing this work of reference, has placed a valuable source of information at the disposal of journalists, scholars, statesmen and others who wish to obtain exact information for the study of problems connected with the production of any trade in raw materials and foodstuffs.

A NEW SPIRITUAL DYNAMIC TO SOLVE MAN'S PRESENT PROBLEMS: *By Charles Frederick Weller, Founder and President of WORLD FELLOWSHIP; Editor of World Fellowship—presenting 242 addresses by 199 leaders of ALL Faiths, Races, Countries; Author of Neglected Neighbour (introduced by President Theodore Roosevelt). Greenberg, Pub-*

lisher, 67 West 44th Street, New York, U. S. A. Price not mentioned.

Part I of this book is in prose and Part II in poetry.

The first part contains eleven outspoken letters to troubled friends and twelve discussions on national and world problems. Some of the subjects of the letters are: fears, difficulties and self development; security, pessimism and experience; age, loneliness—and a morning method; the unseen way; a letter to my son, suddenly deceased; heights and depths revisited after 25 years; "free love," sex and marriage; is modern business deadly?

The twelve discussions on national and world problems deal with: Palestine, World Unity and a new proposal; How can peace come and stay? Is America going down? Hitler, Chamberlain, Mussolini—and a nobler League of Nations; If I were a Jew; Democracy Fighting Fascism is wasting time; For Democracy's defense its self-improvement is essential; The World's new nervous system; Radio and World Oneness; World-wide Ways and Means; Calling Roosevelt and the Duke of Windsor; War.

In the second part there are one hundred and forty-three poems interpreting the Good Life Universal in: Nature's Beauty, Human Relations, War Peace and Politics, Christianity and other Religions, World Fellowship, This troubled world Today, and Personal Problems and Powers.

From this synopsis of the contents of the book the reader will see that it is a thought-provoking and spiritually stimulating work. The author is aware that many readers will differ violently from some of his statements. But he has let them stand as they are. We think he has acted rightly. We generally like to read what coincides with or supports our opinions. But it is necessary and good to read also what challenges them.

MAGHOTSAVA NUMBER OF THE INDIAN MESSENGER: *Edited by Professor Amiya Kumar Sen, M.A. Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price annas six.*

It is a deeply interesting publication, which ought to be preserved for perusal and reference. Among its contents are Sir P. C. Ray's "Message of the Brahmo Samaj;" "Brahmo Samaj and India" by Satis Chandra Chakravarti; "The year in Retrospect" by the Editor; "Internationalism and National Problems" by Professor Dr. Kalidas Nag; "The Evolution of Brahmo Life and Thought" by Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhushan; "Brahmo Hymnology" by Principal Satis Chandra Roy; "Religion and Near Religions" by Professor Dr. Saroj Kumar Das; "Rammohun: His Delhi Embassy," "Rammohun as a Bhashyakara," "Rammohun as an Educationist," "Rammohun in Bengali life and literature," and "The Politics of Raja Rammohun Roy" by Dr. J. K. Majumdar, Prof. Ishan Chandra Roy, Principal Braja Sundar Roy, Sj. Jogananda Das and Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee respectively; "The Ideals of Education by Prof. Rajanikanta Guha; "The Trinity in Women's Education" by Principal Mrs. Tatini Das; "Ideals of Women's Education" by Principal Mrs. Purnima Basak; "Purna Swaraj and the Brahmo Samaj" by Dr. Sundari Mohan Das; "Social Reform" by Sj. Pulin Bihari Sen; "The Brahmo Samaj and Relief Work" by the late Sj. Lalit Mohan Das; and "Institutions under Brahmo Management" by N. D.

The list of Institutions given last is not at all exhaustive. An exhaustive list ought to be published.

D.

FOUNDERS OF VIJAYANAGARA: *By S. Srikantaya. Published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore. 1938. Pp. 174. Price Rs. 5. Foreign 10s.*

The origin of the famous Kingdom of Vijayanagara is still shrouded in mystery. Various scholars have given radically different accounts and supported them by reference to tradition or facts of history. Beginning from Sewell who first dealt with the subject, we have quite a vast literature on the subject. The book under review makes a fresh attempt to solve the mystery. Mr. Srikantaya has sought to prove, what Krishnaswamy Aiyangar and Rev. Heras maintained some years ago, that Vijayanagara really owes its origin to the Hoysala King Ballala III, and Harihara and Bukka, the reputed founders of the Empire, were originally only feudatories enjoying the rank of Mahamandaleswara. Mr. Srikantaya has collected together a large volume of evidence in support of this thesis. Although the last word has not yet been said on the subject, there can be hardly any doubt that the thesis is presented by the author with cogency of arguments and a great array of reliable evidence and the conclusion appears to be the most probable in the present state of our knowledge.

In the latter part of the book Mr. Srikantaya has upheld the current tradition that Vidyaranya, and generally speaking, the Jagadgurus of Sringeri Matha, played an important part in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. In this he has differed widely from Rev. Heras who dismissed the Vidyaranya traditions as pure myth based upon later forgeries

The author has given evidence of a thorough knowledge of the subject he treats. The arrangement of the book, however, is far from satisfactory. Verbosity, unnecessary repetitions of the same topic, and a lack of systematic development of topics and ideas take away considerably from the merits of what would otherwise have been a good historical treatise. The defect is mainly due to the fact that the subject-matter of the book was originally written in the form of five lectures to the Annamalai University, and the author did not trouble himself, as he himself confesses, to recast and condense the whole in the form suitable for a book. But everything considered the book must be considered as a valuable addition to the historical literature on Vijayanagara. In conclusion we must draw the attention of the author to a serious error on p. 27 where Alberuni is mentioned as a contemporary of Muhammad Tughlak.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE MAHABHARATA AS A HISTORY AND A DRAMA: *By Rai Promatha Nath Mullick Bahadur. Published by Thacker Spink and Company, Calcutta.*

The author has devoted years of study to the elucidation of the problems connected with the formation of the Great Epic.

His first critical study was entitled "The Mahabharata, As it was, Is and Ever shall be" and the present volume under review continues the discussion with admirable clarity and thoroughness. He gives us a very useful summary of the historical and the dramatic episode of the Mahabharata. The first part is devoted to the analysis of what may be called the original epic composed by Vedavyasa, culminating in the Rajasuya

sacrifice. The second part describes the end of the struggle between the Bharata Kings of India whose disappearance led to the formation of the historic dynasties like the Saisunagas and the Mauryas. Those who cannot read the original Sanskrit text of the Mahabharata will be benefited by the faithful and lucid commentary which the author has prepared and we recommend the book to all those who wish to form a clear idea of the life and culture of India in the Heroic Age.

KALIDAS NAG

FOREIGN CONNECTION OF BUDDHA : *By Pandit Sri Umakanta Vidyasekhara (Translated from Telugu by the author and read at the Third Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Madras, December, 1924). Second Edition Revised. Vangmaya Samiti, Madras, 1937.*

In this booklet the author has tried to prove that Gautama Buddha had foreign origin and thereby he has to some extent supported the view of Dr. Spooner, but the result of his investigation seems to be very unsatisfactory. He has laid much stress on the fact that Buddha belongs to the class of sun-worshippers. We all know on the authority of the Mahavastu (II, p. 303) that the Sakyas among whom the Buddha was born are known as Adityabandhus or the people kin to the Sun. This refers to their descent from the Solar dynasty to which the Ikshvakus belonged. The Mahavastu (III, p. 247) also speaks of king Suddhodana, father of Gautama Buddha, as born of the Ikshvaku family. The same work (III, p. 246) also speaks of Buddha as a Kshatriya of the Adityagotra and of the Ikshvaku kula *i.e.*, born of the family of the Ikshvakus who derived their descent from the Sun. The Sutta-Nipata, an important canonical work of the Hinayanists, points out that the Buddha refers to his people as Adiccas by family and Sakiyas by birth. The mere fact that Buddha belongs to the class of sun-worshippers does not prove that Gautama was not an Indian. The author has collected here some of the references from the Mahabharata, Puranas, Brahmasutras and other Brahmanical works in support of his contention which he has miserably failed to prove. The more we can avoid building up such theories, the better.

B. C. LAW

NOT AT HOME : *By Parr Cooper. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd, London. 1939.*

A novel on India should find many readers both among Indians and Englishmen. It is, however, somewhat bewildering to realise how very few good novels on India are actually written. E. M. Forster's attempt in his "Passage to India" to give a genuine and fair description of both the English and Indian communities side by side, was no doubt very successful, but even he remained on the surface; and whenever he tried to penetrate deeper into the intricacies of Indian social life and the psychological problems connected with it, he seemed to loose himself in the innumerable complexities and oddities of a country that only very few Europeans have ever pretended to understand.

We do not find any such pretensions in Parr Cooper's book either; it is the story of the British Woman in India today, and the problems of love and marriage with which she is faced, accentuated as they are by the special social and psychological conditions of the country. India in this book is a vague background of coolies, servants, railway-porters, chauffeurs, and ayas, a station in the plains and one on the hills, and lastly the climate and here and there a glimpse of the landscape. Leave this background out and the story will stand as before : the racecourse, the dancing, the club, the bar, the office, the drawing-room, completely supersede the Indian environment. The British community in India is represented from one angle only : the exclusive, and slightly snobbish and unintelligent attitude of some of its members towards each other as well as towards the Indian community. This way of looking at things seems to be unnecessarily one-sided and we cannot possibly believe that it is the only true one. Asked whether she ever turns the villages with her husband one of the characters replies : "It's their black faces I can't get used to and their peculiar ways. Wearing no clothes and thinking nothing of it. It's not what I'm accustomed to, generally speaking" (p. 107). And another character thinking on the peculiar problems of love and marriage in India is very rightly "assailed by a sensation of disgust for herself and her way of living. Very clearly she saw the pointless silliness of her existence; a series of dead ends, and abortive little relationships that had neither dignity nor sincerity" (p. 389).

This is not the kind of novel which we like to read about the British community in India. Despite its psychological and sociological interest, we cannot help feeling that a more sincere and slightly more dignified approach to the problems of both the English and the Indians would have clarified the issues and would have brought about a deeper understanding of the life of the British community in this country.

A. ARONSON

AURANGZEB AND HIS TIMES : *By M. Faruki, M.A., Bar-at-Law. Published by the Taraporevala & Sons, Bombay. 1935.*

We owe an apology to the author as well as the publishers of this biography of Emperor Aurangzeb for our regrettable tardiness in reviewing it. It is rather unfortunate that our Mughal Emperors from Babur to Bahadur Shah II did not have more than one modern biographer. Certainly Akbar and Aurangzeb, about whom there is such a wide divergence of opinion among scholars, should have found half-a-dozen biographers each in English. So far as our knowledge goes, Maulana Shibli's brilliant apologia on Aurangzeb written in Urdu—was the only other history that attempted at disputing the field against Sir Jadunath's grand work, *History of Aurangzeb* (in five volumes).

History is not the profession but only a diversion of Mr. Faruki, and as such the same rigorous test of criticism which is applied to works of professional writers —cannot in fairness be applied to Mr. Faruki's book. Mr. Faruki's book also no doubt reads like an apologia, written from the viewpoint of an admirer like Maulana Shibli. But there is a restraint, sense of fairness, honest attempt at getting at the truth that raise this work in our estimation to the rank of history. The book deserves a wide publicity and warm appreciation of scholars.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE MUNRO SYSTEM OF BRITISH STATESMANSHIP IN INDIA : *By K. N. Venkatasubha Sastri. University of Mysore Publication, 1939.*

This is Dr. Venkatasubha Sastri's second book on Sir Thomas Munro, the first one being *New Light on*

Sir Thomas Munro published in 1938; and it reflects great credit upon the author.

The book is divided into two parts: First, an Introduction of about 50 pages, in which the author analyses the development of Sir Thomas Munro's ideas and the evolution of the Munro System, mentioning how the system which was worked out originally in the Ceded districts gradually spread over the whole country, through the instrumentality, largely, of a line of British administrators who took their inspiration from the example of Sir Thomas Munro; and second, a series of five Appendices, covering altogether about 320 pages and including various kinds of documents, some of them published for the first time, bringing out in a tangible form what Sir Thomas Munro owed to Col. Alexander Read and to the Duke of Wellington, what the various features of the Munro System were, and how those features were accepted practically in *toto* by the Court of Directors.

Dr. Sastri's contention throughout the book is that "Munro's system cannot be taken in parts. It is one whole piece which the British have to accept or reject in block." The object of the Munro system was immediately good Government and ultimately Self-Government; its various features were

(1) Toleration of custom, and therefore to make no unnecessary changes or innovations in the existing laws or institutions of the country.

(2) The liberal employment of Indians in the public service. "We ought," said Sir Thomas Munro, "to look forward to a time when natives may be employed in almost every office, however high, and we ought to prepare them for higher duties from time to time, in proportion as experience may prove their being qualified to discharge them."

(3) The ryotwari form of land-settlement, for "it would diffuse more widely than any other system the benefit of private property in land."

(4) Popular administration of justice, that is to say, the revival of traditional institutions like the village police and panchayat under proper supervision.

(5) Religious neutrality of the Government.

(6) Control of the Press. "Free press and the dominion of strangers," said Sir Thomas Munro, "are things which are quite incompatible and which cannot long exist together."

(7) Subordination of the Army to civil authority.

(8) Opposition to the subsidiary alliance system and the recognition of the independence of Indian Princes.

Dr. Sastri gives ample evidence to establish—although it is possible to take strong exception to the policy of the control of the Press—that the system founded upon these various features was 'the sole form of right statesmanship in India,' for it enabled the first settlement of a territorial acquisition on principles that were generous as well as courageous, and guaranteed the evolution of a loyal, contented and progressive India under British rule.

On the basis of all this, Sir Thomas Munro's claim to be considered as the founder of the liberal theory of Indian administration is perhaps incontestable. Even if he learnt much at the feet of Col. Alexander Read and the Duke of Wellington, the full and complete development of his ideas must still be recognised as primarily and solely due to himself—his experience, his patient historical research and his genuine sympathy and intelligence. And his ideas found ready acceptance by a great line of beneficent rulers of India who succeeded him. To mention only a few, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Charles Metcalffe and Sir Henry Lawrence, all acknowledged the great influence that Munro's example had exercised on their public policy and conduct.

So far Dr. Sastri's argument is wholly valid and carries conviction. But he goes further and traces the famous Montagu Declaration of 1917 to Sir Thomas Munro and states that Munro's influence on British policy is not yet exhausted and that 'something more remains for future consideration.' This is clearly strained and far-fetched; for the tradition of Munro's liberalism inevitably came to an end with the Indian Mutiny of 1857. I have fully worked out in my paper on 'Civil Service in a Foreign Dominion' (ref. *Modern Review*, Feb. 1938) that the history of British administration in India naturally divides itself into two parts. In the pre-Mutiny days, when the prospects of a free India could at best but be theoretical, there was room in the Indian administration for a Thomas Munro and others of his ilk; but after the Indian Mutiny, which in its other aspect was a war for Indian independence, Indian administration quite literally became a steel-frame bureaucracy. So that whatever evidence of liberal policy towards India is available during and after the Great War is because of wholly separate and fundamental causes and cannot be looked upon as a continuation of the Munro system.

On the whole, Dr. Sastri's book is full of matter and should prove of immense value to historical researchers.

BOOL CHAND

THE RAGHUVAMSA (IN ENGLISH VERSE): *By R. Sheshadri, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Ramnad. With a Foreword by Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Shastriar. 1939.*

Kalidasa's immortal epic on the dynasty of the Raghus is one of the classics in Sanskrit language. There has been a revival (or an attempt in that direction) of late of studies on Kalidasa, and the foreword interprets the epic as "a record, a prophecy and a warning." Lovers of the great poet will find it of interest, in spite of occasional lapses in language and cadence. The rendering is of the first five cantos.

SOCIAL REFORM ANNUAL, 1939: *Edited by P. S. Bakhle, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. 1939. Price annas twelve.*

This is a publication by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association. It starts with the problem of restraining child marriage, in which the initiative had been taken by Keshub Chander Sen in 1871, about seventy years ago. But though a number of legislations has been on record, the Governments in the provinces have failed to evolve a machinery to prevent the violation of the provisions of law and to educate the people, specially in the villages, to the evil effects of child marriages. This is a work also to be done by the people, not merely to be left to the Governments, and the annual will considerably help to rouse public opinion on the subject. The articles on "The Social Vice" and on "Co-Education" are commendable for their thoughtfulness and practical observations, while at the end are printed bills drafted and published by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, bills pending before the Council of State and the provincial assemblies, and in the Legislative Assembly.

A glance at the Annual will show that the Association has eyes on all India (including Princely India).

It will prove very useful to social workers and to those interested in welfare work.

P. R. Sen

LIBRARY LOCAL COLLECTIONS: *By W. C. Berwick Sayers. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 128.*

Mr. W. C. Berwick Sayers, an Ex-President of the Library Association of Great Britain, is the Chief Librarian of the Croydon system of libraries; and this little book is a brief description of work which he has done with success in collecting, serving and exploiting of the materials of local history of Surrey. To librarians and keepers of records and archives it therefore has a special interest, and as the subject has hardly been competently dealt with in detail anywhere else the book is sure to attract attention. Local collections, that is, collections of books, records, maps, charts, seals, engravings and photographs relating to history, geography, topography, geology, archæology, etc., of a given locality is a subject of abiding interest to librarians, and everywhere in Europe and America the library is the home of local collections.

The larger cities in Great Britain has developed this work greatly in the last 20 years. They take systematic care of their records and issue catalogues of their local collections which are often very large. Even smaller towns and localities take care to build up their own local collections and take a genuine pride in them.

Mr. Berwick Sayers in his book notes down his own knowledge of the work gained through long experience in building up the magnificent Surrey collection in the Croydon Libraries. He has brought his knowledge and experience of cataloguing, classification and filing to bear upon all kinds of documents of local importance; and has thus been able to produce a work of practical value and utility to librarians. He details down what is to be collected in local collections, gives the cost and methods of collection, and then goes on to describe the arrangement and cataloguing of deeds, manuscripts, graphic records, paintings, prints, drawings maps, plants and photographic and regional survey records one by one and in clear and intelligible detail. He then goes on to discuss the problem of housing and filing, methods and procedure of how the collection is to be exploited for the purposes of historical study and research.

A bibliography of books and articles on the subject is appended.

Niharranjan Ray

MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH: *Published by the Khalsa College, Amritsar. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a memorial publication on the first death centenary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and has as its contributors some well-known journalists, scholars, historians and public men of India. At the outset it gives the historical background and a short life-sketch of the Maharaja and then presents certain essential features of his administration, which have not been brought out so clearly in the existing works on the Maharaja. Some of the topics dealt with in the present volume are quite new, and they will, we are sure, help to get a better appraisal of the Maharaja's achievements. In the short imprimis written by St. Nihal Singh he has brought out some of the salient features of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's administration, his catholicity and religious toleration which show that he was far ahead of his time. In this volume of contributions by various scholars an attempt has been made to delineate Maharaja Ranjit Singh's character and to set forth his many sided accomplishments. The opening chapter is appropriately devoted to the religious impulse which quickened life in the Punjab beginning with Guru Nanak, without which there would have been no Sikhs and no Sikh Empire. The articles on the Maharaja's manifold activities are from the pens of scholars who have, by their research, won titles to distinction. In the end an exhaustive bibliography has been appended. In short, this volume will be regarded as a unique contribution to the literature on the great national hero of the Punjab, and as such the Editors have done a great national service by the publication of this souvenir on the first centenary of his death. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

Sukumar Ranjan Das

LEGISLATIVE PROTECTION AND RELIEF OF AGRICULTURAL DEBTORS IN INDIA: *By K. G. Sivaswamy. Published by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona. 1939. Pp. 390. Price Rs. 4.*

The last few years have created among the students of Indian social problems a renewed interest in the problem of rural debts, and particularly in the legislative measures undertaken in different provinces for bringing relief to the indebted cultivators. The last Conference number of the *Indian Journal of Economics* offers a collection of valuable contributions on this subject by earnest students of rural economics from all parts of India, and other works on the different aspects of the problem have also recently appeared. To this growing volume of lilterature an addition of immense value has been made by Mr. Sivaswamy. His book is an exhaustive compendium of practically every step that has been adopted in the different provinces of India for relieving the burden of debts upon the raiyats. His review begins with the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879 and comes upto even the bills that are before the provincial legislatures in the current year. He is, however, not content with making only a comprehensive resume of the legislative measures; he has definite suggestions to offer covering practically every aspect of the problem of indebtedness. The suggestions taken all together appear a bit eclectic; but, perhaps all reforms proposals have to be so. In any case, the real value of Dr. Sivaswamy's book lies in the materials he has marshalled together, and for this reason every student of Indian economic problems will have to be grateful to him.

Bhabatosh Datta

THE WORLD OF INDUSTRY AND LABOUR (1939). *Report of the International Labour Conference, June, 1939.*

The report of the Director of the International Labour Organisation to the twenty-fifth session of the Conference held in June, 1939, gives an interesting account of the history and progress of the organisation during the last twenty years of its establishment. Since the first session of the International Labour Conference held at Washington in 1919, people throughout the Continent of Europe looked forward to a period of reconstruction and social justice freed from the danger and hindrance of international conflict. How far the organisation lived and worked upto people's expecta-

tion will be revealed to a large extent in the final result of the present conflict. In spite of the attempts on the part of influential members, to use the organisation towards their political ends, the organisation did certainly play a useful role in improving the condition of labour and raising their standard of living.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

ZARINA (A ROMANCE OF INDIA): *By Lemuel Sadoc, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell Limited, London, E.C. 4.*

Indians have seldom figured happily in novels by Western authors, and it is refreshing to find at least one, who paints Indians approximating to civilized human beings. It is rather difficult to gauge the author's knowledge about the intimate details of life in this country, but one notices his imperfect idea about one or two proper names.

The story is meant to be sensationally romantic, but though sensation and romance abound, it hardly satisfies the reader. It deals with the life of a young Indian Christian girl, with an alarming appetite for new lovers, who inevitably comes to a bad end. As is to be expected from a new writer, the ending is sad, but even this does not make any lasting impression on the mind. On the whole, though the book has been written very sympathetically, it is only a partial success.

But the author deserves commendation for quite another reason. For he has painted Indians, whose only business in life is *not* to revel in all sorts of dirty works, marrying in dozens, and tossing down questionable drinks in the den of some nautch girl, while they plot how to stick a knife in some harmless white imbecile.

ARYYAKUMAR SEN

HORIZONS OF IMMORTALITY—A QUEST FOR REALITY: *By Erik Palmstierna. Published by Constable and Company Ltd., London, 1937. Pp. viii+366. Price 10/- net.*

The book is a discourse on the nature of the reality, the divine and the spiritual life as revealed in a series of communications from the beyond through the instrumentality of a medium. The author's strong religious outlook is evident, his sincerity cannot be questioned and his recording of messages has been made in a way that scarcely leaves room for self-deception. Few of his readers will feel disposed to refute his arguments in defence of his views regarding the life of spirits; but very few, except those who believe in occult phenomenon, will credit the author's statements with the certitude of a fact. Every reader, however, who can keep open mind with respect to the question of spiritually sensitive medium will find in the book interesting items to ponder over.

S. K. BOSE

VISION OF ARYAN GLORY: *By Dr. E. Anantacharya, B.A. Published by the Author at Bapatla, South India. Pp. 70. Price Re. 1 only.*

This is a booklet consisting of three chapters which respectively deal with *Aryan Culture, Aryan Religion* and *Aryan Yagna.* The main purpose of the book can be understood from these titles of the chapters. It is an attempt to expound the glory of the vedas and the vedic religion. The author's attitude in this matter becomes more defined when he pays his homage to Swami Dayananda 'as the mighiest of modern vedic scholars' (p. 22).

As an exposition, the book cannot claim absolute historical accuracy, scientific precision and critical insight; as a piece of preaching also, it seems inadequate. The picture is sometimes overdrawn and the language is the language of platform oratory. But when he says that "Aryan means master" (p. 45), the author will probably strike a chord of sympathy in the minds of all who are imbued with Nietsche's philosophy.

He has a poor opinion about Buddhism. Buddhism, according to him, marks the end of Aryan Glory (p. 6) and it came at the end of 'a long gap of darkness and fallen state of Aryan civilisation' (p. 11).

Sanskrit words and phrases have been freely employed and there are numerous quotations from Sanskrit texts. But the author has not cared to follow the international system of transliteration. Surely, he cannot be ignorant of it!

MESSAGE OF PEACE: *By Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian. Published by the Secretary, Anjuman Ahmadiyya, Lahore.*

This was written by, and was the last writing of, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, "the Holy founder of the Ahmadiyya movement." The author's good intentions are beyond doubt. He wanted to establish communal harmony in India. He attempted to liberalise religion by preaching mutual toleration and respect. A concrete proposal that he made will be probably of interest to many:

"If, in order to have perfect peace, the Hindus and the Arya Samajists are prepared to accept our Holy Prophet (peace and the blessings of God upon him!), as a true prophet of God, and if they are prepared to give up denying and defaming him, I would be the first man to sign an agreement that we, the followers of the Ahmadiyya movement, will always believe in the Vedas, and will speak respectfully of the Vedas, and the Rishis" (p. 16).

The writer, however, is aware of the fact that he cannot bind the 'other Muslims who are outside the Ahmadiyya movement.' These 'other Muslims,' he tells us, 'have no unity of aim or view.' Even him "they yet regard as an infidel and an anti-christ." Still he had hopes that a compact as proposed by him would promote unity.

We appreciate the author's generous ideas. But, with the publishers of his *message,* we must wait and see "when and how our countrymen ever respond to it."

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

HAND-BOOK TO MATHERAN: *By Vishnu Bhikaji Dabake. Published by the author from Palaspe, Dt. Kolaba. Third Edition, 1938. Pp. 164. Price Re. 1 only. 18 illustrations and 1 map 4″=1 mile.*

This is a handy guide to Matheran which ought to be helpful to those who visit the hill-station. It has been compiled with great care.

MANGALORE: *Published by the Basel Mission Press & Book Depot, Gonarag Ltd., Mangalore S. K. Pp. 138+numerous illustrations.*

This is an illustrated guide, to Mangalore, intended not merely for the general reader, but also for those interested in history, trade and commerce. The printing and illustrations are of high quality.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HINDUSTHAN YEAR-BOOK AND WHO'S WHO, 1940 : *By S. C. Sarkar. Eighth year of issue. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Ltd., 14, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 449. Price Re. 1-8 only.*

This year-book continues to be a source of useful information; new items have been added, and many sections have been recast and enlarged. There is a supplement on the European situation and the War, which will be found particularly useful.

P.

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

BHAGAVAD GITA: *By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Edited by Swami Jagadananda, Udvodhana Karyalaya. Pp. 403. Price annas fourteen.*

This edition is intended for the beginners who want to know the meaning of the texts without entering into elaborate philosophical discussions, and it may, without hesitation be stated that it has eminently fulfilled its purpose. The Bengali translation is accurate and the foot-notes are really helpful and in most cases do not require any supplementation for the general understanding of the texts. The arrangement of the book is excellent and it is a good handbook for the daily recitation of the texts.

N. K. Brahma

STABAKUSUMANJALI : *Compiled by Swami Gambhirananda. Published by the Udbodhan Office, Baghbazar, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

This book differs in plan from other books of Stotras. It is divided into two parts according as the collections are from the Vedic and the post-Vedic sources. The first part is the Sruti portion of it, and contains thirty-two selections in all, including nine of the famous Suktas, such as the Purusha Sukta, as well as the choicest portions of some of the principal Upanishads. The second part contains the Stotras proper and are dedicated to the different deities. The book may therefore be used for the purpose of *Svadhyaya* as well as for recitation of Stotra. The word-notes and the translation in Bengali will facilitate the understanding of the meaning of the texts. The get-up of the book is excellent.

The book is a publication of the Ramkrishna Mission, hence it is only natural that it should contain some Stotras dedicated to Sri Ramkrishna, Srima or Swami Vivekananda. Opinions may differ as regards such latter-day Stotras; but in the present case it must be admitted that in form, diction and sentiment, these do not fall short of the classical Stotras; and their psychological effect has been heightened by their being placed just before the famous Stotras which close the book.

Isan Chandra Ray

PRAKRIT

ARDHAMAGADHI SELECTIONS. *Prepared by V. M. Shah, M.A., and K. M. Mehta, B.A. Published by Vrajlal Mohanlal Shah, M.A., Seth L. D. Arts College, Ellise Bridge, Ahmedabad.*

This contains a collection of 27 extracts from different works in Ardhamagadhi. The addition of an introduction explaining the principles of selection, drawing attention to the characteristic features of the extracts and giving short accounts of the sources of them would have increased the value and importance of the volume.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

BENGALI

VISVA-PARICHAYA, or Introduction to the Universe : *By Rabindranath Thakur. Fifth Edition. Illustrated. Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee One.*

This excellent scientific book by the Poet has been noticed in this Review several times. In the course of two years and three months it has been printed six times, the second edition having been printed twice. In each edition the author has tried to improve the book by correcting inaccuracies and in other ways. It is remarkable that none of the *literary* works of the author in verse or prose have undergone so many editions in such a short period. This testifies to its scientific value and literary excellence.

It has been translated into Hindi by permission of the author.

RABINDRA-RACHANAVALI, or the Bengali Works of Rabindranath Tagore. *Volume 2. Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price, according to style of binding, Rs. 4-8, Rs. 5-8, Rs. 6-8. De luxe autographed and numbered edition Rs. 10.*

The publication of the voluminous works of Rabindranath Tagore in chronological order enables the reader to follow the development of his genius—his mind and art.

As in the first volume so in this, we have some of his poetical and prose works. It contains several of his poetical works, one play, one novel, and two prose works, namely *Chithi-patra* or Epistolary compositions, and *Pancha Bhut* or the Five Elements, which last contains serious philosophical reflections and observations in a humorous setting. So far as we are aware, there is nothing exactly like it in any other literature.

It is remarkable that though the poems included in this volume were written by the author in the earlier part of his life many of them, particularly in *Manasi*, are considered by competent critics as among the best of his poetical productions.

The volume contains seven illustrations, most of which are a study in themselves. There is, besides a facsimile reproduction of a page of his manuscript of *Manasi*.

ATMA-CHARIT, or Autobiography : *By Sivanath Sastri. Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price : stiff boards, Rs. 2-8; Cloth Rs. 3. There are 28 illustrations.*

Pandit Sivanath Sastri was one of the makers of modern Bengal. His life as told by himself is a faithful picture of the career of one of the noblest sons of Bengal. The book has a literary value all its own. It brings us into touch with many of his great contemporaries, such as Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Paramahamsa Ramakrishna, Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, Dr Mahendra Lal Sircar, and others. It unrols before our eyes a very remarkable chapter of the history of religious and social reform in Bengal in particular and India in general.

The volume is full of human interest. It is one of the best autobiographies we have in Bengali and it is a pleasure to note that a third edition of it has been required.

The author devoted himself mainly to the work

of religious and social awakening and reform. But he did very notable work as a teacher, an educationist, a poet, a novelist, an essayist, an editor, a philanthropist, and a political worker. He was one of our most genial, witty and humorous conversationalists. Had he not devoted himself mainly to religious and social work, he could have distinguished himself easily as eminent in any other of the fields of work in which he figured occasionally. To come in contact with such a man through his autobiography is a liberal education and an inspiration.

D.

KALPANTIKA (A BOOK OF POEMS): *By Asit Kumar Haldar. Published by Jogendranath Chattopadhyay, P. 79, Scheme 8C, (Park Circus), Ballygunge, Calcutta.* ***Price Re. 1.***

In a well-written introduction, Sj. Dhurjati Prasad Mukhopadhyay explains the special features of the poetry of this artist poet. Most of the poems are mystic and symbolical, and in vocabulary, there is a departure from the trodden track. The poet culls his words freely from Sanskrit, in order to vivify his impressions. While appreciating the originality of the writer and his considerable mastery of the poetic technique, we are constrained to say that some of the poems are too avowedly intellectual to be enjoyed by the lovers of pure poetry.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEA

HINDI

BHARAT AUR SANGH SHASAN: *By Dr. Braj Mohan Sharma, D.Lit. With a preface by Acharya Narendra Deo. Published by the Upper India Publishing House, Aminudaula Park, Lucknow. Price Re. 1.*

It is a brief, yet comprehensive and critical, outline of the Federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935. On the firm conviction that the Federal form of government is the best for large countries the author begins by giving a useful sketch of some significant experiments made by other countries in the past. Then he shows how, at this stage, India is neither prepared for complete Independence nor Dominion Status. He suggests that, with some vital modifications, the constitution should be worked: namely, Indianization of the Army and the Services within 25 years, the right of modifying the Federal Constitution to rest with the Federal Assembly and not with the British Parliament, the affairs of the States to be decided by the Chamber of Princes and not by the Paramount Power, etc.

Those who believe in complete independence, and in the right of the Indian People to make their own Constitution, are not likely to agree with many of the author's suggestions. Yet it is a thought-provoking analysis of the whole problem and worthy of serious attention.

PUSHKARINI: *By Bhagwati Prasad Vajpeyi. Published by the Indian Press Ltd. Allahabad. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of 14 short stories by this well-known author. He approaches life with a throbbing expectancy, which swings sometimes to the intellectual and sometimes to the emotional extreme. The treatment of his plots is mostly subjective; and, invariably interesting, his stories are inclined to lack that flesh and blood quality which gives life to literature, and which can best be obtained by objective handling. The language is effective and picturesque.

BALRAJ SAHNI

GUJARATI

JEKYLL AND HYDE: *By Maganbhai P. Desai. Printed at Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 151. 1938. Price As. 9.*

R. L. Stevenson's classic book is translated here. The Preface by the translator and the Introduction by Mahadev Desai, bring out very effectively the heart of the subject, *viz.*, the eternal struggle between *Sat* and *Asat*. The lesson to be learnt as a result of this struggle is set out here in simple language.

SOLANKI YUGANI KIRTI KATHAS: *By Ambalal N. Mistree, B.A., LL.B. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Cloth cover. Pp. 296. 1938. Price Rs. 2.*

Siddharaj Jayasinh's reign was one of the most glorious periods of the history of medieval Gujarat. The eight typical stories printed in this book, bring out the valiant features of the highly important activities of that valiant and cultured monarch of Gujarat. They successfully raise up before our eyes, a picture of the life lived then, by Kings as well as country-folk.

(1) SHAH JAHAN, (2) SORATH TEHARAN VEHETAN PANI: *By Jhaver Chand Meghani. Printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur and the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad, respectively. Cloth Cover. Pp. 194 and 406. 1398. Price Re. 1 and Rs. 2-8.*

Shah Jahan of which a second edition is published and of which the first edition was exhausted in a short time and which is an index of its popularity, even in translated form, is rendered from Dwijendra Lal's Bengali *natak* of the same name. Mr. Meghani's knowledge of Bengali and command over Gujarati along with a very scholarly preface contributed by him have combined to make this book a readable and valuable one.

The second book in a *vignette* of 45 tales paints pictures of the people's and the official's life lived in Kathiawad about a generation ago. The pictures drawn are familiar ones and so truthful and vivid that not a single reader from Kathiawad would find any difficulty in identifying and confirming them.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

RIPON BUILDINGS—A STUDY OF THE MADRAS MUNICIPAL CORPORATION AT WORK: *By Runganada Shunmugam. The Topical Book Co., 769, Triplicane High Road, Madras. Pp. 67.*

BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT 1938-39: *Published by the Government of Baroda. Pp. 344 and coloured maps, charts and diagrams. Price Rs. 25.*

RURAL UPLIFT IN BARODA: *By Bhikhalal B. Kapasi, B.A. Published by the Author, Sayaji Ganj, Baroda. Pp. 75. Price Inland Re. 1, Foreign Sh. 2.*

PRICE CONTROL DURING WAR IN INDIA

By Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab).

There has been such a deal of discussion about the need for price control and such a variety of opinions have been expressed on the subject that it is worth while attempting a dispassionate and academic study of the problem. At the outset it is necessary to distinguish profiteering from price control. Public opinion is violently opposed to profiteering and it seems to be favourably inclined to price control because it regards such control as an effective means of preventing profiteering.

Now what is profiteering? The most general meaning attached to the expression is one of abnormal profit, *i.e.*, where the trader or the manufacturer or the producer as the case may be, obtains after deducting all his expenses a profit larger than is considered by the society to be a fair return on the capital. This fair rate of profit must be considered in India to approximate to the rate laid down by the various Provincial Legislatures in India recently as the rate of interest permissible on agricultural debt. This rate varies from 6 to 12 per cent. If one were to take the average of 9 per cent, it will be regarded as a reasonable return on the capital. It must be understood however that in the calculation of profit all expenses must be deducted and expenses which might not have been met during some of the years must be deducted against the receipts of other years. Similarly, if during some years the actual profit has fallen short of the fair profit, the difference must be taken into account when calculating the fair profit of the good years. In other words, it is necessary that the period taken to determine the producer's normal or standard profit must be sufficiently long to ensure that both good years and bad years are included in the calculation of the average. Profiteering as understood in this sense is certainly not unknown in India in times of peace. But during times of war the public especially resents such profiteering, as it is felt that the war conditions which have made such abnormal profits possible are also conditions of great national stress and strain when the community at large is sacrificing in terms of men and money and such conditions should not therefore be exploited for the purpose of making an abnormal income. From this point of view it is true that there has been a certain amount of profiteering in India after the declaration of war and it is likely that it may increase with the continuation of war. But it is an open question whether price control is the correct way of stopping this profit. For price control may result in the manufacturer and trader bidding down the prices for his raw materials and thus passing on to the primary producer the entire burden of price control. As regards the imported goods however where the supplies are limited, profiteering of a more flagrant kind is more easily possible and such profiteering undoubtedly requires to be restrained. The method of restraint to be adopted in this case could be easily one of price control as the incidence will rest on the trader and in case it is passed back to the manufacturer of the imported goods, it does not matter as the interests affected are foreign interests. But the position is quite different with regard to domestic manufactured goods where a good part of the cost is accounted for by the purchase of domestic raw materials. In this case an alternative method for preventing profiteering will have to be sought.

The position is also similar with regard to the agricultural producer and the prices of the various items of his output. There is no doubt that the prices of agricultural commodities and articles of necessary consumption have gone up anywhere from 30 to 40 per cent since the outbreak of the war. Surprise has been expressed at the rise by many members of the public on the ground that supply and demand conditions have been unchanged and that this rise in prices is simply profiteering on the part of traders who want to take advantage of the war conditions. There is no doubt that there is a certain element of truth in the contention that the retail traders have taken advantage of the war conditions to raise the prices of the stocks they already have and to that much extent the trader is probably obtaining a profit in excess of the normal. But the question we have to consider is about the cultivator. Is the cultivator getting for his produce prices that will yield him an abnormal profit? The question has only to be stated to obtain an answer.

It is a well known fact that agriculture in India is far from being a paying proposition and numerous cost studies—some of them carried out under official auspices—have conclusively shown that the cultivator has not only been not making any profit, but that he has to pay himself for his labour, remuneration that can without exaggeration be described as pittance wages. Agriculture in India is probably the most sweated industry in the world and the agriculturists—both the cultivator and the labourer—have been obtaining incomes that are far below the minimum earned even by the unskilled workers in urban areas. Moreover, the depression of the last ten years has inflicted severe hardships on the Indian cultivator and in many places a good deal of his property has had to be sold and almost all the Provinces have had to undertake legislation for the reduction of agricultural debt the incidence of which had been heavy. In fact during all these years, all sections of the Indian community have been making a plea to the Government to get the level of agricultural prices raised. Under these circumstances nobody can contend that the cultivator is making an abnormal profit. In fact even the rise which has taken place in the last few months has not taken the agricultural prices to the pre-depression level and we have seen that even at the pre-depression level of agricultural prices, the Indian cultivator could not have been described as having been making an abnormal profit. It is therefore necessary that public opinion should carefully consider the implications of demanding action that will arrest the rise in agricultural prices. The rise in agricultural prices unless they reach the level obtaining in the last days of the War of 1914-18 cannot be described as profiteering on the part of the cultivator and unless there is profiteering on the part of the cultivator, it is not fair to call for action that will prevent the cultivator from increasing his present meagre standard of remuneration. The danger is present of course that the rise in agricultural prices may not reach the cultivator and that the traders in the cities may so manouvre the prices that at the time the cultivator actually comes to sell his produce, the level of agricultural prices may artificially be depressed; and the possibility is therefore there that the rise in agricultural prices may lead to profiteering for the urban trader and no increase in income for the Indian cultivator. This contingency, of course, has to be avoided. An appropriate action has to be taken to ensure that it is the cultivator and not the trader who gets the benefit of the rise in the price of agricultural produce. But is price control the proper way of ensuring the avoiding of this contingency? Obviously it cannot be so, for the institution of price control will only stop the rise in agricultural prices and unless agricultural prices rise, the cultivator has no chance of getting any increase in his income. To prevent the rise of agricultural prices in order to prevent profiteering on the part of the urban trader would be like cutting off one's nose in order to spite one's face. Other measures have to be undertaken for dealing with the menace of profiteering by the urban trader.

It may be admitted that the recently proposed Excess Profits Tax while it leaves a great deal to be desired in the definition of standard profit, the period from which it is to apply and the rate at which it is proposed to be levied, is still a step in the right direction as at any rate, it provides an instrument for reappropriating to the services of the community a part of the abnormal profits made by the trader or the manufacturer. It may also be suggested that a part at any rate of the receipts of this tax should go towards the amelioration of the economic condition of the urban working classes who will be most hard hit by the general rise in industrial and agricultural prices.

Another measure that may be adopted to prevent profiteering on the part of the middleman is to enact that the prices of agricultural produce at the time when the harvest comes to be sold shall not be lower than the prices which were ruling for some months before If it is found that the economic condition of demand and supply warrant a lowering of prices below this level the onus of proving the same before a competent authority should rest upon the shoulders of the merchants concerned. It is true, however, that permitting the rise of agricultural prices, while it will be doing tardy justice to the claims of the indigent Indian cultivator, would at the same time have two adverse reactions. One is the increase it will involve in the cost of living and the consequent suffering that it will bring to the industrial workers, wage-earners and the salaried workers in the country. The effect of this is already seen in the meetings that are being held in different parts of the country for getting the grant of war allowances added to the existing level of wages and salaries. The other adverse reaction would be to raise the cost both directly and indirectly of the war materials that may be required by the British Government from this country and thus add to the financial cost

of prosecuting the war. In regard to the first difficulty, while admitting the existence of hardship, we must not forget that these fixed income holders have been enjoying for the last ten years a rise in their real income due to the steep fall in agricultural prices and it may be considered but just that they should now allow the agricultural classes—who after all constitute the dominant interests in the country—to enjoy a little at their expense. It will be necessary however to provide for a war allowance once the pre-depression level of agricultural prices is reached and where prices of industrial goods have risen as a result of war conditions, there is no reason why a war bonus should not be given to the industrial workers so that along with the capitalist classes they may also share in the profits of the war boom. Incidentally this would be some compensation to offset the fall in the real income due to the rise in the cost of living. It will also be necessary to provide that for workers whose money income is very low, say below Rs. 30 a month, some war allowance should be made to cover the increased cost of living. These should be the measures that should be taken to cope with the agitation arising out of the rise in prices. But it is not correct to meet this agitation by preventing a rise in agricultural prices. In fact a a rise in agricultural prices even though it may mean an increase in the cost of living also means a larger demand on the part of the cultivator for urban products and this means in turn extra employment in the urban areas. The other difficulty is a more serious one. It may be submitted however that the extra cost that the British Government will have to incur in the prosecution of the war as a result of not arresting the rise of agricultural prices in India will not be very substantial, when considering the revenues of the British Government, the ability of the British Taxpayer and the enormous financial dimensions on which they are waging this war; whereas the extra income which would be put into the pockets of the Indian cultivator would, considering his poverty and the depressed economic condition in which he has been living for such a long time, be a great boon to him. Moreover, it would also secure for the British Government the goodwill of the vast mass of the Indian cultivators who would undoubtedly be of great assistance in the successful prosecution of the war. Moreover, while the British Government constitute an important purchaser, it would not certainly be the only purchaser of Indian products and it is a question for consideration whether the interests of one purchaser, particularly in view of its very great economic strength, should be allowed to dominate the prices for all purchasers, for thereby the cultivator loses much more than what the British Government gains. If, however, it is found necessary that the British Exchequer should not be burdened with the extra cost that will result from the rise of agricultural prices in India, then some means must be devised by which these extra costs could be saved to the British Government without preventing the general rise of agricultural prices which alone can do something to lift the cultivator from the slough of despondency and misery into which he has fallen since 1929. The exact organisation of machinery for achieving this dual purpose is a matter of detail that can be discussed if the occasion arises.

To sum up, profiteering involves making of abnormal profit, and must be prevented particularly in times of war. Control for this purpose of the prices of imported commodities would be a desirable step. Control of agricultural and export prices however will result in the cultivator continuing to suffer the pangs of sweated labour and such control is undesirable as long as at any rate a much higher level of prices is not reached. The instituting of price control of agricultural produce may lead to some profiteering on the part of the urban trader. This however cannot be helped and it could be neutralised by an excess profits tax. A rise in the price of agricultural products will also lead to a rise in the cost of living. This will inflict hardship on urban workers, but to some extent the hardship is a necessary sacrifice that the urban classes have to incur in the interests of the country as a whole and to some extent the hardship should be met by the grant of war time allowances and wartime bonuses. As regards the extra cost that a rise in Indian agricultural produce will involve to the Government in the prosecution of the war, it would be politically desirable that such extra cost should be borne by the Government, particularly when economically the British Government is so much stronger than the Indian cultivator; even if it is considered undesirable that such an increase in the cost of the war should not be permitted, steps should be taken to see that this result is achieved without preventing a general rise in the price of agricultural commodities which alone can do something towards promoting *recovery* for the Indian cultivator.

DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

Pioneer Indian Educator In America

By FRANK R. MILLER

A QUARTER of a century of teaching has failed to daunt Dr. Sudhindra Bose, an outstanding Oriental educator on the North American continent. Daily he goes to his classes at the State University of Iowa with the vibrant energy and optimistic outlook of youth.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose was born near Dacca in East Bengal. He spent his early years with his brother, Satyendra Nath Bose, the famous Indian educator who helped to organize and served as the first Principal of the Commilla Victoria College, affiliated with the University of Calcutta.

Dr. Bose obtained his early education at Comilla Victoria College. After coming to the United States of America in 1904, Dr. Bose continued his education in the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago, and he received his Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Iowa.

His natural modesty prevents him from telling you of the wide influence his teaching and lecturing has had in bringing the Orient and the Occident closer together. Despite his very considerable writings which interpret the West to the East, his greatest work is in bringing knowledge of the Orient to American students.

Why did a State University establish a lectureship of Oriental Politics and Civilization? Why did the State University of Iowa choose an Oriental to teach the subjects when no other great University had done so before? And why, in particular, was Dr. Sudhindra Bose chosen for this important position ?

The very wide span of knowledge covered by the curricula of the American schools of higher learning does not generally include a study of Oriental Civilization. Ordinarily a textbook in world history would dismiss 5000 years of Oriental Civilization with a single chapter. Twenty-five years ago, strange as it may seem, there were only two or three Universities which included in their extensive curricula courses dealing with the Orient, and in these the subjects were not taught by Orientals.

In 1895, a young teacher, Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, came to the University of Iowa to teach political science. He was an advanced thinker with an open mind. Seeing the incongruity in the failure to offer some opportunity in a large university to study Oriental Civilization, he early determined to introduce some subject matter of this nature in the department of political science should the opportunity arise.

Dr. Shambaugh was made head of the Department of Political Science in 1897, and he has continued in that capacity since. He is recognized as one of the leading political scientists in the United States of America. He has served as President of the American Political Science Association, the highest honor the American political scientists could confer upon him. He was one of the founders and editors of the American Political Science Review. In addition to writing a number of books, he has edited scores of others for the State Historical Society of Iowa, is editor of the Iowa Journal of of History and Politics and has served as Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa since 1907. These and many other things which Dr. Shambaugh has done, in addition to his duties as head of the Political Science Department, indicate that he is a man of action as well as a scholar.

After Sudhindra Bose received his Master of Arts degree in Literature at the University of Illinois, he came to the University of Iowa to enter the department of political science. It was here that he became acquainted with Dr. Shambaugh. During his last year of study for the Doctor's degree, Dr. Bose did some teaching as an assistant.

In the meantime Professor Shambaugh's determination to have something taught about the Orient was increasing. It seemed utterly ridiculous to him that knowledge of the great and ancient civilizations of the East should not be presented to American students. Why should not the best in both cultures be taught ? Prejudice and ignorance prompted even great educators to virtually ignore the Eastern learning. A definite plan began to take shape in Dr. Shambaugh's mind as he observed Sudhindra Bose, the student. He probably did not realize what significance it would have.

"I decided to pick a man from the Orient," said Dr. Shambaugh in an interview when he was asked why, after deciding to introduce into his department a course dealing with the Orient, he should choose an Oriental to teach it, when there were many competent American teachers, "because I felt that he would know his subject matter and the proper interpretations to put upon it better than any native American, regardless of how extensive his study of printed material in the field might be."

"Quite obviously," he continued, "a man with first hand information, gained from being reared in the Orient, could make his subjects more real and living than one who had not had that experience. There was not the slightest doubt in my mind that an Oriental could do a better job than an American. There were plenty of native teachers who would have liked the position. It truly was an innovation because at that time there were no other Orientals teaching Oriental Civilization and Politics in a major American University."

Having made definite plans to introduce the new subject and having decided that they should be taught by an Oriental, Dr. Shambaugh explains why he chose Sudhindra Bose.

"I had watched Dr. Bose as a student. He was an outstanding student, and he appeared to have every requisite of an excellent teacher. He was witty, diligent in research, an exceptional lecturer and orator with good command of English, and he had a pleasing personality. His ideals were of the highest, and he unselfishly proposed to give his all for the students."

Dr. Shambaugh is justly proud of his work in making the opportunity for students to learn something in the University about the Orient. He is proud of Dr. Bose.

"Time has proved that Dr. Bose was a wise choice," said Dr. Shambaugh. "His classes have been among the largest on the campus. He has proved to be a very able lecturer—one of the most popular on the campus. During the past summer, his series of public lectures dealing with the Orient were the best attended, most popular lectures I have seen on the University of Iowa campus. Though his lectures came in the hottest part of the summer, the lecture hall was well filled each time. The listeners were well paid because the lectures were brilliant, witty, and highly instructional. The audience went away with a new outlook."

For two decades, Dr. Shambaugh has been chairman of the Senate Board on University Lectures. His hundreds of excellent introductions of speakers have won him the title of the cleverest introducer on a University campus. Thus his experience in estimating speakers is extensive.

"During the quarter of a century that he has been here," said Dr. Shambaugh, "I have never heard a single criticism of Dr. Bose from a student. I have heard nothing but praise; and all serious students who attend his classes seem to have thoroughly enjoyed as well as profited by the experience."

Appreciating his qualities Dr. Shambaugh continued, "Dr. Bose is an excellent debater and a sound thinker. In addition, it is interesting to note that he has a very profound understanding of America. He has travelled all over the land and has given hundreds of lectures. Always he has been the student. He has mingled with people of all kinds and knows America first hand by his travels up and down the highways and byways of the land. His contacts with people have been intimate."

Dr. Bose knows America. The three books he has written on American life and thought bear witness to his extensive knowledge of American history and its institutions.

"The fact that this Oriental occupies this position at the University is an object lesson in itself," said Dr. Shambaugh, as he attempted to appraise the influence Dr. Bose has had. "His singular success is most certainly wielding a great influence in bringing about a better understanding between the Orient and the Occident. Hundreds of students have passed through his classroom and invariably they come out with an enlightened outlook upon the Orient, such as everyone must have who is not totally ignorant of it."

Not forgetting the difficulties involved in the innovation in American education, Dr. Shambaugh said, "The pathway has not always been without obstacle. There are those who through ignorance, prejudice, or for other reasons feel that if subjects dealing with the Orient should be taught at all, they should be taught by a native American. But opposition based upon selfish motives or bigotry will fall of its own weight. It is my sincere and earnest hope that the wholesome and enlightening influence which Dr. Bose has upon his students may not in any way be deterred. It would be well if the idea were extended, though of course there are several colleges and universities at the present time that have similar courses of study, and some are taught by Orientals."

Thus an orrportunity was furnished for Dr. Bose to do his work.

II.

For the school year of 1912-1913, Dr. Bose's last year of study for the Doctor's degree, he was appointed a Fellow in the Department of Political Science. His duties included teaching. The State University of Iowa catalogue, which contained detailed information about the University, announced for the school year of 1912-1913 a course entitled "Oriental Politics and Civilization" with Sudhindra Bose as instructor. It was described as

"a comprehensive survey of Oriental Civilization with special reference to the social and political factors in the later evolution of the people of India, China, and Japan—including a consideration of the political relation between the Orient and the United States."

The course was very popular and the number of students increased from year to year. For the most part, minds were being opened to a new and different source of light than they had experienced before. They were usually pleasantly surprised to learn that the civilizations of the East were ancient and had been in high stages of development before anything was known of the Western World. New standards and criteria were set up by which established ideas might be tested and tried. New vistas of learning were opened and every student, worthy of the name, came forth from the classroom with a more enlightened view and surely a broader and more liberal education. This course is still being taught today, though others have been added.

Two years later two more courses were added to Dr. Bose's list; "World Politics," and "Colonial Government." The first dealt with the main currents of politics in Europe, Canada, Mexico, South America and South Africa. Problems of world federation, home rule in Ireland, the Monroe Doctrine, and international peace and disarmament were among the problems considered. The latter course included a study of European colonial systems, and the insular policy of the United States.

It is interesting to note also that this same year the description of the Oriental Politics and Civilization course was changed to read

"with special reference to the political, social, economic and religious factors in the *awakening* of Japan, China, and India, etc."

In 1916-1917, a course dealing with South American Republics was also added to Dr. Bose's schedule.

When the World War broke out in 1914, just a few days before classes began, Dr. Shambaugh suggested that Dr. Bose teach a course dealing with "War Issues." This course was the first of its kind in the United States and was continued throughout the duration of the War. Dr. Bose was undoubtedly the best fitted of any teacher on the faculty to present this particular course. His information on world events was, and has continued to be, very extensive, and his judgment has proved to be sound. It is readily perceived that even so early in his career Dr. Bose was recognized as an authority not only on Oriental subjects but also upon world events and world politics.

At the end of the World War the course in World Politics was discontinued.

In 1921-1922, Dr. Bose's schedule was revamped and he now taught Oriental Politics and Civilization, Oriental Political Ideas, and Policies of the Near East. The latter consisted of a study of contemporary problems in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia. In 1927-1928, this course was changed to Imperialism in the Near East and again in 1932-1933, it was changed to Imperialism and international Relations, with greater emphasis on the international aspects of imperialism.

During this quarter of a century the University of Iowa library has added to its shelves most of the important books having wide appeal published in China, Japan and India, thus becoming an important repository of contemporary Oriental literature.

III.

When asked about his students, Dr. Bose's countenance beams. They are his first thought.

"They are, and always have been my best friends," he said. "I do not go to class just to teach, but I go also to learn. We work together in the pursuit of truth. It is what certain insurance companies may call a mutual-benefit plan. I am never afraid to admit to a student that I do not know the answer to a question. If I am uncertain of my ground, I tell them that my answer is merely a guess, and later if I discover that I was in error, I tell them so and make the necessary corrections."

There is much give and take in the classroom. The students are encouraged to express and defend their own independent ideas. To teach the students to think for themselves is one of Dr. Bose's prime objectives. This free atmosphere in the classroom is highly desirable and conducive to great achievement. Dr. Bose loves the exchange of ideas with his students.

Dr. Bose is of medium height. When he first began teaching, he sat down at his desk

while lecturing, which is quite customary. A student in the rear of the room complained that



Dr. Sudhindra Bose

he could not see him. Since that time, Dr. Bose has always stood during his lectures in the classroom.

Dr. Bose uses no textbook in his teaching. He gives his lectures at each class period and assigns reading in a great many sources. The students make their own textbook, so to speak, in the form of notes on the lectures, discussions and their readings.

There is an exceptionally friendly attitude between Dr. Bose and his students. He makes every effort to become personally acquainted with each one. He tries to learn where they come from, something of their background, their chief interests and aspirations for the future. He invites many students to his home where they may meet upon common ground. To be entertained in the home of Dr. Bose and his charming wife is, in addition to being highly enjoyable from every standpoint, an intellectual treat.

"In all these years," said Dr. Bose, "not a single student has shown me the slightest discourtesy. I recall no unpleasantness caused by any student. I can always rely upon them."

There are students from many lands in his classes. There is international good-will, in fact as well as in theory, in his classroom.

In addition to his teaching, Dr. Bose writes for newspapers and magazines, and has given hundreds of lectures throughout the United States. He is constantly in demand as a public speaker. It is estimated that he has lectured to more than half a million persons from the Great Lakes on the north, to Galveston, on the Gulf of Mexico in the south. He has appeared as a speaker in every state on the Pacific coast and in all parts of the great Mississippi Valley, to high schools, colleges, universities and popular audiences. These activities through which he has wielded extensive influence, however, are outside the scope of this article.

It is difficult to appraise the influence that Dr. Bose has had. Hundreds of students have sat in his classes. Without exception they have acquired a new outlook upon the Orient. Some of his former students have made names for themselves in their chosen fields of activity as lawyers, doctors, ministers, professors, bankers and journalists. In most cases they are enthusiastic protagonists for Oriental civilization and are quick to defend it upon the slightest disparagement from others. From each graduate there also emanates a certain amount of influence along the same lines of thought. On this point Dr. Bose remarked: "I marvel at how frequently I meet some former student in a far away town or city where I am lecturing. Often some person introduces himself and tells me that one of my students has spoken to him about me."

His students are to be found in many parts of the world, from China and the Philippines to Turkey, from Canada to South America. Several of Dr. Bose's students have organized and taught courses in the field of Oriental Civilization similar to those of his own.

It is obviously impossible to measure the influence that he has had in bringing about an understanding between the Orient and the Occident. The least that can be said is that it has been great.

India has given an industrious scholar, a brilliant educator, and a charming personality to the United States of America.

Iowa, U. S. A.

VOLTE FACE OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND FINLAND'S TROUBLES

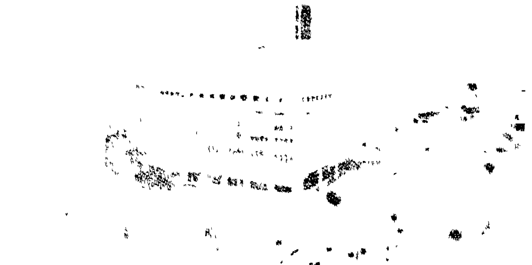
By JOGESH C. BAGAL

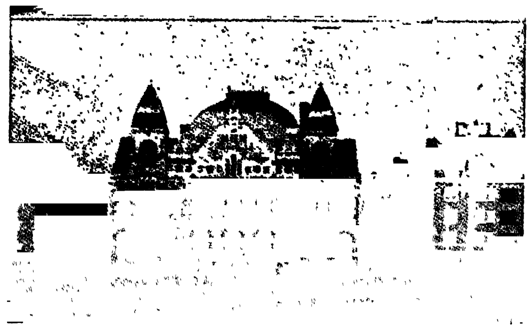
FINLAND has been enjoying complete freedom for the last two decades. She was under the Swedish rule for about six hundred years. From 1809 up till the end of 1917, Russia ruled over her. As under the Swedes so under the Russians till the ascendancy of the Czar Nicholas II in 1899, Finland had enjoyed considerable amount of freedom; the Diet, an elective parliament of the Finns, guiding the nation's affairs, according to its natural wish. In the last eighteen years, that is, from 1899 to 1917, the Diet suffered many set-backs. The imperial Duma, through whose agency the Czarist *Ukases* were issued, took the power of the Diet in its own hands. All the beneficent activities of the Diet thus came to a standstill. The Diet system was, however, revived in 1906. But this was also very short-lived. Its powers were again usurped by the Duma in 1909.

The Finns were not trusted by the ruling race, and in the last World War no soldier was recruited afresh from among them. Many Finns went over to the German side to serve in the German army. In the midst of the War the Russian Revolution broke out. The Finns took advantage of this and declared independence on December 6, 1917. The Diet, which had been dissolved, again came into existence. Lenin had already visualized an independent Finland, as it was possible only with such a Finland to enter into treaties. After a struggle lasting over two years, Finland came out as a full-fledged republic, shaking off the Soviet as well as the German influence for good. The Finnish Diet founded the Republic on July 17, 1919. Between 1918 and 1919, the Scandinavian countries of Norway and Sweden, France and Great Britain acknowledged her as an independent State. Peace treaty with Russia was signed at Dorpat on October 14, 1920. She entered into a non-aggression pact with Russia in 1932. Two years later it was again confirmed. Finland was admitted to the League of Nations' membership on December 16, 1920. She was elected to the council in September, 1927.

The non-aggression pact with Russia was stipulated to be in force up till 1945. But the foreign policy of Soviet Russia has undergone a very radical change since August last. German influence was supreme in Finland for some time past. Soviet Russia was regarded as







Helsinki

Above : National museum. *Middle* : The largest department store. *Below* : National theatre

the arch-enemy of Germany. Had there been the possibility of a conflict between Finland and Russia, it would have occurred on the score

of this German intrusion over there. But this possibility seemed to be altogether removed with the conclusion of a German-Soviet non-aggression pact on August 23 of the last year. Just a week after, on August 31, M. Molotov, the Premier and Foreign Commissar of Soviet Russia, spoke of the pact as follows :

> " Conditions being what they are it is difficult to over-estimate the international importance of the Soviet-German Pact. August 23rd. 1939 (the day it was signed) is to be regarded as a date of great historical importance....it marks a turning point in the history of Europe, and not of Europe alone."

Only a fortnight after, its importance was felt bitterly in Central Europe. Poland (an ugly offspiring of the Versailles Treaty, so says Molotov) was partitioned between Germany and Soviet Russia ! How deep a change the pact has wrought in the foreign policy of Soviet Russia was clearly explained by the same M. Molotov on October 31, 1939, before the Supreme Soviet Council. He said in part :

> " Certain old formulas, formulas which we employed but recently and to which many people are so accustomed, are now obviously out of date and inapplicable. He must be quite clear on this point, so as to avoid making gross errors in judging the new political situation that has developed in Europe. In the past few months, such concepts as 'aggressor' and 'aggression' have acquired a new and concrete connotation—a new meaning. It is not hard to understand that we can no longer employ these concepts in the sense in which we did, say three or four months ago."

In this connection, two other authoritative statements regarding the former policy of Soviet Russia should be read. M. Litvinoff, the former Foreign Secretary of Soviet Russia, spoke on September 21, 1937, before the Council of the League of Nations about "Aggression" thus :

> " An aggression remains an aggression whatever the formula beneath which it is disguised. No international principle can ever justify aggression, armed intervention, the invasion of other States and the violation of international treaties which it implies."

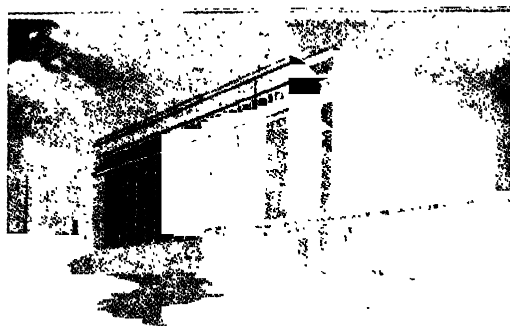
In the Communist Congress held in March, 1939, just a few months before Molotov's speech, M. Stalin explained the Soviet policy with reference to the neighbouring countries in the following words :

> " We stand for peaceful, close, and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries which have common frontiers with the Soviet Union. That is our position, and we shall adhere to this position so long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union and so long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet Union."

But after the Pact with Germany the Soviet foreign policy has undergone a complete *change, especially with reference to its relations with the neighbouring States. Germany, in her view, is no longer an 'Aggressor' nation!*







Helsinki
Above : Opera House. *Middle* : Railway Station.
Below : Parliament House

So perhaps she can safely imitate the 'aggressive' tactics of the Germans ! This became manifest for the first time in case of the partition of Poland. After the Russo-German Pact, Germany had withdrawn her sphere of influence from the Baltic in favour of Soviet Russia. The little States on the Baltic, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, were cast to the mercy of Russia. These States had formed part of Russia before the Revolution. They gained independence as a result of the World War. In less than a month's time after the conclusion of the Russo-German Pact, Russian designs on these



Helsinki bombed

States became known to the public. She forced them, one after the other, to enter into agreement with her, to provide in each case for Russian military, naval and air bases. Without the least trouble, she succeeded in turning the Baltic almost into a Russian lake.

Thus making her position safe from the rear Soviet Russia turned to the north-west. Finland was the next game for Soviet Russia. But nobody knew anything of it for some time. Soviet Russia pressed her demands on Finland, and the representatives of the two nations were still engaged in discussion, when in that memorable speech, already referred to, M. Molotov publicly declared that

"The Russian proposals were not in contradiction to an independent Finland. 'We gave Finland her independence of our own free will. No Government except the Soviet Government could tolerate an independent Finland.' But Finland had refused a mutual assistance pact."

"If the Finns persisted in not meeting the Soviet demands, that could be harmful to the cause of peace and to the Finns themselves."

The Finnish Government took exception to this and in a *communique* issued on 1st November, 1939, stated:

"By making public the point of view of the Soviet Union at the moment when Finlind's plenipotentiaries have just left Helsinki to hand to the Soviet Government the answer of the Finnish Government, Molotov has created a new situation. Hitherto dsicussions have been confidential, and Finland has, independently of pressure from any foreign Power whatever and without prejudice, sought to find a solution of the questions in spite of their difficulty due to the policy of neutrality which Finland has adopted.

"Molotov stated that the Soviet has the right and the obligation to take effective measures for protecting its security on the Gulf of Finland and on the Frontier nearest Leningrad. For this reason the Finnish Foreign office states that the Soviet Union in the Non-Aggression pact entered into with Finland in 1932 undertook to respect the frontiers fixed between Finland and the Soviet Union by the Treaty of Dorpat and to arrange all differences of opinion between their countries by peaceful means.

"Finland relies upon the Soviet Union to respect this aggreement, the validity of which was extended to the end of 1945 by the agreement made between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1934."

What were the Russian demands on Finland? One might reasonably ask. I give a summary of these demands from *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* of November 17, 1939:

"Finland was asked to give a naval base at Hanko, and the heavy artillery to be placed there with that

on the Island of Dagoe would command the entrance to the Gulf of Finland. Finland was also asked to cede the Islands of Hogland, Sommaro, Lavansaari and Tytasaari in the middle of the Gulf. Russia wanted to fortify Styrsudde, Bjorko, and Humaljoki, on the Karelian Isthmus, north-west of Leningrad. The frontier on the Isthmus was to be moved "several dozens of miles" westward of Leningrad, and the new frontier would have been roughly eastwards from the Island of Bjorko to its present point on Lake Ladoga. Russia also demanded the whole of the Rybachi Peninsula, at present divided between Finland and Russia, and she would thus be able to command Petsamo, Finland's only port on the Arctic. In return for all this Finland was to get territorial concessions in Soviet Karelia.

The sweeping nature of these proposals must have convinced M. Molotov in spite of his speech to the contrary and for the matter of that, the Soviet ruling class, that Finland would not stultify itself by acquiescing in them. And thus in a hurry as it were, he made the aggressive reference to Finland's refusal in his above-quoted speech. The irony of the thing is that Finland was still considering the demands, their sweeping nature notwithstanding, in order to find out a *via media*: to keep her integrity in tact as well as to ensure the security of Russia from her side. But that was not to be. Russia demanded full satisfaction of her proposals. The Finnish-Soviet negotiations, therefore, came to a stop on November 13, 1939. This was really ominous, as the subsequent events have shown.

Seventeen days passed in acute suspense. Russian troops had been massed on the frontier even at the time of the negotiations. Since their break down, these troops were continually re-inforced. Finland on her side did not sit idle. The Finnish troops guarded the frontier. As has been the practice for some time past with the superior Powers, charges of encroachments and murders were laid against the Finns by the Soviet Government. A strong note was sent to the Finnish Government to get their troops moved back fifteen miles from the frontier or in case of non-compliance to suffer the consequences of attack. The Finns asked the Soviet Government to submit their charges before an impartial tribunal for quick decision, which the latter refused to accept. The President of the U. S. A., Mr. Roosevelt, of his own accord wanted to mediate, in order to avoid a clash between these two unequal nations, but this also they did not agree to. The Finns then removed their troops fifteen miles backward. But it was perhaps too late for the Soviet rulers. They denounced the Non-Aggression Pact of 1932 on the 29th November. The following morning dawned with the Russian soldiers firing their first shots, and Russian planes bombing Finnish positions. A true friend of Germany perhaps could not have done otherwise.

A pigmy daring to fight a giant! The powers that be in Russia perhaps thought that with the first onslaught Finland would be frightened into submission. But the Finns are made of sterner stuff. They have been giving stiff fight to the huge mass of Russian troops. Three months have elapsed, and still there is no certainty when this 'undeclared' war will come to an end. The Soviet Government are, however, bent on finishing this affair in the shortest possible time. President Kallio of Finland in an appeal to the world for help said recently that though the Finnish troops were offering stiff resistance against the enemy's advance, still, considering the scantiness of materials and the small number of their reserves, they would not be able to continue the struggle for long. Indignation over this Russian aggression has been so widespread that help is forthcoming now from different corners of the globe to Finland. But taking all things into consideration, how long can the Finns continue to bear the strains of the onslaught of a huge army provided with all the necessary materials for intensive warfare, is a problem. The world's sympathy is, of course, with the Finns.

What is the position of the Finns now? The Russian troops have concentrated their attack on the Mannerheim line north of the Karelian Isthmus. They are reported to have captured same important positions on this line, in spite of heavy casualties on their side. The Finns are fighting against heavy odds under the guidance of Field-Marshal Baron Carl Gustav Emil Mannerheim, after whom the Finnish line of fortifications has been named. He is regarded as the saviour of Finland and popularly called her 'George Washington.' Her appeal for military aid to Sweden has found no response there. King Gustav of Sweden is, however, helping the Finns in as many other ways as possible. It is commonly believed that Finland will not be able to hold out for long. But the possibility of Allied intervention in the Russo-Finnish war is not yet ruled out. The Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark are very keen to preserve their neutrality as well as their integrity. But the fate of Finland will perhaps decide their future too.

February 22, 1940

A CHINESE ARTIST VISITS INDIA

Ju Péon, one of the leading artists of Modern China, who came to India some time ago making Santiniketan his home during his stay in this country, is now exhibiting his works in Calcutta under the joint auspices of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society, Santiniketan and the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta. This exhibition has served more objects than one; it has, indeed, revealed to us the great wealth of Modern China's aesthetic endeavours; it has shown that political turmoil and suffering have not been able to dry up China's eternal



Ju Peon : a self-portrait

spring of beauty. The exhibition has one great lesson for those of our artists who have completely severed themselves from the spirit and tradition of the art of the land, and tried to model themselves on indifferent art-samples from abroad.

Son of an artist, Ju Péon (1894) took to painting early, and was sent to France by the Chinese Government in 1918 for further study. He joined the Academie Julien, and the Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts, and after a distinguished career, returned to China in 1927 to join the National Central University as a teacher.

A group of his oil paintings in the Western style are on view in this exhibition; these are competent pieces, indeed, but most of them are nothing more, and offer a complete contrast to his later works inspired by the Chinese spirit. These "Chinese" paintings are not, however, mere copies of old masters; as Dagny Carter has put it, these are "Old China plus something new." "The brush work and the materials used were those of the old-style Chinese paintings, but there was a light effect in Ju Péon's work which one would never find in any ancient Chinese painting."

His later works, mostly in monochrome, are marked by vigorous brush-strokes noticeable particularly in studies of galloping horses and other animal studies, and are executed with an extreme economy of details. Like the judge of horses painted by him, "in making sure of the essential, he forgets the homely details; intent on the inward qualities, he loses sight of the external." Some of his pictures, a portrait of Rabindranath Tagore for example, in which he has departed from this path and introduced more details and colours than are usual with him, have not been so successful.—P.

Notes on Illustrations

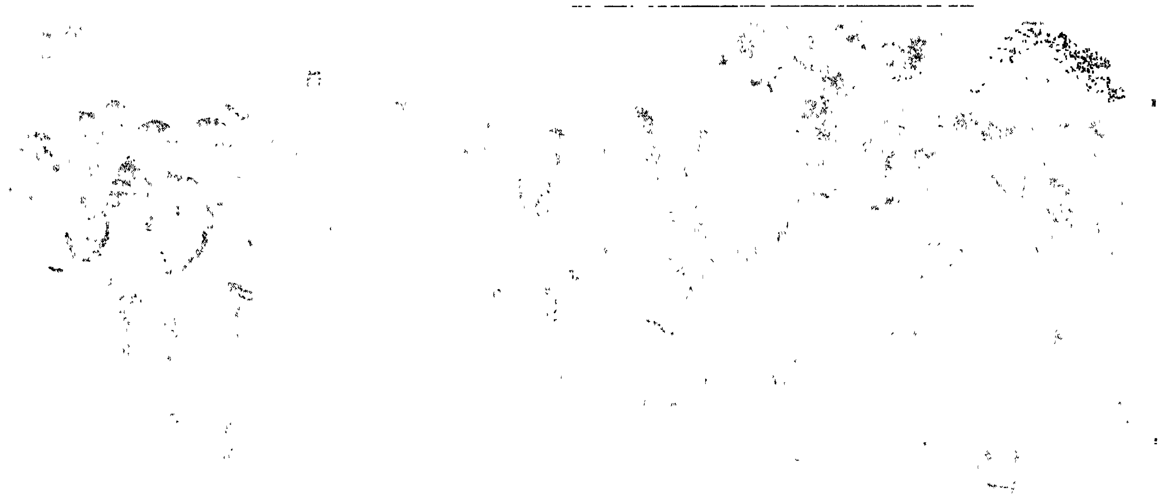
A Connoisseur Of Horse

Duke Mu of Chin said to Po Lo: "You are now advanced in years. Is there any member of your family whom I could employ to look for horses in your stead?" Po Lo replied: "A good horse can be picked out by its general build and appearance. But the superlative horse—one that raises no dust and leaves no tracks—is something evanescent and fleeting, elusive as thin air. The talent of my son lies on a lower plane altogether: He can tell a good horse when he sees one, but he cannot tell a superlative horse. I have a friend, however, one Chiu-fang Kao, a hawker of fuel and vegetables, who in things appertaining to horses is nowise my inferior. Pray see him."

Duke Mu did so, and subsequently despatched him on the quest for a steed. Three months later, he returned with the news that he had found one. "It is now in Sha-chiu," he

A connoisseur of horse

added. "What kind of a horse is it?" asked the Duke. "Oh, it is a dun-coloured mare," was the reply. However, on someone being sent to fetch it, the animal turned out to be a coal-black stallion! Much displeased, the Duke sent for Po Lo. "That friend of yours," he said, "whom I commissioned to look for a horse, has made a nice mess of it. Why, he cannot even distinguish a beast's colour or sex: What on earth can he know about horses?" Po Lo heaved a sigh of satisfaction. "Has he really got as far as that?" he said. "Ah, then he is worth a thousand of me put together. There is no comparision between us. What Kao keeps in view is the spiritual mechanism. In making sure of the essential, he forgets the homely details; intent on the inward qualities, he loses sight of the external. He seems what he wants to see, and not what he does not want to see. He looks at the things he ought to look at, and neglects



[Photo: S. Saha

Followers of Prince Tien Heng

those that need not be looked at. So clever a judge of horses is Kao, that he has it in him to judge something better than horses."

Followers Of Prince Tien Heng

Towards the end of the Chow dynasty the feudatories of the empire struggled for supremacy. Gradually the kingdom of Chin grew at the expense of its rivals, and in the end extinguished them and forged a new united China. But this unity was short-lived. No longer was the First Emperor dead than rebellions broke out, many led by descendants of the kingly houses the Chin had extinguished.

Among these was Tien Heng, grandson of the last King of Tsai. But in many ways he was in refreshing contrast to his antagonists and was much loved by his followers and subjects.

The Han emerged victorious out of the fight, and the result was the glorious Han dynasty. Tien Heng took refuge in an island in the Yang-tse Kiang, with five hundred followers. When the Han emperor heard of it, he summoned Tien Heng to his court. Tien Heng had to obey. He bade his companions farewell.

That was the last they saw of him, for when he was nearing the Han capital, he killed himself. For him, descendant of a long line of Kings, to fall at the foot of the upstart Han, was too great a shame.

When the five hundred heard of the master's death, they all committed suicide.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Srimati Sobha Bose

Srimati Sobha Bose, Principal, Balika Vidyalaya Intermediate College, Cawnpore, has been elected President of the U. P. Secondary Education Association (the Association of the Teachers of U. P.).



Miss Vedkumari Arora

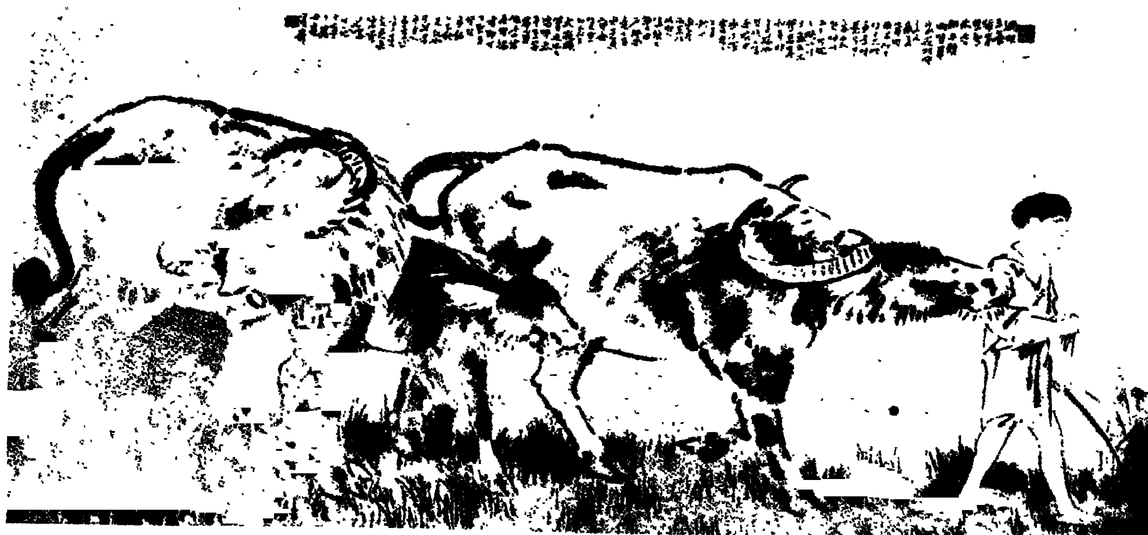
Miss Vedkumari Arora of Agra has passed with distinction the Sangeet-Visharad Examination of the Bhatkhande University of Music, Lucknow.

ART OF JU PEON

Awaiting the morn



A galloping horse



Buffaloes



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Philosophy—Real And Ideal

In every age men's beliefs have gathered about two opposing interpretations : philosophies real and ideal. Prof. Paul E. Johnson writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The realistic bent is evident in literature, art, science, religion, politics and moral conduct. Its prime motive is a passion for honesty, a determination to crush deception and to have nothing but the truth. In literature and in art, realism is impatient of any veneer of false appearance, suspicious of any cobweb of illusion. We are to have the actual face, warts and all; we are to strip off every inviting glamour and uncover the seamy side of whatever is. We need not wander far to find this passion for the real in contemporary writing. It swaggers in the role of the "debunker" who is out to puncture every bubble of cherished pride; it slashes right and left in the iconoclastic biographies that flay every popular idol; it stalks in the despairing and ruthless cult of disillusion that holds attention on stage and page. In science the realist seeks the facts as impartially and disinterestedly as his personal equation will allow. In religion the realist may ignore God and devote his energy to serving man. In politics he wants no sentimental Utopias, but plain politics and concrete programmes that maintain the *status quo*. In moral conduct the realist is expediently interested in the practical consequences of immediate utility. Afraid of nothing but delusion, realism prepares in advance against disappointment by holding its position upon a "firm foundation of unyielding despair."

The idealistic bent is likewise evident in various vivid ways.

Its prime motive is courageous adventure, indomitable determination to explore the full possibilities in every situation. In literature and art idealism is sensitive to delicate blooms of loveliness, quick to appreciate the fragile radiance of heavenly vision, ready to discern deeper implications than a casual eye may see. Disillusion is itself the worst illusion, for it robs life of its inherent meaning and distorts the rich content of experience by spilling out the best flavour and mistaking the bitter dregs for the whole taste of living. It is a pathetic fallacy to suppose that bad news is truer than good news, or that barren experiences are more real than abundant ones. The truth is more, not less than our grasp; the real is larger, not smaller, than the measure of man's mind.

No portrayal is adequate that describes mere facts from which has been extracted every trace of value.

The truth itself is a fact of value, and reality is to be won by appreciation rather than by depreciation. The very honesty of the realist makes him an idealist; for every honest man (as E. S. Brightman says) is an idealist, in so far as he is true to the ideal of honesty. So in science it is the man who holds firmly to his scientific ideals who is trustworthy in his conclusions. In religion it is uncompromising devotion to the absolute ideal that reaches the ultimate reality, God. In politics it is the progressive idealist who is willing to take the risk of daring reform. In moral conduct it is faithful loyalty to the ideal that holds character steady and outweighs petty calculations of expediency. Afraid of nothing but cowardice the idealist laughs at the spectre of illusion and freely takes the risk of disappointment and error in the hope of finding something better than a neutral claim to mere existence.

The Larger Problems of Education in India

The following is an extract from the inaugural address delivered by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru at the fifteenth All-India Educational Conference, Lucknow, in December, 1939. It is published in the *Indian Journal of Eudacation* :

The ideal of education has long been the improvement of the individual. That ideal must inevitably hold, for without individual advancement there can be no social progress. But even that care of the individual must today be considered in terms of the mass of the people or else the enlightened individual will be submerged in the un-enlightend mass. And in any event, is it right or just that a group of individuals should have opportunities of advancement and growth which are denied to the many ?

But, even from the standpoint of the individual, a vital question has to be faced. Can an individual truly advance, except in the rarest cases, if the environment that surrounds him is pulling him back all the time ? If this environment is evil or injurious to him, the individual battles in vain against it and must inevitably be crushed by it.

What is this environment ? It consists of inherited ideas, prejudices and superstitions which restrict the mind and prevent growth and change in a changing world. It is the pressure of political circumstances that keep the individual and the group in enforced subjection and thus starve his soul and crush his spirit. It is, above all, the strangle-hold of economic conditions which deny opportunity to vast masses of people. It is this complex of prejudice and superstition, political and economic conditions that form our environment which holds us in its grip. Through your educational system you may teach all the well-known virtues, but life today teaches something else, and the voice of life is louder and more effective. You may teach the advantages of co-operative effort, but our social structure is based on

cut-throat competition; and each one tries to rise on the dead selves of others. The glittering prizes go to him who is most successful in knocking down and crushing his rivals. Is it any wonder that our youth should be attracted by these glitering prizes, and should hold that acquisitiveness is the most desirable quality in an acquisitive society ? We swear by non-violence in this country, yet violence envelops us not only in its more obvious forms of warring nations but in the very social structure in which we live. Out of this violent environment no real peace or non-violence can ever come, unless we change that environment itself.

Our educational system, in spite of the ideals which it may profess, is itself an outcome of and a part of this environment. It seeks sustenance from it and, consciously or unconsciously, supports it. Yet if there is anything clear in the world today, it is this : that this environment is the cause of most of our troubles, and to leave it as it is, is to head straight for disaster. Indeed it may already be too late to prevent that disaster, and the war that is raging in Europe may yet shatter the edifice of modern civilisation. We shall not escape this tragedy, and even if we survive this general collapse our own problems threaten to overwhelm us, unless we see aright and act aright. Recent events have shown how strong the forces of evil and disruption and narrow-minded bigotry are in this country. We have seen also how the dominant political and economic interests resent and combat change.

The Minorities Problem

The problem of the minorities in India has been used by the British Govtrnment for purposes of the strengthening of paramountcy. In the course of an article on the subject, K. R. R. Sastry observes in *The Twentieth Century* :

There is in India a well-grounded suspicion that the minorities are pitted against the forces of progress by the foreigner. When the true history of the origin of some of the mushroom so-called minorities falls to be written, the truth of this element would stand confirmed or rebutted. That some of the so-called minorities have exploited this factor is a hard fact.

There is, viewed from an all-India test, only one minority, the Muslim community. Judged from the point of view of provinces in British India—in Punjab, Bengal, N.-W. F. Province, Sind and Baluchistan, the Hindus are minorities, in other provinces the Muslims are minorities. There is thus loose-thinking when we read of other minorities.

How far the weightage given to the Muslims under the Lucknow Pact in provinces where they are in a minority has conducted to the growth of common citizenship is a serious problem. How far again the *fateful* special representation with special electorates started in 1929 for the Muslims has led to present difficulties, will always remind students of Indian politics of a fatal false step taken under wrong advice.

The evolution of the Indian constitution has been set on a track where British Parliamentary experience and the evolution of British Dominions have had a continuous influence. One is not forgetting the medieval-minded Indian States which are to come in as unequal parts of the Federation-to-be. The experience of the working of Congress Ministries has created very properly a favourable reaction in the minds of competent English observers.

The history of the constituent assemblies in Canada, Australia and South Africa under widely differing circumstances bears abundant testimony to the hard fact that despite differing interests in each country, constituent assemblies for forming a constitution have met and successfully concluded their business. The issue so far as India is concerned has been put by Mahatma Gandhi in his cable to the *News Chronicle,* dated 4th December thus :—*"India's opinion can only be ascertained by the free vote of her people."* (italics mine).

Babu Bepin Chandra Pal was one of the earliest publicists who was reminding vast audiences of the intriguing characteristic of the *extra-territorial patriotism* of the great Muslim community. When there is a fundamental realization that to be *not free in one's country* is equally degrading to Muslim and Hindu, the birth of a common patriotism is accentuated. The working of the great national organization of the Congress in India has attracted many Nationalist Muslims to its fold. To raise the bogey of the minorities problem in India as an impediment to freedom is neither based on history nor on broad considerations of having India as a contented partner in the British Commonwealth.

The Contribution of Parsis to Gujarati

The following is reproduced from *The Indian P. E. N.*:

Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, the Director of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute at Andheri and a member of the P. E. N. India Centre, lectured under P. E. N. auspices on November 30th at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the contribution which the Parsis have made to Gujarati literature. Srimati Lilavati Munshi, a well known Gujarati writer and the joint representative of Gujaráti on our All-India Advisory Linguistic Committee, presided.

Dr. Taraporewala traced interestingly the history of the Parsis in India since their arrival as refugees over a thousand years ago. They fully adopted the language of the country within a century or so, but they did not begin writing in it before the twelfth or the thirteenth century, when Parsi priests, one of the earliest of whom was Neriosang Dhavel, translated many of their sacred texts into Sanskrit and the Gujarati of the time. In 1451, Behram Luxmidhar wrote in pure Gujarati verse one of the ancient Pehlavi books.

Mobed Rustom Peshotan (c. 1676), produced the first purely literary work by a Parsi in good and fluent Gujarati, three epics in the style and largely in the metre of the Shah Namah.

Parsi Gujarati literature, however, really dates from the nineteenth century.

Dastur Mulla Feroz (1758-1830) wrote many Gujarati essays.

An outstanding figure among early Parsi writers was Fardunji Marzban, who founded in 1822 the first Indian paper in Gujarati, *The Bombay Samachar,* which is still flourishing, though the present fourth generation of Marzban editors is associated instead with the *Jam-e-Jamshed* of Bombay. The greatest of the Marzbans in literary standing was Fardunji's grandson, Jehangir (1848-1928), who left over thirty volumes of stories and sketches in pure Gujarati with a judicious admixture

of Persian and Sanskrit, overflowing with real sparkling humour.

Three great Parsi reformers of the last century were prominent *litterateurs* as well—Dadabhai Navroji (1826-1917) and his contemporaries, Navroji Fardunji (1816-1885) and Sorabji Bengali (1834-1893). The orthodox opposition was led by "Mansukh", Mancherjii Cawasji Langrana (1827-1912). He was the last of the Parsi writers thoroughly Persian in style and language.

F. D. Pande, "Kaka Kahan," who died quite young in 1891, was a very talented, delightful and sane writer.

Bahmanji Kabraji (1860-1925) began as a fairly good Gujarati writer with a judicious admixture of Persian and Sanskrit words.

His elder brother Kaikhoshru Kabraji (1842-1904), however, is unequalled among Parsi writers of Gujarati prose. Some of his novels were later dramatized and his works are still in demand.

There are many poetasters among the Parsi writers in Gujarati, and two real poets, the late B. M. Malabari, whose language was flawless, and A. F. Khabardar.

A. F. Khabardar, a member of the P. E. N., is generally acknowledged to be in the first rank in Gujarati poetry.

What is Food Allergy ?

Dr. E. B. Dewberry writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

For many generations it has been assumed that people in good health should be able to eat all foods without ill effects. Medical science has now come to recognize, however, that many persons cannot take certain perfectly good foodstuffs, even in small quantities, without suffering some characteristic or disagreeable reminder. It is indeed literally true that "one man's meat is another man's poison," and there is no doubt that the mild or acute idiosyncrasies which people have ascribed for centuries to various foods were examples of food sensitization.

This peculiar hypersensitivity to particular foods, which in 1906 was given the name of "food allergy," is more common than is generally recognized, the condition being primarily due to the constitution of the individual concerned and not as a result of eating unwholesome fare.

The foods which produce these peculiar reactions usually contain certain proteins, or are themselves protein in nature. Among the chief of these are eggs, milk, cheese, fish, cereals, potatoes, straw-berries, mushrooms, etc., or a combination of these articles. Rarely is a person supersensitive to a single food; invariably there is sensitivity to a combination of similar foods.

The subject of food allergy has been studied extensively in recent years. One investigator found that in addition to the above list, chocolate, cabbage, cauliflower, carrots, tomatoes, oranges, pineapple, bananas, and walnuts sometimes produce allergic effects, especially if consumed in large quantities.

Many persons present a history of dislikes or disagreements to foods like milk or wheat preparations, to which actual clinical allergy exists, but it must be appreciated that dislikes or disagreements for foods also frequently arise from reasons other than food allergy.

Characteristic symptoms are mild or severe in nature and include nausea, vomiting, swelling of the lips, neuralgia, headache, urticaria, erythema, eczema, gastro-intestinal disturbance, and certain types of malnutrition. The reactions may also affect the physical and also the mental powers.

The onset of the illness may be sudden or delayed some hours, or even days. Very mild cases, which are commonest, sometimes produce such slight symptoms that their true nature may be entirely overlooked and consequently uninvestigated.

Foods to which an individual may be sensitive do not always produce the same manifestations. One may cause an urticarial rash on parts of the body and another gastro-intestinal disturbance. Occasionally the mere handling of a certain foodstuffs, such as flour (or even drugs) by very sensitive persons is sufficient to set up localized reactions, particularly skin affections, such as eczema. Special exposure enormously increases the incidence of sensitiveness.

When present in infancy, food idiosyncrasies tend to grow less as age advances. Under certain conditions, a child with an allergic predisposition may be sensitized before birth by the mother's overindulgence in certain protein foods.

The condition may or may not be hereditary, but hypersensitiveness exhibited toward certain foods is frequently present in mother and child.

An inherited tendency to become sensitive to certain foodstuffs may show itself at any time after birth, but it does not necessarily follow that descendants will suffer from the same allergic manifetations as their antecedents. The tendency to become sensitive, however, is no doubt transmitted from one generation to another.

A characteristic feature of food idiosyncrasy, especially in young children, is the tendency for one reaction to be replaced by another. It is quite possible for an infant with a severe urticarial rash to outgrow this manifestation and in later years to become subject to gastro-intestinal symptoms.

The Private Life of George Bernard Shaw

Speaking of himself (we quote from the *Excelsior*) G. B. S. writes :

I have been asked if it is fair for newspapers to invade the privacy of public men. Or, to put it another way,—has the public any right to know anything of the domestic life of a personage ?

It all depends upon what the newspapers want to know. There is such a thing as idle curiosity, and there is such a thing as intelligent curiosity. There are interviewers who know their business; and there are interviewers who are tactless idiots.

If you intrude upon me and ask how many buttons there are on my waistcoat, I can only reply : "I don't know. Get out."

It has been said that the public has a right to *know* its public persons, since,—so it is held,—what they are explains what they do.

I might reply that what I do explains what I am much better than what I am explains what I do. For nobody knows what I am, least of all myself ; whereas what I do is more or less ascertainable.

But the newspapers seem to want to know what I do in private.

Is it of interest to the public to know that I never bacon for breakfast?

Yes, it is, if the newspaper is collecting material for a serious article on dietetics. No, it is not, if it has in view an article on the war.

My breakfast consists of porridge, postum, and grape-fruit. What is the news value of that fact compared with that of an earthquake in Chile?

You must bear in mind that even the greatest genius—meaning today the man with the greatest publicity—is ninety-nine point nine per cent exactly the same as Tom, Dick or Harry. It is the remaining nought point one per cent that matters. As long as the newspapers stick to the nought point one per cent, I am at their service as a public duty.

Is it of public interest to know what exercise I take? Well, I did a great deal of bicycling at one time, but I could never see the value of athletics.

I agree with W. R. Titterton when he says that taking physical exercise merely for the sake of your muscles is as unhealthy as taking spiritual exercise merely for the sake of your soul.

Sandow once tried to take hold of me. I told him: "I know what you can do: you can lift three elephants, half a dozen pianos, and twenty men on your chest. But that's no use to me. I want to keep them *off* my chest."

I have an idea that Sandow died young.

Even I am not as young as I used to be.

There is a part of you—or any how of me that does not age. My brain functions as well as ever it did. Perhaps it functions better than ever. But it can't keep on so long.

However, as I have said, you can judge what I am from what I do, and what the nought point one per cent of me does is to your hand.

Fame of Sankaracharya in the Far East

An inscription discovered a few years ago in Cambodia contains an interesting reference to the great Sankaracharya which is, perhaps, not as widely known in this country as it should be. Dr. R. C. Majumdar observes in *The Indian Review*:

The great savant is known to have defeated his scholarly opponents and established four monasteries on the northern, southern, eastern and western limits of India as pillars of his triumphal progress. The Kambuja inscription shows that even during his lifetime, his name and fame spread beyond the seas and attracted even persons of noble lineage to India to learn the scripture at his feet.

The inscription records the installation of an image of God Bhadresvara by Sivasoma, the *guru* (preceptor) of King Indravarman, some time between 878 and 887 A.D. Fourteen verses of this inscription give us an account of Sivasoma, who is also known from other records. We are told that he was the grandson of King Jayendradhipativarman, who was the maternal uncle of King Jayavarman II, one of the greatest kings of Kambuja, who restored the independence of the kingdom and laid the foundations of its greatness during the first-half of the ninth century A.D. I need not pause to refer to the glowing accounts given in the record of the scholarship, character and spiritual greatness of Sivasoma. In verse 39, we are told that this Sivasoma read the Sastra from Bhagavan Sankara himself (*bhagavachchhankarahvayat*) whose lotus feet were rubbed by the heads of scholars like rows of bees.

Now there can be hardly any reasonable doubt that the reference here is to the great Sankaracharya, for it is difficult to believe that one occupying the position of Sivasoma (member of a royal family and the *guru* of a king) would refer in such flattering terms to an obscure and unknown personage of this name without further specification. The adjective *bhagavat* also fully supports this view, as it is not likely to be applied except to a person of Sankaracharya's status in the spiritual world.

It may, therefore, be regarded as certain that Sivasoma came to India to study the Sastras from Sankara; for there is no record, nor any reason to suggest that Sankara himself went to Kambuja.

It may me mentioned here that we have many references to learned Brahmins going from India to Cambodia and *vice versa*.

Finally, I should refer to the fact that the Kambuja inscription definitely fixes the date of Sankaracharya to the middle of the 9th century A.D. This is not an inconsiderable gain, as no such indisputable contemporary epigraphic evidence is available in India to enable us to fix the date of the great Indian savant with any degree of certainty.

The Influence of Buddhism on the Greek System of Thought

It is generally believed (and even some historians hold it) that the Macedonian invasion practically opened the eyes of the West to the cultural heritage of India. The belief is untenable. In an article in *The Maha-Bodhi* T. Vimalananda observes:

To Indians, however, this pioneer of western civilization. Alexander, must have appeared as a *mleccha* (a barbarian, who was a menace to their culture and traditions. Vishnu appeared in the form of Chandragupta (grand-father of Asoka) in order to fight against the grave danger that threatened to pollute Indian civilization. Chandragupta dealt a serious blow to Seleukos, who succeeded to Alexander's dominions in the East.

There is absolutely no basis for the theory that India borrowed her political institution from what European civilization brought in the train of the powerful Macedonian conqueror. It remains yet to be proved in what particular aspect Indian polity was modified in consequence of her contact with Alexander.

Herodotus, the Greek historian, who was born in 484 B.C. corresponding very nearly with the passing away of Lord Buddha speaks of Indians as white as Egyptians, dressed in white wool (cotton), fighting valiantly with bows and arrows against Greeks. It is quite evident that the Indian army fought at Salamis (480 B.C.) one of the most conclusive battles of the ancient-world. Indians formed a contingent in the Persian army.

Thus long before Alexander's invasion India and Indians were well known to the Greek-world through the medium of Persia, whose borders

extended from the Mediterranean to the banks of the Indus. The Indian system of thought influenced Greek philosophy (and also Christianity in subsequent times).

The Greeks looked with awe and wonder upon the remarkable antiquity of Egyptian civilization. They borrowed from it the conception of the transmigration of the soul while the Egyptians again owed it to Ancient Indian Culture. Some of the essential aspects of the doctrine of Pythagoras agree with Buddhism and Jainism, specially is so far as the theory of previous births is concerned. The esotoric aspect of his philosophy bears direct evidence that he knew the Upanishads. Garse writes in his *Greek Thinkers*: "It is not too much to assume that the anxious Greek (Pythogoras) who was a contemporary of the Buddha, and, it may be of Zoroaster too, would have acquired a more or less knowledge of the East, in the age of intellectual fermentation, through the medium of Persia."

In his *The Legacy of India*, Rawlinson narrates an interesting episode; the story in the words of Rawlinson is as follows: "Eusebrius preserves a tradition, which he attributes to a contemporary, the well known writer on Harmonics Aristoxems, that certain learned Indians actually visited Athens and conversed with Socrates. They asked him (Socrates) to explain to them the object of his Philosophy, and when he replied, "An inquiry into human affairs," one of the Indians burst out laughing: "How," he asked, "could a man grasp human things without first mastering the Divine." Commenting on this abovenamed scholar he concludes:—"If Eusebrius is to believed, we must revise many of our pre-conceived notions about early intercourse between these two countries."

Clement of Alexandria who followed towords the latter part of the second century A.D. mentions Buddhism as a distinct and definite section of the Indian Systems of Thought.

"He repeatedly refers to the presence of Buddhists in Alexandria and he declares that the Greeks owed their philosophy to barbarians. He knows Buddhists believe in transmigration and worship a kind of pyramid (stupa) beneath they think the bones of some divinity lie buried."

About this time Kanishka, the second great Buddhist Emperor in India flourished and his Empire in the west reached within 500 miles of the Roman Empire. Kanishka had communication with the Roman-world. Alexandria offered an ideal field for the growth of Gnosticism. It was here that traders coming from different nations and climes met together. It was here that Ptolemy built the most renowned Library of the Ancient world.

Gnosticism, which can very well be compared to modern Theosophy has been described as Orientalism in a Hellenic mask.

Asoka wos not contented with the dissemination of Dhamma within his own dominions and other territories in India but he also sent *the messengers of peace* to distant countries, which were being governed by the Greek rulers. Such activities are actually recorded in the Edicts.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Nature Of Japanese Poetry

Of all the arts in Japan, perhaps that of poetry has had the longest continuous existence. Certainly to one well-known poem we can give a date 1,500 years ago, and many others belong to pre-historic days. The ancestry of the poets today in Japan is thus a very long one.

A few of the earliest poems known to us have, perhaps, as much as twenty lines, but the great majority are in a fixed form of five lines —the rhythm being an alternation of lines of five and seven syllables. Oswald T. Tuck observes in *The Asiatic Review* :

It is in this very restriction that the poet shows his art. It is not in the luxuriance of diction of a Shelley or in the galloping anapæsts of a Swinburne or in the golden length of Milton and Browning that a Japanese poet shows his art It is rather in compression and economy. Even the thirty-one syllabled poem is felt by many poets to be too long, and in the last 400 years poets have been writing *haiku,* which are the tiniest of tiny poems, just three lines of five, seven, and five syllables.

> On this cool eve
> Is the moon asleep
> Down there in the water ?

In the original, leaving out the particles, which in other languages are mostly represented by case-endings, we have only five words. But the poem gives us a whole idea : of a calm, clear summer evening, of peace, of a mind ot rest. The artist shows us something perfect and beautiful; but he is not content with that : he suggests more than he shows. It is what he does not tell us that we are to feel · the appeal is not so much to our senses as to our imagination. He opens for us magic casements and directs the eyes of the soul to share his vision He makes us poets ourselves. Probably for this reason, the Japanese poet shuns prolixity The little poem about the moon on the water would most probably be expanded by a Western poet into a long soliloquy about the calm of the evening, the quiet sky, the pool so smooth, so free from ripples as to reflect the golden effulgence of the great harvest moon. He might even tell us about the companion with whom he shares the beauty of the scene But would this expansion really tell us more than the five words of the original ? I think it would tell us less; for it would leave little for the listener to fabricate from his inner self, and would degrade him from his role of imaginative poet into nothing but a dull recipient of information.

The moon is perhaps the most favourite subject of Japanese poets, but next to that comes the cherry blossom.

Among the very first poems to be recorded in writing is a poem of the cherry blossom :

> The time of the cherry blossoms
> Is not yet past,
> Yet now they ought to fall
> While the love of those who look on them
> Is at its height.

It is pain to the poet to think that the beauty of the flowers may wane · how much better to remember them only in the pride of their prime. It is this feeling that has resulted in the adoption of the cherry blossom as the symbol of the armed forces of Japan : soldiers have it on their buttons and naval officers on their caps They are like the cherry blossoms ready to die and fall in the bloom of their youth Our own poet has said : "They shall not grow old. As we who are left grow old."

It will be seen from the examples given that rhyme has no part in Japanese verse. The only essential in the language of a poem is the five and seven rhythm.

Return of the Dalai Lama

Rigya, over two miles east of Lhasa and within sight of the soaring Potala, was the scene, a short time ago, of the first ceremony on the return of the Dalai Lama to his capital in his fourteenth incarnation. An account of the ceremony is reproduced below from *The Living Age* :

The Regents went in procession with the state sedan chair up to Rigya Monastery on the hill above the camp, there to await the Dalai Lama Before long an excited murmur told that 'the Presence' was coming, and the crowd on a spur hiding the road to the east stirred expectantly as the band of the bodyguard was heard. Soon, above clouds of dust mingled with the smoke of incense and above the mass of people, tall banners came into sight. Deep trumpets sounded from the monastery on the hill. A reverent, silent crowd of Tibetans pressed forward to see the six-year-old child from the distant Chinese province of Silling in whom their compassionate ruler Chenrezi has again become incarnate. A small troop of Chinese soldiers in dusty quilted clothes came a little in advance, followed by a body of mounted men in bright silks and tall Mongolian hats holding banners. Behind them rode officials in ascending importance wearing magnificent brocade robes and, preceding the center of the cavalcade, a sedan chair covered in yellow silk through the glass windows of which the small Dalai Lama could be seen looking with calm interest at the crowd. Behind rode his father and mother and his two brothers.

After a short rest, the Dalai Lama was carried

down in the large gilded palanquin over which waved an umbrella of peacock's feathers and one of yellow silk, to receive homage in the Peacock Tent. There he was seated on the throne. After making three prostrations before him, the officials, headed by the Regent, began to file past, offering white silk scarves and receiving his blessing. The stream, which included British, Nepalese and Chinese representatives, and Lhasa Moslems, poured past the throne for almost an hour, while the Dalai Lama, wearing yellow brocade and a yellow peaked fur hat, sat solemnly and with dignity holding out his hands to touch the heads of the worshippers.

The dignity and self-possession of the child impressed every one. He looked about calmly, seeming unmoved by the magnificence and as if he were in familiar surroundings. Although appearing to grow tired toward the end of the ceremony he did not lose his composure. He never smiled, but maintained a placid, equable gaze.

The Dalai Lama reached the end of his two-and-a-half months' journey to Lhasa that morning, after resting two nights at Rigya. The procession enclosing the yellow palanquin rode through streets lined with monks holdings banners and auspicious emblems. The villagers were dressed in bright colors as dancers and musicians. Every window was shut and curtained, for no one should look from above upon the Dalai Lama. A band of officials wearing the dress of the old kings of Tibet were conspicuous by their rich brocade, by enormous circular ornaments on their chests, and by their earrings of turquoise over a foot long. Golden incense-burners and silk-wrapped bundles of the Dalai Lama's clothing were carried past on horses. The Regent rode behind the palanquin on a richly caparisoned pony.

As the middle of the procession reached the south entrance of the cathedral it was met by the Oracle of Nechung in a state of possession.

When the Oracle had withdrawn the procession went on to the west door of the cathedral, by which the Dalai Lama entered to visit the shrine, eleven centuries old, in which is kept the Jowo Rimpochhe, an image of Buddha said to have been brought from China by a wife of King Songtsen Gampo, who first established Buddhism in Tibet.

After a short time the procession left the city of Lhasa and entered the Norbhu Lingka, a large walled park containing the several summer palaces of the Dalai Lama. In the oldest of these a reception ceremony was held, and a short performance of dances was given by the Dalai Lama's dancing boys. Finally, the Dalai Lama withdrew for a rest after more than six hours of ceremony.

His calm assurance during the exacting two days of his entry into Lhasa has been a source of wonder and delight to the people of Tibet and has confirmed their trust in the reincarnation.

The peasant boy who becomes the Dalai Lama was discovered by a searching party early last year in the desolate Kokonor Lake region. He was born on the same day that his predecessor died (in December, 1933) and when from a number of objects he picked one belonging to the late head of the Tibetan Church, that simple act proved to members of the searching party that he was the living reincarnation of the Dalai Lama.

On his deathbed the last Dalai Lama pointed with a trembling hand in the approximate direction where, after his demise, the reincarnation of the representative of Buddha would become manifest in a new-born child.

The Tyranny of Type

Of all the strange phenomena which the new art of broadcasting has brought to light not the least odd is the revelation that we have all become slaves to the printed word: we live under the tyranny of type, observes Guy Pocock in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

It may be an involuntary servitude; it may be unconscious; but there it is:—no sooner does a man put pen to paper that he "goes all literary," to use the modern jargon; the choice of word, the turn of phrase, the balance and the cadence—all are literary and studied, and no longer free.

Ever since the invention of printing this tyranny has been growing. Writers have ceased to consider what their work will *sound* like. They think unconsciously of what it will *look* like on the printed page, and how it will best appeal to the silent reader who "hears it" only in his mind.

And here we have the clue to the strange difficulty of finding first-rate broadcasters. Everything that is broadcast has to be typed—as a safeguard, and for purposes of exact timing—and has to be read before the microphone; and, for the reason given above, people who can "write colloquially" are extraordinary rare; those who can read from a script as if talking spontaneously, perhaps rarer still.

Surely the essayists are free from this typographical bondage, and are likely to write first-rate broadcast talks? After all, the essay is intrinsically colloquial and intensely individual—and that is just what is needed in broadcasting. Strangely enough the answer is in the negative :—the essayist above all persons is likely to find broadcasting most difficult. For while it is true that essay style is colloquial, individual, even as it were confidential—as if the writer were buttonholing you and saying in your ear "Now between you and me *this* is what I think," the trouble about it—from the point of view of broadcasting—is that it is highly *stylized* colloquialism, a literary hybrid between speaking and writing that can never for a moment conceal its art.

A similar difficulty arises in the reading of poetry over the microphone. Infinite care is taken in the selection and rehearsal of the best readers;—and yet—ask the average intelligent listener what he or she thought of such and such a broadcast poetry reading, and the answer, if not contemptuous, will be indignant. For the fact is the very great majority of poems were never written to be *heard,* except by the ear of the mind, and the poets who wrote them wrote for the silent reader, and had in their mind's eye,—unconsciously no doubt—the look of the stanza sequence on the printed page. Hence we have no standard of poetry-reading, and nobody knows certainly how it ought to be read.

Broadcasting is a new art, something that literally has never happened in the world before our time, this talking to an unknown, unseen audience of millions; and hence it requires a new technique. It is not lecturing, or public-speaking, or platform reading:—it is just Broadcasting, which is something new. And for this two things are necessary.

First, then, one must burst one's literary fetters, and break right away from this tyranny of type. One must endeavour to write easily, naturally, in "more

carefully considered speech," to put *oneself* on paper, avoiding literary affectation on the one side, and a strained and unnatural colloquialism on the other.

And next, one must deliver it, not as if one were reading a typescript to a microphone, but as though one were talking to a friend. One must forget the microphone altogether and talk quite naturally as if to a companion across the table. That is not an easy thing to do, especially for those who are used to hearing or sensing the response in a crowded audience, and watching for the reaction in their upturned faces. There is nothing in this world less responsive than the face of a microphone : — one may speak never so wisely, but there is neither voice nor any that answers.

The Spirit Behind the Nazi German Empire

Taraknath Das reviews in *Unity* some recent publications which he considers indispensable for a thorough and clear understanding of the spirit behind Nazi Germany.

In the work, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church*, by Dr. Nathaniel Micklem, a Protestant scholar of distinction, we have a very careful study of the nature and development of the conflict between the Church and the State in Nazi Germany.

The Church believes in the sanctity of individual life, truth, and justice, as well as liberty, whereas to the National Socialist Party everything however sacred must be sacrified before the altar of *party interest*. One of the most prominent Nazi leaders, Dr. Hans Frank, has declared: "only that which the National Socialist Party recognizes as right is right." As Herr Hitler's orders and actions are the guiding principles of the Party and are beyond criticism by any National Socialist, the Nazi State cannot brook the existence of any organization which may claim moral authority to challenge Herr Hitler's absolute and undisputed supremacy. From the National Socialist point of view, Herr Hitler is the agent of God; and the National Socialist Patry centres are the new churches which are to inculcate the new religion of state-worship. Therefore, it is inevitable that the fight against Judaism will be followed by the fight against Catholicism and against the German church of the Protestant Christians. If Hitlerism is to survive, then it must crush the moral authority of the Church and thus the unholy struggle must continue. But Herr Hitler and the Nazi leaders are clever enough to hide their real objective and preach that they are not against religion or Christianity, but that they are carrying on a campaign to destroy political religious institutions which interfere with the fulfilment of the mission of the Natonal Socialist Movement and the regeneration of Germany

In the book, *The New German Empire*, Dr. Franz Borkenau primarily discusses Nazi Germany's foreign policies. The policy of expansion, championed by the Nazis, forces them to muster economic power which cannot be achieved without raw materials and control of markets. But the Nazi system of economics forces them to adopt political control over states which are to be brought within the Nazi orbit. This demands military preparedness and undue development of armament industries.

"Thus rearmament, undertaken partly as a miraculous device against all evils of unemployment and partly as a means of enhancing Germany's power and prestige does in its turn create a real need for more power and for the control of greater economic resources. It is a vicious circle where the desire for conquest produces the need for conquest."

The Bratachari Movement

Ramananda Chatterjee prefaces his article in *Asia* on the Bratachari Movement with the following observations:

If the Bratachari movement, founded some eight years ago by Mr. G. S. Dutt, of the Indian Civil Service, had done nothing except infuse some joy into the lives of our people in India, particularly our youth, its existence would have been amply justified. But it has done, and aims at doing, much more. At the present day, not only youth but humanity in general is torn between the two rival ideals of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. This conflict and discord have been caused by an excessive reliance on the external factors of life and on external methods. There is need for an inward approach and for the setting in motion of factors which lie at the roots of life. The secret of the unity of humanity and of fellowship among nations must be sought in something deeper than mere acquisition of skills or game competitions or in the adoption of uniform dress, conventions or formulas or in mere avowals of international fellowship. It must be sought in an inner rhythmic harmony between the physical and spiritual life, and this inner attunement is the aim of the Bratachari system of discipline and training, for individuals as well as groups.

Democracy : Does It Work ?

Denis O'Keeffe observes in *Studies*:

Ultimately democracy, like any other system of government, must be judged by the kind of society it brings about or makes possible, by the life it enables individuals to lead. It is not something intrinsically valuable. But if it can be shown that, in certain concrete conditions, it enables men more readily than other systems to lead the good life, then in such conditions it is preferable. This is all that can be said, and it is perhaps saying a great deal. There is much wisdom in Aristotle's conclusion that, of the imperfect types of government, democracy is likely to be the least objectionable. For human systems of government always are imperfect and politics is an acceptance of the second best. Utopias, as the name implies, are possible nowhere. Majority rule is valuable, because it secures wide support for measures and because it is dangerous in the long run to exclude large masses of people from political power. Democratic government is not ideal. But it affords to those who are capable of working it with moderate efficiency the best guarantee of securing a free Christian society.

THE PROPOSED BANK ACT

By AJIT ROY, A.B.I. (Lond.)

THE Draft Bank Bill submitted by Sir James Taylor to the directors of the Reserve Bank of India has aroused some criticism and commotion in the Banking world. The bill is said to include some rigorous provisions entailing the arrest of spontaneous banking and great strain on the cash reserve of the banking institutions. It is true that whenever some legislation is proposed, we should judge it in all its aspects quite unbiassedly. Let us try to dissect the proposed bank act in that spirit with some facts and figures. The two main sections to which exception has been taken by the critics are section VII and section XI. Let us take the latter section first. It runs :

> " Every Banking Company shall within two years after the commencement of this Act maintain in cash or in unencumbered Government Securities valued at a price not exceeding the market price an amount which shall not at the close of business on any day be less than 30 per cent of the total of its time and demand liabilities in India and Burma as shown in a return to be sent weekly to the Reserve Bank of India, in the manner prescribed by Section 42 of the Reserve Bank of India Act (II of 1939) and subject to the explanation to Sub-section (I) of that Section, provided that a balance maintained by a scheduled bank with the Reserve Bank of India shall be deemed to be cash for the purposes of this Section."

Now turning to the Scheduled banks—what is the actual percentage at present maintained by them ? Is that percentage all right to keep them in a liquid state; if not, what are the actual improvements which we may suggest, how far the proposed percentage just and practicable ? From the statistics published by the Reserve Bank of India, we find that the demand liabilities comprise 55·9% and time liabilities 44·1% of the total liabilities of all the scheduled banks. Every banker with experience knows that 50% of the demand liabilities and 5% of the time liabilities of a bank should be kept in harness to meet immediate demand. This means ½ of 55·9% and 5% of 44·1%, that is 27·9% and 2·2% equal to 30% which agrees with the percentage as proposed in the draft act. So, from the scientific and inductive point of view the proposed percentage seems all right.

Now, let us examine the balance sheets of some Indian banks to see to what extent this percentage is maintained by them individually and also to find out their investments in unencumbered Government securities, no data of them being available. Let us first take two of the big five of the Indian banks. Examining the balance sheet of the Central Bank of India Ltd., as at 31. 12. 38, we find that the total demand and time deposits amount to Rs. 31,03,01,024-9-2. Against this deposit there are cash in hand, cash in current account with other bankers, Government securities, (including Treasury bills) and Port trust, Corporation and other sterling and Rupee securities, which amount to Rs. 15,51,97,622-4-11. Even supposing the other securities apart from Government securities to be five crores—which is not mentioned separately in the balance sheet, and deducting 52 lakhs from the balance as encumbered, we come to the rough figure of ten crores, being the total of cash (including cash in current accounts with other banks) and Government securities (including Treasury bills), and this figure, even allowing rebate on treasury bills, is covered by the 30% of the total demand and time deposits (30 crores).

Let us now turn to the balance sheet of the Bank of India Ltd., as at 30. 6. 39 which furnishes clearer figures. Here the bank has a total of time and demand deposits of Rs. 17,22,24,757-7-5 out of which Rs. 3,64,89,379-9-0 is in cash (including with bankers in current accounts) and Rs. 4,37,98,918-11-9 pies in unencumbered G. P. notes, totalling more than eight crores, out of 17¼ crores of deposits even without taking into account investments in Treasury bills.

Turning to the balance sheets of some of the comparatively small scheduled banks, we find, that the Comilla Union Bank Ltd., as on 14. 4. 39 has a total deposit amounting to Rs. 1,54,83,561-4-1 out of which cash in hand, cash in current account with bankers and unencumbered G. P. Notes amount to Rs. 49,90,507-9-4, thus being covered within the 30% of the total deposits. Similarly from the balance sheet of the Comilla Banking Corporation, Ltd., as at 31. 12. 38, we find that cash totalling Rs. 25,21,278-5-0. and unencumbered G. P. Notes worth Rs. 43,5342-4-9 are kept against the total

deposits of Rs. 1,07,09,385/- meeting the requirements of the proposed act.

Thus we find that the abovementioned Banks maintained the percentage as proposed in the Draft Bill, on the day of their respective balance sheets. But considering the seasonal and unexpected demands, it will be unwise and harmful for a bank to withhold money by hard and fast rules, when it can make the best use of it safely without risking liquidity; and this it can easily do by resorting to call money market which is unfortunately not developed in India to any great extent. It will be a great improvement in the proposed act if the call money be included, into the 30% of liquid assets, of course, giving a limit to it. It will neither sterilise the whole amount when there is a reasonable demand nor will it make a great difference from cash as the call money is as good as money in your tills. In times of stringency this asset acts as a first line of defence inasmuch as the banker will recall his call loans when his cash shows signs of depletion. In fact, the British banks maintain about 6% of their deposits in this form. Turning to the balance sheets already reviewed we find that of its total deposits of 31 crores, the Central Bank of India Ltd., invests only Rs. 6,70,000 in call money and Comilla Union Bank Ltd. invests in it only 1⅓% of its total deposits. No mention of call money is made in other balance sheets which show gross negligence of call money in the Indian money market. So we would suggest that a limit of 5% be allowed for call money in the proposed act leaving the balance of 25% for cash and unencumbered Government securities thereby giving the cash some elasticity up to 5%. Turning to the Reserve Bank statistics, the cash ratio (including balance with Reserve Bank) of all the scheduled Banks to their deposits during July 1937 to March 1938 was 12·85%. So more than 12% is left for unencumbered securities which seems an encouraging percentage.

Some objections have been raised by saying that though the proposed act tries to limit a percentage for cash and G. P. Notes, the rest of the assets may very well be blocked in permanent assets giving no safety to the depositors. Such reasoning carries no weight with it as in that case, rather a more stringent act is called for than the proposed one. Because, one tries to heal your vital part and give you a pick up, it is no use saying that the other parts may likewise be affected and thus pleading to shun the treatment altogether like a nervous patient.

In this connection, we like to give below an ideal percentage for an Indian Bank which it may maintain without risking safety and liquidity.

Cash 12·9
Investments (unencumbered G .P. Notes 12·1) & 37·9=50·
Bill Discounted 5·
Advance=(Call money 5·) & 40=45·
=112·9 (including share capital & Reserve 12·9).

The percentages of cash, total investments and Bills discounted are roughly taken from Reserve Bank statistics as maintained by the Indian Scheduled Banks at 31. 12. 37. The percentage of cash is kept unaltered and the percentage in the case of advance is rather improved as this percentage maintained by the Indian scheduled Banks was only 41·4 on 31. 12. 37 where as in the above proposal 45% is allowed for it, thus giving it yet scope for improvement. The amount in deposit accounts with other Banks is included in the investments.

So we find from the above analysis that if 5% be earmarked for call money out of 30% as prescribed by the proposed act for liquid money, there is every scope for increasing the percentage of advance when required and also of augmenting the cash reserve when there is a depletion. We would therefore draw the attention of the makers of the bill to the above analysis for any possible improvement on this head.

In this connection it is incumbent on us to say that the Reserve Bank should immediately set forth its rediscounting policy without delay so that the member Banks may invest in bills and other securities rediscountable with the Reserve Bank to an appreciable extent out of the 37·9% plus 5% of the deposits as given above so that these may be the next line of defence after cash and call money in time of distress. Every attempt should also be made to give an impetus to the bill market in India and for achieving this, the stamp duty should also be considerably reduced as recommended in the report of the Reserve Bank submitted to the Government of India.

We like to discuss section VII of the proposed act in a separate article and also the effect of the bill as a whole, if passed into an act, on the small indigenous bankers.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Struggle for Power

By GOPAL HALDAR

WAR in Europe is shifted from the Central European zone to the north. "The struggle for the Balkans" is not given up by any of the powers interested in the regions—Germany, the Soviet, the Allies or Italy. Recent mobilizations in the near East, the Rumanian prohibition of export of refined oil, and the tension on the Russo-Turkish border point to the possibility of a war from the Arctic to the Black sea. Relieved to a certain extent by the Soviet and German engagements elsewhere, the Balkan powers themselves were trying to reach a joint neutrality, and pathetically—and hopelessly—fighting their own rooted suspicions and grievances against one another, their own antagonistic politics of pro- and anti- 'revisionism' to establish unity and reconciliation. The Belgrade Conference of the Balkan Entente on Feb. 24, recognized the seriousness of their position.

BELGRADE DECISIONS

War was on their very threshold; they were living under the shadow of economic and political domination by four of the greatest Powers of Europe, Germany, the Soviet Russia, Italy and the Allies (which, for all practical purposes, means Britain, as France has nowadays ceased to play an independent rôle in foreign politics). The Balkan Powers themselves, because of their sectional interests, which were further complicated by these outside Powers, failed to reach any mutual understanding. Hungary and Bulgaria were no partners in the Entente. Still some formula, it was thought, could be found to which these "revisionists" would agree for the present under the pressure of European political situation. So the four members of the Balkan Entente, Yugoslavia, represented by its Foreign Minister, M. Circar-Markovitch, Rumania by M. Gafencu, Turkey by M. Sarajoglu and Greece by General Metaxas met at Belgrade, and agreed to continue their Entente for 7 years more and decided on an economic collaboration. The *communiqué* issued at Belgrade after the meeting of the Entente said :

"The four members of the *Entente* in an atmosphere of cordial co-operation agreed on the following points :

"Firstly, preservation of peace in common interests of the member states;

"Secondly, to continue the policy of excluding war from their part of Europe;

"Thirdly, to maintain the close co-operation between the States of the *Entente;*

"Fourthly, to establish friendly relations with neighbouring peoples;

"Fifthly, to intensify collaboration in commerce and transport between member states;

"Sixthly, to prolong the Balkan Pact by another seven years;

"Seventhly, to maintain close contact between the Foreign Ministers of member states until the next conference at Athens in February, 1941."

The four representatives were eloquent in stressing the strength and unity of the Entente. Their achievements, however, amounted to nothing substantial or important. Politically it could ensure no cohesion in the Balkans, much less create any *bloc.* The Entente did not, for example, include, Hungary and Bulgaria, which had lost territories after the last war to Rumania and Yugoslavia and Greece, and refused to give up their demands for revision of the Treaty of Neuilly of 1919. Indeed, the Balkan Entente was intended when brought into being on 9th February, 1934 by Kemal Ataturk and King Alexander of Yugoslavia to preserve their present frontiers mainly against Bulgarian claims. Circumstances had now changed; all recognized the necessity of pulling together at this hour. Count Ciano of Italy had advised through M. Czaky, moderation to Hungary, and Turkey was seeking to influence Bulgaria not to press the claims at the moment. Still the Entente failed to draw in any of the two powers; nor could it hope to form any Balkan *bloc* which would not be favoured by Italy, nor probably by other powers.

BALKAN PROBLEMS

The results of the Conference pointed to the baffling problems which underlie the Balkan situation and left the Balkans, therefore, as before the possible cockpit of the European powers in the coming months. These problems do not rise from the diplomatic tug-of-war that is going on in south-eastern Europe—the attempt on the part of Germany, deprived by blockade

of 60 per cent of its normal imports, to draw foodstuffs and raw materials from the area; the efforts of the Allies naturally to cut these supplies from the Balkans, that of Italy, after the annexation of Albania, and of its enemy, the Soviet Russia, after Polish Ukrainia has been absorbed, to strengthen their rival influences in the Balkans. The Balkans bristle with the hindrances to cohesion that arises out of the economic backwardness of the countries, the operations of foreign capital, and, more particularly, of the national complexity creating national *irridenta* and political instability.

Balkan Conditions

Behind the political forces that play on the foreground lie thus the pathetic economic conditions of the Balkan peoples. The rural areas are over-populated and the countries are of course predominantly agricultural. But peasant economy looks hopeless when we learn that, except in Hungary, arable lands are small (30·1 per cent to the total area in Yugoslavia, 35 per cent in Bulgaria, 10·2 per cent in Turkey, 15·7 per cent in Greece, 11·2 per cent in Albania, 47·3 per cent in Rumania.—*South-Eastern Europe: A Political and Economic Survey*, London. Royal Institute of International Affairs; and, *The Struggle for the Balkans*: By John C. de Wilde, New York, Foreign Policy Asson.), technique crude, yield very poor, and marketing facilities undeveloped. Remembering the heavy burden of usury under which the peasant labours and the high taxation under which he suffers, we may picture to ourselves conditions with which we are familiar in India. Naturally, the peasant's voice is not heard in the governments of the States.

"If the peasants had been less docile or less accustomed to suffering, revolutions might have broken out long ago......In recent years the peasants have been more receptive to radical agitation from abroad." (*The Struggle for the Balkans, ibid*).

Every one of these States have been alive to the necessity of industrialization. But, the Balkans have seen its wrong start with the lack of coal and iron, of skilled labour and purchasing power and with the lack of outside market. Naturally, cost of production is high, the goods are of lower standards, and protection that seeks to give them shelter increases the burden of the peasant community.

Industrial enterprises have necessarily meant an import of foreign capital except in Kemalist Turkey (which in recent times have been offered loans first by Germany and then by Britain), and to a certain extent in Hungary. Thus:

"In Rumania 90 per cent of the oil is extracted by foreign companies (36·05 by the Anglo-Dutch, 26·35 by the Rumanians, and 0·25 by the Germans) which together own 74 per cent of the capital invested in the industry. Czech capital, now under German control, is said to be interested in iron and steel and metallurgical industries; and British capital is also well represented. In Yugoslavia foreign capital investment at the end of 1938 were estimated at 8 billion dinar with France, Britain and Germany competing for the lead. . . In Greece the British control about two-thirds of the foreign capital which is invested primarily in public utility and banking. Albanian economic development has been entirely dominated by foreign (Italian) capital......The longstanding supremacy of British and French capitalists has been challenged in recent years by the Germans........"

It can very easily be understood why the Balkans are become the playground of rival diplomacies. In the case of Germany, however, an additional, and a very powerful factor, to the investment was the presence of the large German minorities which form a part of the most baffling of the Balkan problems—the problem of racial complexity in the Balkan and Danubian regions.

Minorities and Irredenta

The Balkans are in fact "a patchwork of nationalities." The boundaries as drawn now have created *Irredenta* of Bulgarians and Hungarians and left large and advanced German minorities in Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, who hold themselves aloof from the surrounding populations with their own German cultural and educational organisations. Naturally, Hungary and Bulgaria, which had been forced to lose their territories and nationals, found in Germany their support, and, in Italy, another 'have-not' power, the second great patron of theirs. Thus, the Fascist gained easy welcome while the Nazis, with the German minorities and the Nazi racial philosophy, won more steady footing in the Balkans because of these national complexities.

Bulgarian and Hungarian resentment was due to the loss they suffered from the results of the last War. Bulgaria in particular claims (i) from Rumania, southern Dobruja on the Black Sea with about 15 lakhs of Bulgar population, (ii) Western Thrace which gave it access to the Aegian sea, and (iii) from Yugoslavia and Greece, Macedonia with the South Slavs, in which the *Imro*, the Macedonian terrorist party, carried on its works until Bulgaria suppressed it in 1934.

Hungary, which "lost two-thirds of its territory and over two-fifths of its population," demanded (*i*) from Yugoslavia the Banat with an inextricably mixed population of Serbs,

Croats, Magyars, Germans, etc., (*ii*) from Rumania in particular the districts of Crisana and Maramures, with about half a million of Magyars and (*iii*) from the same power, the chief *irredenta* of Transylvania, in the heart of the Rumanian mountains though in it the Rumanians constitute the majority.

German minorities overspread the whole of south-eastern Europe, and form important factors in Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. They have refused to be merged in the population around them and their material and cultural superiority could find no satisfactory reflection in the affairs of these nationalistic States in the Balkans. When the Nazis came to power in Central Europe with their cry of "Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer," the "Volk" that was holding its own among "the lesser breed," readily harkened to the Nazi propaganda, and German minorities gained recognition as distinct units, under local Nazi leaders and organisations came to constitute Nazi outposts in their political and economic drive for *Lebensraum* and *Grossraumwirtschaft* in south-eastern Europe. Thus, 7 lakhs of Germans under the leadership of Dr. Franz Basch in Hungary, about 5 lakhs of Germans in groups in Yugoslavia under the leadership of Branimir Altgeyer and more than 7 lakhs of them in widely scattered groups in Rumania under the loose leadership of Fritz Fabritius, forced out from the States recognition for themselves and avowed openly their Nazi philosophy and ideal.

German Interest

German interest in south-eastern Europe under the conditions only waited for Hitler to reassert itself and re-establish itself in place of the French influence which was paramount in the area in the years between. More and more Germany came to take a bigger share in the trade in the Balkans.

By 1938, Greater Germany, including Austria and Czechoslovakia, was taking 46·6 per cent of the export of South-Eastern Europe—Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece—and supplying 49·5 per cent of its imports. In addition, it was absorbing 46·1 per cent of the exports of Turkey and furnishing 50·8 per cent of its imports.

"The bulk of German sales consisted of machinery, motor cars and airplanes, electrotechnical equipment and iron and steel products. Together they constitute about half of the export of Germany and Austria to the southeast. Chemical products made up 12 per cent, textiles and clothing 11·4 per cent, and coal 22 per cent. In return Germany took mostly livestock, meat, grain and other food products (59·5 per cent); tobacco (11·5 per cent); as well as industrial raw materials and semi-manufactures, such as oil (5·6 per cent), timber (4·4 per cent), bauxite (2 per cent), hides and skins, flax, hemp, etc.

Balkan trade became the object of rivalry between Germany and Britain when Herr von Funk in September, 1938, went on extending the economic dominion backed by the fear and prestige that German arms had gained. Rumania, in particular, with its oil and raw materials was forced into an agreement on March 23, 1939, to develop Rumanian resources under German technical leadership as a complementary to Germany's economy.

The outbreak of the war made Germany depend on the Balkans for its supply. Sixty per cent of the German imports are cut off by the blockade that operates against it; and " even if the south-eastern countries sent all their exports to Germany, they could satisfy little over 20 per cent of the Reich's normal import requirements."

In the circumstances, Rumanian oil (forming only 13·95 per cent of the Reich's imports of mineral oil in 1938), Hungarian and Yugoslavian bauxite for the German aluminium industry, copper, chrome and lead from Yugoslavia and Rumania, are come to acquire an important rôle in the fates of the belligerents and south-eastern Europe. It is not easy for Germany, which is straining every nerve for the purpose, to utilize the resources even if it gets the economic control over the area. These German imports moved generally by sea; and the German deficiency in the Danubian ships and barges, and rolling stock will present difficult transport problems to Germany. And, the Reich at the moment cannot probably force with arms the Balkan States to come into its orbit. Such a war in the Balkans would jeopardise its existence. That would bring the Reich at once into clash not only with these States, backed by the Allies, but also with the old partner of its " Axis," Italy, and with the new sharer of its conquests, the Soviet Russia.

Allies' Interest

The Allies of course are bent on preventing the Balkan supplies to Germany. Their interest in the Balkan trade was by no means so great as that of the Germans, and British diplomacy busied itself in active opposition to the German drive only after the annexation of Czechoslovakia. Rumania and Greece were promised on April 13, 1939, protection against aggression. The promise was followed on May 11, by commercial credits of £5½ millions to Rumania, £10 millions to Turkey and in July £2,040 thousands

to Greece. As against the German preponderance in the Balkans, these were the three strategic gains for the Allies navy. But the real diplomatic victory for the Allies remained to be scored after the war broke out, when on October 19, 1939, Turkey was wooed into an alliance with Britain and France. It was of course declared that Turkey would not participate in a war against the Soviet; but in the rejection by M. Sarajoglu of the Moscow proposals to close the Straits to the Allies warships, the Allies won their first victory against both Germany and the Soviet, and against Italy as well. M. Molotov in Moscow and Count Gayda in Rome signified their displeasure at the Turkish alliance in no uncertain terms. Undoubtedly, after the treaty the Allies gained new prestige in the regions, and, the recent Turkish military emergency measures, the occupation of former German industrial enterprises, the concentration of Allies troops in the Near East mark the sequel to the Allies ascendancy in the area and indicate the possible warlike developments in the Near East.

Soviet Watch

The German-Soviet non-aggression pact of August 23, and the Soviet possession of Polish Ukrainia closing the way of German *Drang nach Osten* into the Balkans and the Near East brought the Soviet Russia into the Balkan picture with a panicky flash. For a time, as in the Baltic, the Balkans appeared to be under threat of Bolshevisation. Bulgaria, nursing its old grievance, remembered the friendly visit of M. Potemkin, Vice-Commissar for the Soviet Foreign Affairs, for regaining Dobruja. The old pan-Slav sentiment of the Czarist days revived among the Slavs of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria as Russia reappeared on the scene. The Soviet remembered in particular Bessarabia which was seized by Rumania from Russia in 1918, and Bukovina with 5 lakhs of Ukranian minorities. The menace was the darkest on Rumania, which with the loss of Bessarabia, Bukovina and Dorbuja, would be cut off from the Black Sea completely. But the Soviet suffered to wait and watch as Turkey refused the Moscow overtures and the Soviet got embroiled in Finland.

What has, however, been a German loss still remains a Soviet gain in the Balkans; and with the pan-Slav sentiments revived, the young Balkan intellectuals ready to welcome and the impoverished peasantry in the Balkans in expectancy for a redistribution of land under Communist leadership, the Soviet may afford to watch for its hour.

ITALIAN RE-ASSERTION

The Soviet emergence in the Balkan politics made, however, Italian re-assertion immediate. The Balkans were Italy's field for political and commercial expansion. The Abyssinian war and the sanctions had forced Italy to comparative inaction in the area for some time. But Italy had on strategic plea the upperhand in Albanian life and strong voice in Yugoslavian relations. The "revisionist" ambition of Hungary and Bulgaria lacked no encouragement from Rome. In April, 1939, Roman ambition at last asserted itself in annexation of Albania, and following the outbreak of the war it began to work back to its position of supremacy that might otherwise pass into other hands. That was not to be tolerated, Italy announced; nor was the formation of a Balkan *bloc* to receive Italian approval. But Rome encouraged now understanding among the Balkan powers—the Yugoslavian efforts to conciliate Hungary and Rumania were promoted and an Italian understanding was reached with Greece. So, Italy arrogates to herself the rôle of a protector in the Balkans, with of course no intention to cut off supplies to Germany, but neither with any desire to see Bolshevism crossing over into the Balkans or the Allies further strengthening themselves in the region or in the Eastern Mediterranean.

POLITICAL SCENE

The interplay of foreign diplomacy has prompted the Balkan States with their chaotic politics to set their own house in order. Rumania with the Dictator-King Carol has suppressed all parties including the pro-Nazi Iron Guards and other movements and welded together the peoples in the Front of National Renaissance. But the biggest success is that of Yugoslavia which on August 24, 1939, brought to an end the long standing minority conflict between the Serbs and Croats by granting autonomy to the Croats. This was further extended by a similar liberal offer to the Muslim minority of Bosnia around Serajevo.

The problem of the moment, however, is not merely to achieve internal order for the individual States, but such a cohesion between Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey as would enable them to be united in a joint defence against aggression from others. This has defied the skill of politicians so long for reasons which are evident from the foregoing study of the Balkan conditions. Hungaro-Rumanian relations were unsatisfactory, and those between Bulgaria and Rumania worse. No bond bound them all. The Balkan Entente was directed against Bulgaria. The Peace Front of Rumania, Turkey and Greece excluded the South Slav states of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But the war menace pressed hard and the Balkan Entente seemed to be the vehicle for unity. Thus, at Salonica on July 31, 1918, the Entente recognized Bulgaria's right to rearmament for an undertaking by Bulgaria not to change frontiers by force. The crisis has developed further since then but in spite of the best efforts of the Yugoslav Foreign Minister M. Markovitch, Bulgarian Minister Kiosseivanoff would not forego the revisionist claims, nor did M. Czaky of Hungary fail to remind (on November 22, 1939) that his country would not promise to maintain the *status quo* either in the present or the future. Rumania, with the Soviet menacing Bessarabia, Bulgaria seeking Dorbuja, etc., and Hungary, Crisana and Transylvania, is therefore on her guard, husbanding her oil and other recources and mobilizing her forces. King Carol and M. Taterescu, the Premier and M. Grafencu, the Foreign Minister, would yield nothing. The problems of unity were thus insoluble, and Count Ciano's advice to M. Czaky and the Turkish counsel to M. Kiosseivanoff only made Hungary and Bulgaria less intransigent when Entente met at Belgrade. But that is supposed to have cost the Bulgarian Minister his office.

So the Balkans face uncertainty. "Can the Balkans stay neutral ?" doubtfully asks *The Economist*, (Oct. 21, 1939). Their fate is "at stake in the present war." It is only the rival interests of the different powers that enable them to maintain their precarious life.



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NOTES

When Will Britain Leave India Free?

During the present century hopes of attaining "responsible government" "step by step" or of Dominion Status have been held out to India by British statesmen and sovereigns. But no definite date has been mentioned when that hope is to be fulfiled. And the hopes held out have been hopes of partial freedom, not of complete independence. But earlier British statesmen appear to have gladly envisaged complete independence for India and the passing of the sceptre of India from British hands, though they, too, could not and did not say when that would or might come to pass. The earliest forecast of complete independence for India that we know of occurs in the following passage in the *Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings,* under date May 17th, 1818:

> "A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest."

It was in 1818 that the Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India, thought that "a time not very remote will arrive when England will wish" to give up her sovereignty over India. But a hundred and twenty-two years after that year that time has not arrived.

Similarly, Macaulay said in the course of his speech in the British House of Commons on 10th July, 1833, on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's charter:

> "The destinies of our Indian empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us It may be that the public mind in India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. These triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."

For decades, if not generations, past on many a day Indians have been demanding, not only "European institutions," but also that complete political and economic freedom which

European imperialists consider their monopoly. But British imperialists have not considered "such a day" "the producst day in English history."

In the present issue of this Review Major D. Graham Pole writes :

"Germany is fighting to trample under foot all that millions of free men and women hold dearer than life. Britain is fighting to ensure life and that more abundant not merely for those who at present are under the heel of the tyrant Hitler, but for all, in a world freed from domination of one nation over another—and in that freedom can anyone doubt that India will share ?"

Major D. Graham Pole wants, we believe, that Indians should not have any reason to "doubt that India will share" "that freedom". Therefore he wrote in our last December number, page 664 :

Nowhere in the present Government of India Act (1935) is there any mention of Dominion Status. There is no Preamble to the Act. It has been made abundantly clear to Indians that no statement of any Viceroy, Prime Minister or even the King-Emperor himself can over-rule the words of an Act of Parliament. Even a debate in Parliament does not carry the matter further. The only thing to do, therefore, if the British Government really mean what they say about Dominion Status for India, is to pass an amending Act—which can be done quickly as war legislation—removing the present grave misgivings and "to avoid future misunderstandings," as the British Indian delegates asked, deleting the words in the Preamble of the 1919 Act which Indians have always rightly regarded as an insult to them, and stating specifically that Dominion Status is the aim which it is intended to reach as quickly as possible with the assistance and goodwill of Indians of all races, creeds and classes.

Mahatma Gandhi has recently said that Dominion Status cannot satisfy India and many Nationalists of India, including ourselves, had said so before him. Some will be satisfied with Dominion Status for the present, keeping in view the final goal of complete independence. It is not necessary to discuss these controversial matters afresh in this note. Our note on "Independence and Dominion Status" in our last February number, pp. 130-131, has already made our position clear, and that is in favour of complete independence as the final goal. What is required in the interests of British honour is that, if Britain wishes India to have Dominion Status as early as possible, let her embody that wish in an Act of Parliament, as suggested by Major D. Graham pole in our last December number, and leave India to accept or reject that Status.

Congress Session at Ramgarh

Owing to torrential rain, the plenary session of the All-India Congress could not be opened at the time fixed, and the addresses of the chairman of the reception committee and the president were taken as read. Most of the people in the vast assemblage were drenched and had to wade to their quarters through knee-deep water. Such inclement weather did not damp their ardour. The crowd took the situation in good humour. The volunteers rendered all possible help to the women and children, including babies in their mothers' arms. Electricity failed for some time adding to the difficulties, but it was soon restored.

Mahatma Gandhi was pacing up and down on the verandah of his hut listening to the reports regarding the rain when the Associated Press representative approached him and asked for a message from him on the unfortunate situation arising out of the rain. Mahatma Gandhi said: 'Every session was a lesson. This has a lesson for the workers to choose a site which would be proof against bad weather, not that the slightest reflection can be cast on those who chose Ramgarh as the site. They had no reason to fear the rains at this time of the year. It was a soul-stirring sight to see people knee-deep in water till they received instructions to disperse. I feel God had ranged himself on the side of the people and gave them a foretaste of the suffering to be voluntarily undergone as the price of freedom. I feel for Rajen Babu who with his band of workers slaved night and day to make the session a success so far as the arrangements are concerned.'

People should certainly be prepared to undergo all sufferings necessary for winning freedom. But we do not think God sent down rain on the people assembled at the Congress specially to give them a foretaste of such sufferings. The Anti-Compromise Conference gathering had not to undergo any similar drenching. Was it God's desire that they should only listen to talk and see a *tamasha* but not undergo any sufferings for freedom and did not, therefore, require any foretaste of them ?

Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh

"After Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose had delivered his address at the Anti-Compromise Conference and before Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had raised his voice at the opening session of the Congress, rain washed Ramgarh and presented a spectacle of waste, confusion and disorder." Thus began a message to a daily.

Those who choose to believe that the goddess of fortune has her favourites and can make the rain-god obey her implicitly may conclude that Subhasites were her favourites and the followers of Gandhiji had incurred her displeasure !

Numerical Strength of the Two Gatherings

Large numbers attended both the Congress session and the Anti-Compromise Conference session. The comparative size of the assemblages cannot be ascertained owing to lack of reliable estimates. This, however, is clear that the Congress gathering included a considerable number (perhaps 3,000) of delegates elected by Congress primary members. The Anti-Compromise Conference had no organization behind its back of the standing of the Congress and, therefore, the people assembled at the former lacked any *considerable* elected element.

Sight-seers and those who like a *tamasha* added to the dimensions of both gatherings.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's Presidential Address

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's presidential address at the Ramgarh Congress was logically and methodically thought out and eloquently expressed. There is much wisdom in it. We have its English version before us. It is stated to have been translated into English from the original Hindustani. But as it reads like an address originally composed in English and as the Maulana is believed to be much more at home in Arabic, Persian and Urdu than in English, perhaps it is a free translation by some other person more familiar with English idioms and turns of expression than he. Be that as it may, it is a very able composition in which the author has put his case before the public in a lucid manner.

The address is mainly taken up with two things, namely, the attitude of the right-wingers of the Congress since the outbreak of the European war, and the minorities problem in India with special reference to the Moslem community. We have commented upon the different aspects of that attitude from time to time as they have come into view. So we do not propose to deal with it at length again. Like the Congress we are against British imperialism as against the imperialism of every other people. Nevertheless, apart from the question whether Britain will shed her imperialism in relation to India during or after the war, we believe there has been and is ample moral justification for Britain's taking up arms against Germany. The Maulana appears to admit this when he says, "so far as the war was concerned, India had clearly condemned Nazi Germany. Her sympathies were with the democratic nations, and this was a point in Britain's favour." In an earlier passage in his address the Maulana says:

> But while we were considering the dangers arising from Fascism and Nazism, it was impossible for us to forget the older danger which has been proved to be infinitely more fatal to the peace and freedom of nations than these new dangers, and which has in fact supplied the basis for this reaction. I refer to British imperialism. We are not distant spectators of this imperialism, as we are of the new reactionary movements. It has taken possession of our house and dominates over us. It was for this reason that we stated in clear terms that if new entanglements in Europe brought about the war, India which has been debarred from exercising her will and making free decisions, will not take any part in it. She could only consider this question when she had acquired the right of coming to decisions according to her own free will and choice.
>
> India cannot endure the prospect of Nazism and Fascism, but she is even more tired of British imperialism. If India remains deprived of her natural right to freedom, this would clearly mean that British imperialism continued to flourish with all its traditional characteristics, and under such conditions, India would on no account be prepared to lend a helping hand for the triumph of British imperialism.

In the sentences quoted above, the Maulana has twice instituted a comparison between British imperialism on the one hand and Fascism and Nazism on the other, to the disadvantage of the former. And his greater condemnation of British imperialism is due, we presume, to the fact that India has been an actual sufferer from British imperialism, but not yet from Fascism and Nazism. But, though we have no direct painful experience of Fascism and Nazism and though we consider British imperialism the source and author of untold evils, we hesitate to conclude that it "has been *proved* to be *infinitely more* fatal to the peace and freedom of nations than these new dangers," namely, Fascism and Nazism. It is impossible for us to hold any brief for British imperialism. The reason why we are against such a comparison as the Maulana has instituted, is, that British imperialism has been in existence for, say, two centuries, during which its sinister character has fully revealed itself; and it is perhaps a spent force. But Fascism and Nazism are of recent origin and growth. They are about two decades old. Yet during this comparatively short period of their existence they have shown that they can hold the candle to all imperialisms and are capable of improving upon the records of the latter, being still in full vigour.

Like Congressmen we are not in the least in the mood to help Britain in her war. But, paradoxical though it may sound, we do not wish victory to Nazi arms, nor at the same time do we desire British imperialism to grow stronger.

through victory! Perhaps the only consistent and fully charitable desire which we can express is that in the interests of both Britain and India, as well as in those of world peace and world freedom, Britain would shed her imperialism completely, agree to India becoming independent, and win. And then we can rejoice and say sincerely, "Long live British democracy," but not till then.

Maulana Azad is right in holding that there has been no change in Britain's imperialist outlook in India. Of course, Britain now desired, and was even anxious, that India should attain Dominion Status; but it was not a question of the desire or the measure of desire of the British Government. The straight and simple question was of India's right—whether she was entitled to determine her own fate or not. 'This question forms the foundation-stone of the Indian problem. India will not allow it to be removed. For, if it is displaced, the whole structure of Indian nationalism will collapse.'

The Maulana has shown that, far from admitting India's right to self-determination, Britain has all along been trying to confuse the issue by raising the communal bogey and trying to make the world believe that it is mainly the communal differences in India which stand in the way of Britain giving her freedom. He has also pointed out that the communal problem is largely a creation of the British 'divide and rule' policy.

What he has said of Britain's war aims and of the European (including British) mentality which looks upon freedom as only *their* monopolistic birthright is entirely true.

Maulana Azad on the Communal Problem

In the concluding part of his address he has dealt with the minorities problem of India with special reference to his own community. In his view, the Muslims are not a minority in the ordinary sense. For they are neither small in numbers, nor do they lack inherent strength to take care of themselves.

We are not in the least inclined to grudge the Maulana the satisfaction which he derives from contemplating the unity and sturdiness which, according to him, Islam has given his community. But if Muslims possess such inherent strength, obviously they do not require any external props and safeguards such as the Communal Decision and some pro-Muslim service and other rules have given them. Why then has not the Maulana condemned the Communal Decision and those rules? Why has he not spoken out against the separate electorates at least?

Communities like the Indian Christians, which are very much smaller than the Muslim community, have repeatedly condemned the Communal Decision and declared that they do not stand in need of it. But Maulana Azad, speaking for his 80 or 90 million strong fellow-believers and taking pride in their unity, strength and power to take care of themselves, has not a word to say about it. Does he want the world to have a high opinion of the heroism of his community and at the same time does he want to keep for it the 'safeguards' provided by the Communal Decision, etc.? This is like having the cake and eating it, too. Or, as a character in the well-known Bengali novel *Swarnalatā* said, he would have both milk and tobacco!

However, we appreciate fully and sincerely what the Maulana has so eloquently said about Hindus and Muslims forming one Indian nation. Without being too critical of details, we quote a few passages from his peroration.

> As a Musalman I have a special interest in Islamic religion and culture and I cannot tolerate any interference with them. But in addition to these sentiments, I have others also which the realities and condition of my life have forced upon me. The spirit of Islam does not come in the way of these sentiments; it guides and helps me forward. I am proud of being an Indian. I am a part of the indivisible unity that is Indian nationality. I am indispensable to this noble edifice and without me this splendid structure of India is incomplete. I am an essential element which has gone to build India. I can never surrender this claim.
>
> It was India's historic destiny that many human races and cultures and religions should flow to her, finding a home in her hospitable soil, and many a caravan should find rest here. Even before the dawn of history these caravans trekked into India and wave after wave of new-comers followed. This vast and fertile land gave welcome to all and took them to her bosom. One of the last of these caravans, following the footsteps of its predecessors, was that of the followers of Islam. This came here and settled here for good.
>
> This led to a meeting of the culture-currents of two different races. Like the Ganga and Jumna, they flowed for a while through separate courses, but nature's immutable law brought them together and joined them in a *sangam*. This fusion was a notable event in history. Since then, destiny, in her own hidden way, began to fashion a new India in place of the old. We brought our treasures with us, and India too was full of the riches of her own precious heritage. We gave our wealth to her and she unlocked the doors of her own treasures to us. We gave her, what she needed most, the most precious of gifts from Islam's treasury, the message of democracy and human equality. . . .
>
> Eleven hundred years of common history have enriched India with our common achievements. Our languages, our poetry, our literature, our culture, our art, our dress, our manners and customs, the innumer-

able happenings of our daily life, everything bears the stamp of our joint endeavour. There is indeed no aspect of our life which has escaped this stamp. Our languages were different, but we grew to use a common language; our manners and customs were dissimilar, but they acted and reacted on each other and thus produced a new synthesis. Our old dress may be seen only in ancient pictures of by-gone days; no one wears it today.

This joint wealth is the heritage of our common nationality and we do not want to leave it and go back to the times when this joint life had not begun. . . . .

This thousand years of our joint life has moulded us into a common nationality. This cannot be done artificially. Nature does her fashioning through her hidden processes in the course of centuries. The cast has now been moulded and destiny has set her seal upon it. Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity. We must accept the logic of fact and history and engage ourselves in the fashioning of our future destiny.

" A New Example " Not Impossible

Like Gandhiji, Maulana Azad appears to have faith in the bright side of human nature. The following paragraphs bear witness to the faith that is in him.

It is the verdict of history that in a struggle between nations, no power forgoes its possessions unless compelled to do so. Principles of reason and morality have affected the conduct of individuals but have not affected the selfish conduct of Powers that dominate. Today even in the middle of the 20th century, we witness how the new reactionary forces in Europe have shattered man's faith in individual and collective human rights. In place of justice and reason, brute force has become the sole argument in the determination of rights. But while the world is presenting this depressing picture, there is another side, the hopeful side, which cannot be ignored. We see countless millions all over the world, wthout any distinction, awakening to a new consciousness which is spreading everywhere with great rapidity. This new consciousness is tired of the utter hopelessness of the old order, and is impatient for a new order based on reason, justice and peace. This new awakening which arose after the last war and took root in the deepest recesses of the human soul, has now come to dominate men's minds and their utterances. Perhaps there is no parallel in history to the speed of this awakening.

In these circumstances was it beyond the realm of possibility that history should, contrary to its old record, take a new step?

Was it impossible that two great peoples of the world, who had been tied together by the course of events as rulers and ruled, should create a new relationship between them, based on reason, justice and peace. If that had been possible, the sorrows born of world war would have given place to a new-born hope; and the new order of reason and justice would have ushered in a new dawn. If the British people could have proudly said to the world today that they **had added such a new example to history, what a vast and unparalleled triumph this would have been for humanity. Certainly this was not an impossibility, but it was an amazingly difficult thing to do.**

In the prevailing darkness of the times, it is faith in the bright side of human nature which sustains the great soul of Mahatma Gandhi. He is always prepared to take advantage of every opening which might lead to a mutual settlement without feeling that he is weakening his unassailable position.

In one of the concluding sentences of his address Maulana Azad says, " The glorious past record of our movement was due to his (Mahatma Gandhi's) leadership." There can be no question that Mahatma Gandhi is a great leader, but to give all the credit for the glorious past record of the Congress to him alone is hardly fair.

Babu Rajendra Prasad's Address

As chairman of the reception committee of the Ramgarh Congress, Babu Rajendra Prasad delivered an address in which he dwelt on the really glorious past of Bihar—its historical importance, the republics which flourished there, the Empire of Asoka, etc. He dwelt also on the present poverty of Bihar. He could not, of course, be expected to admit that Ramgarh is not a part of Bihar proper.

His address is valuable among other things for the lesson which he drew from the ancient history of Bihar. Take, for instance, the following episode and the lesson to be derived from it:

One such incident. There was a time when Raja Ajatsatru was reigning in South Bihar and the Republic of the Vajjies was flourishing in North Bihar. Ajatsatru was desirous of conquering the Vajjies and annexing their territory to his kingdom. Gautama Buddha visited Rajgir which was Ajatsatru's capital and stayed at the hill of Gidhakut. Ajatsatru deputed his Minister Bassakar to Buddha to find out what Buddha's opinion was about his designs against the Vajjies. When Buddha came to know the intention of Ajatsatru he put seven questions to his disciple Anand and on getting replies to them gave his reply to Ajatsatru's question. He asked : 'Anand, have you heard whether the Vajjies hold their assembles frequently and whether these assemblies are well attended ?' Anand replied : 'I have heard, O Lord, that the assemblies of the Vajjies are held frequently and are well attended.' Buddha said: 'Then, O Anand, so long as the assemblies of the Vajjies continue to meet frequently and are well attended you can expect only their progress and not their destruction.' He put six more questions of this nature and on getting satisfactory answers to them replied : 'So long as the Vajjies continue to sit together, to work together, to perform their national duties together; so long as they continue not to issue arbitrary orders without making laws nor to disobey their laws; so long as they continue to act in a collective way according to the rules made by themselves; so long as they continue to respect their elders, to show honour to them, and to **accept such of their advice as is worthy of acceptance;**

so long as they continue not to treat harshly or behave rudely towards their women; so long as they continue to respect their *Chaityas* (religious and national shrines) and not to deprive them of old endowments properly given to them; so long as they give protection to their *arhats* (self-sacrificing learned men) and allow *arhats* from ohtside to enter their territories and *arhats* of their own territory to live in comfort; so long will they continue to prosper and flourish and you should expect no harm to them.' When Ajatsatru heard this, he became convinced that it was not possible to conquer the Vaijies with his armies. How true even today are these seven laws which govern the rise and fall of nations and which were promulgated 2,500 years ago.

Subhas Chandra Bose's Presidential Address

The *Hindusthan Standard*, which has been giving unstinted support to Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, has given the following summary of his presidential address at the Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh :

Replying to those who hold up the Patna Resolution of the Congress Working Committee in order to demonstrate that the Congress has adopted an uncompromising policy, Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, in the course of his Presidential address at the Anti-Compromise Conference, held at Ramgarh on the 19th March, said :

"One has only to go through the whole of the Patna resolution and particularly through the latter portion of it in order to realize that there are loop-holes which detract from the instrinsic value of the resolution. No sooner was this resolution passed than Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the statement that the door had not been banged on future negotiations for a settlement. Mahatmaji's subsequent lengthy remarks on Civil Disobedience do not assure us by any means that the period of struggle has commenced.

"In fact, what has distressed and bewildered us during the last year and a half is the fact that while on the one hand red-hot resolutions are passed and statements issued by members of the Working Committee, simultaneously other remarks are made and statements issued either by Mahatma Gandhi or by other Rightist leaders which create a totally different impression on the average mind."

BRITISHERS KNOW IT

The result of all this has been, said Sj. Bose, that "the British Government have ceased to take the Congress seriously and have formed the impression that however much Congressmen may talk, they will not ultimately show fight."

"A determined and widespread effort is needed," he emphasised, "if we are to stem the rot. To make this effort really effective, our activities should be focussed at an All-India Conference of all those who are determined to have no truck with Imperialism."

THE CRISIS AND THE TASK

Continuing he said,

"The crisis that has overtaken us may be rare in Indian history, but it is nothing new in the history of the world. Such crisis generally appear in periods of transition. In India we are now ringing down the curtain on an age that is passing away, while we are at the same time ushering in the dawn of a new era. The age of imperialism is drawing to a close and the era of freedom, democracy and Socialism looms ahead of us. India, therefore, stands today at one of the cross-roads of history. It is for us to share, if we so will, the heritage that awaits the world."

At this critical hour it is no wonder that men's minds should be bewildered, "but let us not lose faith in ourselves, or in our countrymen or in humanity in this hour of uncertainty. To lose faith would be a calamity of the first magnitude.

THE SUPREME TEST

"Such crises constitute the supreme test of a nation's leadership. The present crisis has put our own leadership to the test and the latter has been unfortunately found wanting. It is only by analysing and exposing the causes of its failure that we can learn the lesson of history and lay the foundation of our future effort and achievement."

Referring to some cheap slogans such as "Unity," "National Front," "Discipline," Sj. Bose said, "Befogged by such attractive slogans, they seem to have forgotten that the supreme need of the hour is a bold, uncompromising policy leading us on to a national struggle. Whatever strengthens us for this purpose is to be welcomed. Whatever weakens us is to be eschewed. Unity which ties us to the apron-strings of Rightist politicians is by no means a blessing."

WHAT IS LEFTISM

Explaining what is meant by Leftism, Sj. Bose said that the present age is the anti-imperialist phase of the movement. When freedom comes, the age of national reconstruction will commence and that will be the Socialistic phase of the movement.

Sounding a note of warning at conclusion, Sj. Bose said :

"A compromise with imperialism will mean that an anti-imperialist national struggle will soon be converted into a civil war among the people themselves. Would that be desirable from any point of view ?"

As we do not belong to either the right wing or the left wing of the Congress, or for that matter to the Hindu Mahasabha or the Hindu Mission or any other similar organization, we do not know what actually any party may be thinking of doing. And as we do not possess the gift of prophecy we cannot say what any party will certainly do or refrain from doing. But we possess a little knowledge of the country, derived partly from books and newspapers and partly from direct contact with some small sections of the people. This knowledge of ours is limited. We neither possess nor claim the omniscience of some great leaders and big journalists. But we feel constrained to speak from the little knowledge we possess.

A struggle for freedom can be either violent or non-violent, or a mixture of both. Non-official India does not possess any equipment for a physical and armed conflict of the modern type. The equipment of India of this description, if there be any at all, cannot stand comparison with even that of any small independent modern country, not to speak of that of a power-

ful state like the British Government. Therefore, the idea of any violent struggle—even a partly violent struggle—for freedom must be absolutely ruled out. If we start any such struggle, we are sure to be routed, with disastrous consequences. This is a truism.

The alternative, therefore, is a non-violent struggle. We know and believe that there are people in the country who will consciously or unconsciously become tools in the hands of the enemies of freedom as soon as even a non-violent fight for freedom is started and will try to give the fight a violent character by taking the offensive themselves. Their nature will not undergo a change as soon as a struggle is begun. Such a prospect ought not, of course, to rule out the starting of a non-violent fight for freedom. But certainly the *sine qua non* for the starting of such a struggle is that the warriors of freedom should themselves be strictly non-violent;—they should remain non-violent under all provocations and attacks of any and every description. That is not an impossible ideal.

Gandhiji is, therefore, right in insisting on strict non-violence if a struggle is to be started. We do not understand the absolute need of spinning and other parts of his constructive programme as preparations and equipment for the struggle, and therefore say nothing relating to them one way or the other.

On the way to and from Malikanda some rightists and some leftists (we do not know their number) were guilty of violence. At Malikanda there was violence of a very wicked character. It is certain the guilty party included non-Gandhites. We are not sure whether rightists also were guilty of violence. Perhaps some of them were. The Calcutta Corporation election campaign has been marked by violence. It cannot be said that the Congressites or, as their opponents would have it, the pseudo-Congressites, had nowhere been violent. If the majority of the dailies are to be believed, it is they who were the aggressors. It is not only in Bengal that Congressmen have offended against the principle of non-violence. Congressite Bihar, U. P., C. P. and Berar, etc., also have had similar records to their discredit.

Such being the case, we do not appreciate the mood of spoiling for a fight. There is no virtue in fighting merely for the sake of fighting. As we have never been in the thick of any fight, we may be pooh-poohed as timid arm-chair politicians. But truth, even from the pen of the timid, is truth.

We believe Mahatmaji is in earnest and will start a civil disobedience campaign, if necessary, and as soon as he gets at least an appreciable number of fit followers.

Even after armed warfare of a very bitter and determined character, the parties to the fight have often to negotiate for a settlement. And sometimes one party has to lose more than if a settlement were negotiated for and arrived at before the fight. So there is nothing discreditable in trying to effect a settlement before beginning a struggle, provided that no essential principle or right is sacrificed. Gandhiji had once regarded Dominion Status as equivalent to the substance of independence. But he has recently declared openly that he has changed his mind and wants a higher—in fact the highest—political status for his country. So we do not just at present apprehend that he would sacrifice any essentials of freedom.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose is undoubtedly entitled to make every effort to prevent any disgraceful compromise, as he thinks that there is an inclination in that direction among rightists. And he may have reasons to think that it is his and his party's attitude which has up till now kept the rightists from backsliding, though he may be wrong. But it would be best for him to avoid precipitating a struggle. We are the more anxious that he should not do so, as we do not find that he has laid stress on non-violence on the part of his fighters for freedom.

He has said in a concluding paragraph :

> In the event of a compromise being effected with imperialism in this country, Indian leftists will in future have to fight not only imperialism, but its new-fangled Indian allies as well. This will necessarily mean that the national struggle against imperialism will be converted into a civil war among the Indians themselves.
>
> A compromise with Imperialism will mean that an anti-imperialist national struggle will soon be converted into a civil war among the people themselves. Would that be desirable from any point of view ?

Of course, not. But does he not see that even without any compromise with imperialism having been effected, there has been civil war not only between some Congressites and non-Congressites of opposite religious persuasions but between different sections of Congressites themselves ? Has that been desirable from any point of view ? We do not think that the mere starting of a struggle will at once put an end to this civil war. On the contrary, it may accentuate it.

Is Subhas Babu Still Proud of Having Scotched City College ?

During the Calcutta Corporation election campaign *Hindusthan Standard* published an

appeal to the rate-payers of Calcutta issued by "Sj. Rajendra Chandra Deb, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee," which contains the following sentences among others :

> "I want to remind you of one point. Did not Subhas Chandra stand for the cause of the Hindu students during the Saraswati Puja incident in the City College and trouble in St. Paul's College and fight for the interests of Hindus with all his power ?"

We are unwilling to rake up what took place years ago, when Subhas Babu tried to ruin City College. But we remember to have heard that Subhas Babu repented of what he had done, apologized to the late Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra and promised to do something to repair the injury he had done, which he could not do because of his long detention as a State prisoner. The truth of what we had heard cannot now be established or tested. But if Sj. Rajendra Chandra Deb has issued his appeal at the request or at least with the knowledge of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, that can be interpreted only to mean that Sj. Bose continues to be proud of his achievement.

Demolition of the Prestige of All Educational Institutions

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of the 22nd February, 1922 :

> "We have demolished the prestige of Government schools. It was perhaps necessary in 1920 to do the picketing and certainly not to mind the boys being neglected. We can now draw more boys and girls by putting existing National schools on a better footing. They have the advantage of being institutions where they breathe free air and where they are not shadowed. But the advantage of scientific training in carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving and of having intellectual training in keeping with the requirement of the country must be added. We shall show by successful experiment the superiority of training in National schools and colleges."

We wonder which institutions Mahatmaji would now call National schools and *colleges*. But let that pass.

His Congress wanted to destroy the prestige of Government schools and succeeded to a great extent. But it turned out to be a greater destroyer of prestige than it intended to be. Now the prestige of all educational institutions, from primary schools to universities, is gone. We hope the pupils of nursery schools and kindergartens have not yet learnt the trick of striking—particularly of hunger-striking.

Scottish Church College Students' Strike

In our last March number, page 261, we mentioned some general principles relating to students' rights of free assembly and free speech and their exercise, with reference to the Scottish Church College affair. We need not repeat them. They still hold good.

We read in the dailies today (28th March, 1940) that the situation relating to the Scottish Church College students' strike remains unchanged, that two students have begun a hungerstrike and some others are likely to follow suit. We are very sorry to read all this. We are particularly pained to learn that there are even two students who are so lacking in a sense of proportion as to stake their lives on securing what they consider their right to hold a protest meeting in a building which does not belong to them, and that against the express prohibition of its proprietors.

We have not liked the calling in of the police, and the arrest of many students. As we do not like students' strikes, for schools and colleges are not factories exploiting the labouring students, we have not followed the course of events so attentively as to be able to say who are to blame now, the college authorities or the students, or both. But in the very beginning the students were undoubtedly to blame.

The principal of the college is an old man, a European foreigner, a Christian missionary, a single individual, and a teacher. But these facts will not incline us to think that he is wrong, nor that he is necessarily right. The other party consists of students. They are young, they are Indians, they are our Nationals, they are many in number, and they are mostly Hindus. But these facts also do not prove that they are either necessarily right or necessarily wrong. We could wish we had the leisure and the patience to read and digest all the statements and counter-statements on the subject which have appeared in the press to be able to make a pronouncement on it. But we regret we have neither.

The matter is serious. We shall be glad indeed if some of our leaders can bring about a settlement between the parties which will not require any of the two to sacrifice any principle.

Congress General Secretary's Circular to P. C. C.s

The assertion that the recent acts of Government far from satisfying the legitimate demands of the peo-

ple go to prove that the Government is out to consolidate its hold in India, and that, therefore, the only answer which the nation can give to this "offensive" on the part of Government is the starting of civil disobedience, is made by Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress to all the Provincial Congress Committees.

Mr. Kripalani says that the resolution passed at Ramgarh must be read with what Mahatma Gandhi has since written in the columns of the "Harijan" and his two speeches at Ramgarh. Reminding the Provincial Committees that the conditions laid down by Mahatma Gandhi must be fulfilled by Congressmen to facilitate his giving the word of command for the commencement of the struggle for freedom, the circular adds that the renewed efforts must be put forth to carry on the Constructive Programme, that Congressmen must close their ranks and that the Congress organisation must be made powerful and efficient.

The Circular continues: "We may not forget that the struggle is inherent in the situation. Nay, it had already commenced. It started with the sending of Indian soldiers abroad without the consent of the Central Legislature. The offensive was continued by the amendments to the Government of India Act and the refusal of the British Government to state clearly its war and peace aims. By the arrest of Congressmen and Communists the Government have added one more item to its offensive. The Congress stands for civil liberty, for the liberty of the press and the platform and for conscience. It cannot, therefore, view with indifference the recent arrest, specially when these are made under the War Ordinances and when, as in the case of Communists, citizens are interned for indefinite periods without a trial. There has also been a reversal of policy in the Congress controlled provinces. All these acts go to prove that the Government, far from satisfying the legitimate demands of the people, is out to consolidate its position and perpetuate its hold in India. The only answer that the nation can give to this offensive is the starting of Civil Disobedience. This can be done when the nation has made itself ready for the fight in terms of the requirements laid down by Mahatma Gandhi without whose leadership there can be, in the present circumstances no non-violent fight.

The circular requires the provincial committees to send to the A. I. C. C. fortnightly reports of the work done.

Music Ministers to Minds Diseased

Congreve wrote in *Mourning Bride,*

> "Music has charms to soothe a savage breast,
> To soften rocks, or bend a knotted oak."

And Shakespeare made one of his characters in *Macbeth* ask :

> "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
> And with some sweet oblivious antidote
> Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart ?"

And perhaps the soothing effect of music, its power to calm the troubled breast, has been known for ages. But probably the curative virtues of music and rhythmic dance came to be definitely known and utilized later.

We read in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Ranchi Indian Mental Hospital for the year 1938, recently received, some paragraphs relating to "Bratachari Movement as applied to Nervous and Mental Disorders." Lt.-Col. J. E. Dhunjibhoy, I.M.S., Superintendent of the Hospital, writes there :

"During my last leave to United Kingdom I had attended a striking demonstration of physical exercises combined with musical rhythm in one of the London County Council Mental Hospitals of England. It is known as the Margaret Morris Movement, and in England remedial exercise classes of this movement are now opened in several Mental Hospitals and private homes for the care and treatment of the insane. The physical exercises in Margaret Morris Movement classes are set to Schubert marches and Waltzes which are played either on Piano or on Gramophone records. However, in Mental Hospitals where it is more important to get a response from patients than to educate their musical taste, any music is beneficial which appeals to them."

Lieut.-Col. Dhunjibhoy proceeds to explain how music benefits the patients.

"In mental patients the participation in such exercises provides a strong mental stimulus sustaining the patients' interest when treatment has to be continued over a long period and makes co-operation between patients habitual. The knowledge that they are a part of a group and not separate units tends to take their minds off their troubles and helps the self-conscious to forget themselves. One of the modern prescriptions of early nervous diseases in Europe as well as in Harley Street is the recommendation to attend regularly the ball room dance classes."

Dr. Dhunjibhoy then proceeds to write on *"Bratachari Movement as Applied to Nervous and Mental Disorders"* Says he,

'A few months ago I attended a demonstration of the Bratachari Movement in Calcutta under its versatile founder and leader, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., ... and was much impressed with all that I saw, and found many points in common between the Bratachari Movement and the Margaret Morris School of dancing so far as it can be applied to the treatment of nervous and mental disorders. I therefore decided to introduce Bratachari Movement in this Hospital, as it is more suitable for my patients than the Margaret Morris Movement. Mr. G. S. Dutt very kindly helped us in this matter and he agreed to train one of our staff specially selected for this training. He was allowed to attend the 8th All-Bengal Bratachari Training Camp held in Calcutta for six weeks during 1938. Since his return to Ranchi, he has trained a class of 10 Attendants in Bratachari Movement and shortly regular remedial classes will be held under these trained staff and Bratachari exercises will be prescribed to the patients with certain modifications suiting their temperament and physique. I have no doubt whatever that Bratachari Movement properly and skilfully applied will be as successful in the Indian Mental Hospitals as the Margaret Morris Movement has proved its worth in the English Mental Hospitals."

On reading the above we wrote to Lieut.-Col. Dhunjibhoy to kindly communicate to us the result of the introduction of Bratachari dance and music in his hospital. He has very courteously written to us :

"I am glad to be able to say that 'Bratachari Dance' referred to in my Annual Report of this hospital for the year 1938 has been found to be really very encouraging and entertaining to the patients. Ten Attendants and 10 patients have so far been trained by the Attendant who was specially trained in the "Bratachari Movement." Remedial classes are held every evening and some of the patients have adopted it nicely."

Hindu Princes and the Hindu Cause

On the afternoon of March 14 last at a reception given to H. H. the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Navanagar and Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes by the Hindu Mahasabha the former is reported to have said, "speaking as a Hindu and a Rajput":

Whatever might have been their history, Rajputs had always put their religion first. 'We are Hindus and whenever Hinduism is threatened neither I nor my brother Princes can remain behind to defend it to the last.' Proceeding the Chancellor referred to the recent statements that the Princes were the creation of British bayonets. He declared that it was just the contrary. It was British India, as its very name showed, which was the creation of the British in India. 'We have kept yellow a part of India on the map. Why do you want to turn it into red? I am sure you do not like red colour, which is the emblem of Bolshevism. Let us make the whole map of India yellow.'

Whether Navanagar was a "creation of British bayonets", one cannot say definitely without ransacking the pages of history, but that many of the Princes are so is certain. And it is undoubtedly true that, but for fear of British bayonets, very many Princes could and would have been deposed by their subjects. Therefore, the Jam Sahib and his like would do well to listen to the advice of the present Viceroy (and of many a predecessor of his) to set their houses in order.

The Jam Sahib should know and remember that a Hindu prince can deserve to be considered such only by following the high example of King Janaka of Mithila and the precepts laid down in our shastras by the rishis for the guidance of the rulers of men. Hinduism is not a synonym for autocracy and a bundle of superstitions. Even school boys know that in ancient times there were many Hindu republics.

The 'red' symbolizing British rule is not the same as the 'red' symbolizing Bolshevism.

We do not care either for 'red' or for 'yellow.' The princes can be tolerated by the Time-spirit only if they be constitutional rulers, for republics of some sort or other have been displacing monarchies all over the world and a monarchy like the United Kingdom has survived only because it is a Crowned Republic.

The Jam Sahib said that Indian Rulers had existed and God willing would continue to exist. 'We think we have passed our worst, and at last Indian India is wanted by British India to come to its aid.'

"Indian India is wanted by British India to come to its aid," may be understood in one of two senses, as stress is laid either on the word British or on the word India. The British element in "British India" wants the aid of Princes in Indian India in order to maintain and safeguard its imperialism and autocracy. But the Indian element in British India wants the Indian element in "Indian India" to make common cause with it for the triumph of freedom and justice.

The Chancellor said that the Rulers wanted British India to come up to their level. Some of their critics in British India, on the other hand, wanted to drag down the Princes to their level. 'That shall not happen. Today Hinduism, like the Indian states, is attacked from within and without. But the Princes will make sacrifices and stem the tide. We too will advance in time. But we are the best judges of this advance. We will share the responsibility with our people. But our people must demand and deserve it. One thing is certain. We will not hand over responsibility to anarchy and disorder.'

The Jam Sahib appealed for a united India and said that they who lived in India were like a big family. The more they met the more they understood each other.

Is it "up to" or "down to" their level? In some cases and in certain directions it is "up to," but in most cases it is "down to", as we shall presently make plain by an example.

"We too will advance in time"; yes, just as British imperialism will grant freedom to India in some unknown and undefined future!

"We are the best judges of the advance." How gramophone-like! The British Government has also said that responsible government will be given to India step by step, and that Government is to be a judge of the time and extent of the advance at every step. "But our people must demand and deserve it." Again, the gramophone. From British India the demand has long since been made, but British imperialists say, it is not a united and universal demand, but a demand coming from only a small fraction of the people, who, again, do not deserve freedom for various 'communal' and other reasons. Similarly, the demand has been made in Indian India, but the Jam Sahib ignores

it, and, in any case, says in effect that the people do not deserve it.

"One thing is certain. We will not hand over responsibility to anarchy and disorder." This is the Jam Sahib's paraphrase of the British demand that India must prove her ability to maintain order internally and to defend herself from external attacks,—it being understood all the while that the power and equipment to do so must rest in hands other than those of the people and of their representatives !

Edward Thompson wrote in *Time and Tide*, January 1st, 1938 :

> "Everyone who approaches an Indian prince brings butter in a trowel."

That may not be true, and we believe is not true, of *every* one who approaches *any* Indian prince. But "the more they met the more they understood each other" would be true to the extent that Edward Thompson's description of princes and their visitors proves incorrect.

As promised in a previous passage, we shall exemplify the level of administration in some states. We think only one example will suffice. In making the following extracts from Leonard M. Schiff's *The Present Condition of India*, published early last year by Quality Press, Ltd., London, we do not in the least suggest that *all* states are like what Navanagar has been represented in it to be :

> One of the most popular figures in England used to be Ranji, the cricketer. He is dead. But let us look at his state, Navanagar, a petty state in Kathiawar, one of many such.
>
> "No person, association, gathering should address a public meeting on political matters without the permission of the political secretary, which should be secured in advance. . . . . No political meeting of any kind should be held" (Order of 1921, still in force). Even social and religious meetings are gagged. There is no Press law. All political papers are forbidden, while social and religious periodicals are not permitted to refer to politics, the Editors having to sign a bond of Rs. 500.
>
> There is in this, as in many other states, no liberty of person. No judiciary can issue *Habeas Corpus* for the bodies of persons illegally detained by orders of the Maharajah or his officers. Nothing but an oral or executive order is needed to seize property of any citizen. In the capital city of Navanagar, which is large, cultured and containing men of outstanding ability, the people have no voice in the administration of the municipality. It is administered by one officer of state. Innumerable taxes are collected, and the municipality has a total revenue of Rs. 1,71,904, yet the people have no say in its allotment. There are special roads reserved for cars (which virtually means the Prince, because there are few private cars). There are also public roads which are banned to bullock-carts, though a heavy wheel tax is collected for these carts. There are twelve towns and 675 villages in the state; 35 per cent at least live in villages. Outside Navanagar there are no municipalities of importance and in the villages there is no semblance of municipal amenities; no sanitation, lighting, roads, nor are there local boards, *panchayats* or the like. There are two beautiful roads from Navanagar to the Prince's health resort and hunting-camp respectively. Both are marked "Not for carts."

As for legislation and administration, it is stated :

> In this state there is no legislative body. It is true the Prince once declared to the Viceroy that he had moved with the times and had established an advisory council. The facts are that in 1919 the Jam Sahib issued an order establishing a council and *appointing* certain gentlemen as members. It was summoned to meet and the Jam Sahib delivered an address and so did the Maharajah of Alwar, who was on a visit to the State; it dispersed. So far as I can gather, it has never met again or been referred. (The Introduction to the book in which this passage occurs was written in May, 1938. Ed., *M. R.*)
>
> There is no proper legislation. Administration is run by orders, circulars and rules issued at the sweet will of the ruler and his secretaries. In the Administration Report of the State it is impossible to get any clear conception of its finances. As in other States, there is a fixed civil list, but all sorts of expenditure will be debited to different heads. Superfluous palaces are debited to public works, money spent on princelings to education, and so on. Independent auditing is never allowed in most States. In Navanagar there are state monopolies, not only of intoxicants, but also of tobacco, cotton and salt. Villagers are instructed to smoke more and use more salt !

Some more details follow and are reproduced below to complete the picture.

> The *shikar* (hunt) in this state is famous not only for its variety, but also for the luxurious arrangements of the camps. These involve all kinds of petty tyrannies for the people, who are forbidden to kill the wild beasts that damage the crops and kill the inhabitants. For instance, in the village of Bhalsan an old lady was pounced on by a panther and killed. None dared to rescue her. Many other cases could be cited. In this state, as in many others, innumerable villagers have to leave their work and labour compulsorily at times of *shikar*. There are an incredible number of taxes. An agriculturist has to pay more than 60 per cent of his income in taxes. Enormous sums are spent on the personal luxuries of the ruler, estimated at 50 per cent of the revenues. The poorest people have to pay for his fishing in Ireland and his other foreign tours.
>
> The coming to a state of a Viceroy or some other distinguished visitor involves mad expenditure. Lord Irwin's visit to Navanagar alone cost 27 *lakhs* of rupees. It included the purchase of thirty-four new cars, of which two were Rolls and four were Lanchesters, and a new ship. Rs. 100,000 were spent on the state banquet.
>
> In 1926-27 1·5 per cent was spent on education; 0·9 per cent on medicine. There were sixteen dispensaries as compared to twenty-nine liquor shops.

Though the extracts given above relate only to one state, they give an idea of the con-

dition of a great many more. And that is our excuse for devoting so much space to them.

Rare Old Manuscripts Damaged or Destroyed By Pests

The following paragraphs have appeared in the dailies in English or in translation :

The scholarly world of India will perhaps be shocked to learn that thousands of valuable manuscripts collected during the last 150 years through the pioneering efforts of both British and Indian scholars and kept so long in the stock rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, have been lost to them and lost for ever.

Although the authorities are reticent in taking the public into confidence in the matter of explaining the extent of the loss sustained and the circumstances that led to it, it is learnt very reliably, that the loss is shockingly considerable and that it has been due to the criminal negligence on the part of the authorities in not taking due care about this unique possession of the foremost institute of learning of the East, for the last decades.

PRECIOUS POSSESSIONS

It may be recalled here that the number of these manuscripts—they are in Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, Arabic, Tibetan and various other Indian languages—exceeds 50,000. They are some of the most precious possessions of the Society and have been collected during the last 150 years by both British and Indian scholars of high repute. They have either been presented to the Society or purchased or loaned. There are among these a large number of manuscripts which are regarded by expert scholars as rare and unavailable anywhere else.

Certain grants are annually made by both the Central and Provincial Governments to the Society for the preservation and cataloguing of these manuscripts. But it is now learnt that during the last decade not only was no cataloguing done but what is worse, thousands of these manuscripts have been allowed to be damaged beyond repair by insects. Recently a large number of them were brought out to the reading room of the Society for inspection and repairs and visitors and readers had the first chance of examining the deplorable condition of these valuable documents of old times.

"The Council of the Society," said a prominent scholar who frequently goes to the Society, "should at once set up an Enquiry Committee in order to find out how these national treasures of India have been damaged and who are responsible for this loss".

Bengalis in Bihar On Bengalis in Bengal and in Bihar

The second session of the Annual Conference of the Bengalee Association in Bihar was concluded at Hazaribagh on the 23rd March last after adopting a number of resolutions. The following are some of the important resolutions, adopted by the Conference :

Believing that complete unity is essential for the very existence of Bengal, this Conference requests Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Sj. Sarat Bose and their followers on the one hand and Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Dr. Bidhan Roy and their followers on the other to close up their ranks and to form one united party in Bengal. This Conference deeply deplores the controversy between the former Bengal leaders and the Bengal Press and while it requests the former to call off the boycott against the Press, it requests the latter to be true to its high tradition and do nothing which may be detrimental to the unity of Bengal and the interests of the Bengalees as a whole.

That in view of the coming census and to counteract the attempts to oust the Bengali language from the areas which are predominantly Bengali speaking, a Committee be formed with headquarters at Purulia and consisting of representatives from the districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Singhbhum, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Santal Parganas and Manbhum.

This Conference of the Bengalee Association states clearly and in most unequivocal terms that the objects of the association has never been nor shall it be to find employment for Bengalees in Government or Public Services, nor is it maintained as a Public Service Bureau.

This Conference of the Bengalee Association makes it clear that in the objects of the Association the expression "interests of the Bengalis" was never intended to mean interest of the Bengalis in Government services or public services.

This conference warns young generations of the Bengalis in Bihar against futile pursuit after Government or public services which are very limited and cannot satisfy the demands for employment of an educated people like the Bengalis, even in a substantial manner, and implores them to take to commercial and industrial enterprises even on a small scale and on a collective basis of co-operative system.

In pursuance of the objects stated in the memorandum of association, "vide clause 3 (k)", this conference resolves that the attention of the Association should be directed more specifically to establishment of industrial, banking and agricultural enterprises by Bengalis in Bihar and that the Executive Committee of the Association should proceed to give immediate effect to the same by establishing and promoting small cottage industries, agricultural farming, co-operative societies and co-operative banks in all districts as far as practicable and by encouraging individual enterprises in these directions.

In pursuance of the objects stated in the memorandum of Association clause 3 (a) and (c) this conference resolves that the Association and its individual members should henceforth take active interest in and as far as practicable co-operate with all progressive organisations in this province and participate in all progressive activities in this province.

Resolved that the Association recommends that a Bengali Chamber of Commerce be formed for Chota Nagpur and that Rai Sahib S. K. Gupta do take steps to form the same.

All these resolutions are quite timely and have our support.

Tamilnadu Hindu Mahasabha Conference

Resolutions welcoming the Viceroy's declaration of Dominion Status as a step towards independence, asking the Government to implement the declaration now without waiting for the end of the war and urging that steps be

taken to preserve the solidarity of the Hindu nation, were passed by the Tamilnadu Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Salem on the 25th March last.

Resolutions were also passed supporting the move for a military and naval college in the south and asking Dr. Moonjee to take steps to start the same, denouncing Mr. Jinnah's plea for two separate nations and stoutly opposing the partition of India into two.

Sir Mirza Ismail's Message to Hindu Mahasabha Conference

Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, in a message to the Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Salem states :

"Communal conferences and organisations are sometimes regarded as being inconsistent with true nationalism. That view ignores the basic fact that our land is a land of many communities each of which should have ample opportunity to attain its full development without prejudice of course to the development of the others or of the country as a whole.

"A communal movement is inimical to the true interests of the country only to the extent that it encourages the growth of exclusive or violent communal loyalty or a militant particularist spirit. It can, on the other hand, do positive good to itself and to the country, if those concerned always endeavour to utilise occasions such as the one offered, for example, by the convention of the Tamilnadu Hindu Mahasabha Conference, not only to further the interests of the particular community but also to stimulate a feeling of brotherhood among all. In the earnest hope that the proposed Tamilnadu Hindu Mahasabha Conference would strive to work for this two-fold objective, I wish its deliberations all possible success."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar on Hindu Consolidation

The declaration that the Hindu Mahasabha could not tolerate and would oppose with all its might the Muslim idea of dividing India into two zones was made by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, addressing a large gathering at Madras on the 25th March last.

Mr. Savarkar blamed the Congress leaders for stating that Swaraj could not be achieved without Hindu-Muslim unity. The speaker said that from that statement onwards the attainment of unity between the two communities had become more difficult. The Hindu Mahasabha, he said, would be quite prepared to be with the Congress in framing a constitution for India provided the Congress would guarantee that representation of various communities in the machinery for the working of that constitution would be on the basis of population and merit.

Mr. Savarkar referred to Mr. Jinnah's demand that Indian troops should not be sent out to fight against any outside Muslim power and asked whether the representatives of his community in the Parliament of a free India would not object to Indian troops fighting against a foreign Muslim power that tried to invade India.

Opening a branch of the Hindu Mahasabha in George Town, Mr. Savarkar said :

there was no hope whatsoever of India being free as a nation unless the Hindus consolidated themselves into one strong unit. Mr. Savarkar asked why the Hindus should not organize themselves into a pan-Hindu body and fight for their legitimate rights. The Hindus had been in the country from very ancient times and all they wanted was that India should be a Hindustan and not an Anglostan or a Pakistan. "Those who like to be assimilated with us will have their legitimate place, a place of equality with us. But we will not barter away our freedom to any other nation," he added.

Visva-Bharati Suffers From Paucity Of Funds

The fact that, but for Mahatma Gandhi's willingness to help in improving the finances of Santiniketan, certain of the departments of this world-famous centre of culture and learning might not have been able to continue was recently revealed to the "Associated Press" by Mr. Rathindranath Tagore, General Secretary of Visva-Bharati.

Mr. Tagore explained that

Visva-Bharati, which is now approaching its fortieth year, is a registered corporate body under the control of an elected Executive Council and a Board of Trustees. The institution is almost entirely dependent upon public generosity, only one department, Kalabhavana—"The Home of Arts"—, being in any way endowed.

Run on Deficit

The school and college at Santiniketan—known respectively as the Patha-Bhavana and the Siksha-Bhavana—at present run on a deficit which amounts annually to about Rs. 15,000. Around the school, which was established in 1901, the whole institution of Visva-Bharati has grown. The school held its classes in the open air, and aimed at the teaching of languages by the direct method, training the senses through indoor games and handicrafts, and developing civic responsibility by conducting the activities of the school on a basis of self-government. It has become a model for similar schools all over the world, but lack of finance prevents improvements being made.

Similarly in the college, where students from all parts of India are taught, it has not yet been found possible to start the much-needed scientific section.

One of the best-known departments of Visva-Bharati, the "Sangit-Bhavana," or "Home of Music," requires at least a lakh of rupees to consolidate its position, while the activities of the "Hindi-Bhavana," the initial funds for which were contributed by the Marwari community of Calcutta, are held up for want of proper equipment.

Future Imperilled

The future of the two departments of higher studies and research "Vidyabhavana" and "Cheenabhavana"—is imperilled. The "Cheenabhavana," the capital for which was subscribed by the people of China, is the only centre of Sino-Indian culture; it is housed in a fine

building and possesses a valuable library, but its future finances are uncertain.

The Visva-Bharati library is one of the finest in India, but many of its most valuable possessions—the gifts of many nations—are cramped together in inadequate space.

Substantial results have been achieved during the 17 years of its existence by the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visva-Bharati.

But efforts to improve educational, industrial, sanitary and other conditions in the rural areas are hampered by lack of money. This department at present depends for its existence on an annual grant from abroad.

There are some rich men and more well-to-do men in Bengal. They should wipe out Bengal's reproach that this province has not made any appreciable contribution to the Poet's university.

THE POET'S AIM

Mr. Rathindranath Tagore indicated a number of other directions in which improved finances would enable the activities of Visva-Bharati to be extended. He explained that it was the life's aim of his father, the poet, to establish the institution on a sound financial basis. "Ever since the founding of Visva-Bharati, he has spared no pains to make the institution a meeting-place for the best intellects of the world. 'Where the whole world finds shelter'—that is the motto of Visva-Bharati."

Observance of National Week from April Sixth

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, in a circular letter issued to all the Provincial Congress Committees about the celebration of the "National Week" from April 6 to April 13, traces the history of the "National Week" which, he says, has been observed since 1919, when the country renews its determination to achieve its goal and intensify the work preparatory to struggle. Constructive work, he continues, has formed the main feature of the celebrations and this year the "National Week" assumes a special significance because of the insistence of Mahatma Gandhi that he would lead no struggle unless the constructive work of the Congress has been effectively carried out. The following appeal issued by Mahatma Gandhi in *Harijan* in connection with the observance of the "National Week" is reproduced in the letter.

"On the 6th of April, 1919 the masses of India found their feet. It was the inauguration of Civil Disobedience. Its non-violent character was signalized by fasting and prayer. Hindus and Muslims fraternised as they had never done before. The vow of Swadeshi was taken by tens of thousands.

"The 13th of April. 1919, saw the massacre in which Hindu, Muslim and Sikh blood flowed promiscuously.

"The National Week is observed as a week of self-purification in which sales of Khadi and other products of village industries are organised on a large scale. I have said and I repeat that there is no Swaraj for the masses except through Khadi and other village crafts, for there is no non-violent disobedience without sustained constructive effort.

"A living continuous mass contact is impossible without some constructive programme requiring almost daily contact of the workers with the masses. I hope, therefore, that the forthcoming week will be celebrated by all earnest workers with due solemnity and with intensive sales of Khadi and other products of village handicrafts."—*A. P. I.*

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and his party are also to begin their struggle or campaign on the 6th April. It is to be hoped that there will be no clash between Gandhites and Boseites.

"Political Vocabulary Lacking in Urdu"

According to a report in *The Tribune* of Lahore, dated March 27 last, Dr. Bool Chand made the following observations among others in the course of his presidential address at the Urdu Week celebrations at Delhi on 20th March, 1940:

"I think the reason for all these shortcomings of Urdu journalism must be fundamentally discovered in the weaknesses of the Urdu language. It must be admitted that the Urdu language, compared to, for instance, the English language, does not as yet form a very easy and suitable vehicle of journalism. It does not yield itself to the expression of ideas in strong language without at the same time breaking the law, as does the English language. The truth of this will be evident to anybody who tries to analyse the figures of sedition cases against newspapers in India.

"May I, therefore, say that unless Urdu language is helped to develop this political vocabulary I can see no great future for the development of Urdu journalism; and that, as I said, since the development of journalism is quite an important and essential factor in the progress of a literature, it is high time that the litterateurs and well-wishers of the Urdu language give their serious attention to this matter."

Board for Scientific and Industrial Research

It has been officially stated the Government of India have decided to set up from April 1, 1940, a Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, and have obtained the consent of some of the prominent scientists and industrialists in the country to serve as its members. The setting up of the Board is timely.

The Board will be a consultative body and its functions will be to advise Government as to the lines on which industrial research should be conducted and

the channels into which it should be guided in order to ensure the co-ordinated development of India's industries, particularly those the importance and possibilities of which have been prominently brought into the foreground as a result of war conditions. The war has deprived India of some of its essential imports and has curtailed others with the result that some of the major existing industries are finding difficulties in maintaining their normal working. On the other hand. demands for war materials from the empire and Allied countries and also for India's own requirements in this field call for an increase in industrial activities in India. . . . . .

The composition of the Board has been so designed as to ensure that all proposals for research are examined and judged not only from the scientific but also from the commercial standpoint in order that technical possibilities and practical considerations are fully weighed at every stage. The first board will consist of the following gentlemen who have accepted membership of the board :

Dr. J. C. Ghose, Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Sir H. P. Mody, Syed Sultan Ahmad, Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Lala Shri Ram, Mr. P. F. G. Warren and Dr. N. N. Law.

The Commerce Member of the Government of India will be chairman of the board. and the Chief Controller of Stores, India Stores department, will be its first vice-chairman. Government have been able to secure the services of Dr. Bhatnagar, head of the Punjab University Chemical Laboratories, as director of scientific and industrial research.

The executive staff of the board will be attached to the Commerce department. . . .

A sum of five lakhs has been provided in the next year's budget in connection with the work of the board, of which about one lakh will be utilized by the board on its administrative side, and the balance will be available for other purposes of the board, including distribution of grants, subsidies and scholarships.—*A. P. I.*

Five lakhs is not an excessively large sum for the purposes in view. If in spite of its inadequacy and of the controlling and executive official element in the Board, some new industries are started, we hope they will not be left in the lurch by the Government as soon as the war is over.

H. G. Wells on Lord Halifax

An esteemed friend has sent us the following extract from *New World Order* by Mr. H. G. Wells :

"Nor do we feel safe with our Foreign Office. There has never been a sincerely democratic Foreign Office in the world. For all we know the war is already being sold by secret treaty, behind our backs. That happened during the last war. The mass of us is uneasy on these points.

"Lord Halifax has recently lent his name to one of the *most mischievous reactionary documents* ever issued to the detriment of the British people, *The British Case by Lord Lloyd and 'Another,'* recently issued by Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode. It is **emphatically what we are not fighting for.** *It is a gross insult to the Jews, to our coloured fellow-citizens,* to Allies, and to everyone outside the Blimp-Anglican world and a barefooted preparation for a religious war against Russia. Emphatically it has to be repudiated by putting Lord Halifax out of office." (Italics ours. Ed., *M.R.*)

Yet, according to a section of Englishmen and also a number of Indians, Lord Halifax is a 'Christian' gentleman, full of benevolent sentiment towards Indians !

We have not seen the pamphlet "The British case by Lord Lloyd and 'Another'." We shall be glad to have some details about it from any Indian reader who may have read it.

Labour Demand of 25 Per Cent. Dearness Allowance

The demand of the labourers for a twenty-five per cent. dearness allowance is justified by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, M.L.A., President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, in a press statement. Dr. Banerjee cites statistics to show that the increase in current prices over pre-war prices is more than twenty-five per cent. and disputes Government's statement that the increase in prices is not more than seven or eight per cent. He urges Government to revise their decision and to see that the demand of labourers is conceded by the companies concerned.

The demand of the labourers is just. But the cost of production in some industries has increased, reducing the profits. And some other industries are working at a loss. So *all* industries are not in a position to increase wages to an equal extent. Some are not at all able to do so.

Sweepers' Strike in Calcutta

We are in the midst of a sweepers' strike in Calcutta. They are a more vital element in the population of a big city like Calcutta than any other. All their reasonable and legitimate demands ought to be met. Living has become dearer even for the humblest among us, and it is not recently that the Calcutta sweepers received an addition to their wages. So they ought to have another increase. If the Corporation cannot afford it, there ought to be retrenchment in some directions. That is not impracticable. In any case things should be so managed that these humble friends may not receive bullets instead of bread.

Presidential Address at All-India Kisan Sabha

The fifth session of the All-India Kisan Sabha was held last month at Palasa in the Vizagapatam district of Andhra-desa. Sri Rahula Sankrityayana, the president, being in

detention under the Defence of India Act, his address was read out by another person. The pith and marrow of his address is contained in the following passage :

"I submit with all the emphasis at my command that Socialist reorganization of agriculture will alone solve the agrarian problem of our country. Unless the whole system is thoroughly overhauled and reconstructed on the principles of socialism no permanent relief can be given to peasantry."

That is undoubtedly a remedy, though it may not be immediately practicable.

Sri Sankritayana painted a grim picture of the condition of the peasantry in India, which has reached its climax since the introduction of the new system after the advent of the British. He made a dispassionate analysis of the situation and showed the extent of their sufferings and the strain on the economic system of the country as a result of the evergrowing pressure on land.

Without instituting any historical comparison between the present condition of our peasantry and that in pre-British days it can be safely said that their present condition is deplorable.

He referred to the recent governmental efforts to improve agriculture, but observed :

"We can say that imperialism cannot solve the agrarian problem even in its own interest. It cannot abolish feudal vested interests without weakening itself, for these are one of the major props of its political hold over the country. It cannot hit the indigenous merchant capital which has penetrated agriculture without hitting directly its own commercial and trading interests."

Dealing with the role of the peasantry in the freedom movement of India, he said,

"the peasantry has been the chief force behind all political struggles of the past, but it has not yet played a decisive role." ..

We are quite willing to give due credit to the peasantry for the part taken by them in the political struggle whenever and wherever they have done so. But we cannot but condemn the habit of labour leaders and peasant leaders of slighting or ignoring the part played in India's freedom's fight by the middle class gentry, whom these peasant and labour leaders (themselves belonging to the middle class for the most part) derisively refer to as the bourgeoisie.

Sri Rahula complained of the treatment the peasants' cause received at the hands of Congress. Did he forget Champaran and Bardoli, for example ? He observed :

"The bitter experiences born of the capituatory policy of the Congress High Command during the past two struggles has naturally awakened all the exploited sections of the Indian society, especially the workers and peasants. to the urgency of building up of their class organisations."

All such accusations ought to be properly and accurately documented in order that they may be scrutinised.

"We cannot leave or ignore the Congress and we cannot allow the great National organization to remain under the hegemony of the reformist bourgeoisie, because it is the toiling workers and peasants of India who with their very life-blood have made the Congress what it is to-day. We have yet much to do in the way of revitalising and democratising this great body and I am confident that we shall not fail to act up to our responsibilities in this respect."

We have no desire to deprive the peasants and workers who have given their life-blood to build up the Congress, whenever and wherever they have done so, of any credit. But why ignore the sacrifices of the middle class ? Let us take the case of the province which we know best. The number of State prisoners, detenus, internees and other political sufferers of both sexes has been the largest in Bengal. Of these political sufferers the vast majority, if not all, belonged to the middle class.

Let the peasants and workers and their advocates do all they can to strengthen the Congress, but let them not falsify history.

Referring to the campaign of repression in many provinces, the president said :

"The challenge has to be met with the united strength and the determination of all those who are downtrodden and exploited in this country. The Congress leadership is hesitating. It is up to us to set the pace so effectively and with such zeal and fire that it becomes impossible for Mahatma Gandhi or for any one else to barter away National Freedom for a mess of pottage in the form of some improvement in the present Government of India Act."

Meeting the challenge boldly and unflinchingly is undoubtedly necessary.

The concluding sentences may serve a useful purpose, though they unnecessarily and insultingly assume that Gandhiji's past record makes it probable for him to prove a traitor to the national cause, and that useful purpose is that, when it is found in future that Mahatma Gandhi has not bartered away National freedom for a mess of pottage, Sri Rahula and his comrades may be able to say, "it is our warning which prevented Gandhiji from doing so"! The labour leaders' and peasant leaders' pose of superiority is amusing. They are entitled to say what they have done and intend to do, but not to cast aspersions on others indirectly for what the others have not yet done and may not do in future.

"*To Them, Pigs are Clean*

As part, we presume, of Anti-Indian-Freedom propaganda, the London *News Review*,

February 8, 1940, page 17, publishes a snapshot showing "Gandhi and President Dr. Rajendra Prasad at a Congress Working Committee Conclave." Below the snapshot, "taken by ex-President Jawaharlal Nehru," are the words in italics, "*To them, pigs are clean.....*"! The accompanying note in this British weekly explains that "To a Muslim, pigs are unclean." But "*To them,*" that is, to Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad, "*pigs are clean.....*" The British public and the non-Indian public outside Britain are to believe that Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad have been feasting on pork and bacon all their lives! British ignorance, or mendacity, or malice, or wild imaginative flights, should have a limit.

Some Indian States and Princes as Depicted by a British Journal

News Review, February 22, 1940, contains brief descriptions of some Indian States and Princes, from which we take the following bits, not vouching for their accuracy, of course :

Hyderabad.—Wealth certainly abounds in the Native States.* The Princes include among them the world's richest man, Lieut.-Gen. His Exalted Highness Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.

Ruler of the most potent and extensive (?) State, about the size of the United Kingdom, the Nizam has an approximate daily income of £1,000, derived from a total capital of £280,000,000. His jewels are worth £30,000,000. He possesses gold bar worth £50,000,000.

Despite this staggering fortune, it is an old custom in Hyderabad for the ruler never to receive a subject, however poor, unless he brings with him a cash present for his Exalted Highness.

Yet the cavalcades of elephants which most Indian rulers consider necessary adjuncts of a procession are frowned on in Hyderabad. One is sufficient for the word's richest ruler, who runs a 29-year old Rolls Royce.

Then comes

Mysore.—Second richest man in India, possibly in the world, is the Maharaja of Mysore, second largest (?) Native State. About the size of Scotland, it has a population twice as large.

Freer with his money than Hyderabad's Nizam is British-tutored Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, "The Gentleman of Madras." . . . .

At the age of 18 the Maharaja began his reign. Twenty-two years later, in 1924, he created a parliament. Aided by his Muslim Premier he has wrought many reforms and Mysore's efficient administration has gained it the name of "the Model State."

This is followed by

Gwalior.—Reputedly the third richest man is the 23-year-old Maharaja of Gwalior, whose jewels alone are worth £4,000,000. With the help of elderly Sir Manubhai Mehta, his Premier, he governs on progressive lines.

Last year he replaced the nominated Assembly by a Lower House, half of whose members were elected, and an Upper House, half of whose members were elected. Twenty per cent. of the State's population of some 3,000,000, is enfranchised.

The Lower House has power to initiate legislation and to criticize the Budget, but such subjects as foreign politics, Army, Constitution, etc., are taboo.

Gwalior State has more than 700 boys' schools with 40,000 students, also 134 girls' schools with 5,000 students, and 35 high schools. Expenditure of the Education Department runs to more than £100,000.

Gwalior is followed by Patiala, Travancore, and Jodhpur, which come last of all.

Patiala, Travancore.—Even further advanced in some directions are affairs in Patiala, premier State of the Punjab. Its Maharaja is a six-foot-four Test cricketer, aged 27, who became ruler in 1938. His father brought in free and compulsory education, parliamentary government. Women in Patiala had the vote before British women.

On the same lines is run Travancore, largest of the five States in the Madras Presidency. There also, women have equal franchise and are eligible for election to State assemblies. The franchise is based on the lowest property qualifications in India—five rupees land tax.

The contrast is seen in Jodhpur (pop. 2,125,962, area 36,021 sq. m.). It is only 14 years since slavery was abolished in the State.

The handsome 36-year-old Maharaja has one of the longest lists of names in India. His wardrobes contain some 200 Savile Row suits made from specially manufactured cloth.

His six-acre palace on a 120-ft hill overlooking sand-surrounded Jodhpur City has a circular swimming bath, a 200-seat theatre, 40 bathrooms, and an air-cooling plant which alone cost £15,000.

Some of the information given in these extracts may be fairy-tales. If so, those who possess accurate information of an authoritative character relating to the Indian States may be able to shed some dry white light on them.

Mahatma Gandhi on Dominion Status

In *Harijan* of February 24, 1940, M. D. quoted our views on Dominion Status as stated in the last February number of *The Modern Review* and observed :

"Shri Ramananda Chatterjee's argument is conclusive. Everything now happening makes Dominion Status of whatever variety impossible of acceptance. What is wanted is self-determination." 17-2-40 M. D.

From this expression of opinion in *Harijan* it could be concluded that Mahatma Gandhi was no longer prepared to accept Dominion Status even of the Westminster Statute variety. His own actual declaration to that effect we saw in the article, "For Englishmen," in *Harijan* of March 16, 1940, where he says :

"Confusion arises from my oft-quoted letter to

* According to Mahatma Gandhi, the Princes' "wealth is in dire contrast to the poverty of their subjects."

Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak wherein I said in 1937 that, if Dominion Status with the right to secede was offered, I for one would accept it. I had no authority to bind any one else to that statement. Needless to say the offer was never made. Whatever may be said of me, no charge of change of policy can be brought against the Congress.* So far as I am concerned I have changed. Experience since gained and maturer reflection have led me to think that Dominion Status even of the Statute of Westminster variety cannot suit India's case. I have only recently given my reasons for the change of opinion which I need not repeat here."

These reasons we have not yet been able to trace but hope to find out and read later.

Huge Indian Capital Locked up in Post Office Savings Banks and Cash Certificates

The following statistics are taken from the issue of *Financial Times,* dated September, 1939 :

POST OFFICE CASH CERTIFICATES

Year	Receipts (in lacs)	Repayments (in lacs)	Net Receipts (in lacs)	Total amount outstanding (in lacs)
1929-30	7,15	4,45	2,70	35,00
1930-31	11,78	8.35	3,43	38,43
1931-32	14,49	8.34	6,15	44,58
1932-33	14,74	4,68	11,06	55,64
1933-34	13,31	4,24	8,07	63,71
1934-35	9,95	7,70	2,25	65,96
1935-36	13,45	13,43	2	65,98
1936-37	14,88	16,46	—1,58	64,40
	India	Burma	India	Burma
1937-38	13,97	35	18,16	3
1938-39	14,71	33	15,35	5
	India	Burma	India	Burma
1937-38	—4,19	32	60,21	32
1938-39	— 64	27	59,57	59

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK

Year	Deposits (in lacs)	With-drawals (in lacs)	Interest (in lacs)	Net Increase (in lacs)	Amount out-standing at the end of the year (in lacs)
1929-30	26,25	24,63	1,02	2,64	37,13
1930-31	24,36	25,50	1,04	10	37,02
1931-32	27,39	27,29	1,08	1,18	38,20
1932-33	30,96	26,86	1,15	5,25	43.45
1933-34	36,87	29,37	1,28	8,78	52,25
1934-35	38,67	37,26	1,34	2,75	58,30
1935-36	46.33	38,88	1.50	8,95	67,25
1936-37	43,38	37,40	1,45	7,43	74,68

	India	Burma	India	Burma	India
1937-38	43,27	1,44	39,76	1,29	1,46
1938-39	44,61	1,51	41,65	1,33	1,41
	Burma	India	Burma	India	Burma
1937-38	4	4,97	19	*77,56	**2,28
1938-39	5	4,38	22	81,94	2,50

It will be seen from the figures quoted above that at the end of 1938-39 Indian capital to the tune of Rs. 59,57,00,000 was locked up in the form of Post Office Cash Certificates and Indian capital aggregating Rs. 81,94,00,000 was locked up in Post Office Savings Banks, total Rs. 141,51,00,000. It is true, purchasers of Post Office Cash Certificates and depositors in Post Office Savings Banks receive a small return. But the huge amount of more than Rs. 141 crores is of no further use to India and the Indian public. British merchants and industrialists have the advantage of borrowing from this huge amount at low rates of interest, it does not matter under what name and through what devious channels. And they use this borrowed Indian capital for exploiting India and Indians.

How can this exploitation be prevented? How can this huge capital be made available to India and Indians for the development of India's resources and the enrichment of the Indian public? The Hooghly Bank, Ltd. of Calcutta has shown a way.

The Hooghly Bank's Commendable Enterprise

Of those who purchase Post Office Cash Certificates and deposit some of their savings in the Post Office Savings Banks the greater number are persons of small means. It is this comparatively poorer class of the Indian public who have mainly placed in the hands of the Government such a large sum as 141 crores of rupees, mentioned in the preceding note. If our Banks, owned and managed by Indians, could earn the confidence of this section of the public and make it possible for it to have transactions with them, at least a large part of this capital could have been of use to India.

Indian Banks in their savings branches pay interest at a higher rate than the Post Office Savings Banks. The rate of interest which the former pay to their depositors on current

* Just preceding the sentences quoted above are the following sentences :

"Complete Independence has been the definite goal of the Congress since 1929, and has been repeated every year from thousands of platforms. From that year to this the Congress has never even so much as mentioned Diominion Status. There is therefore no change whatsoever in the Congress demand. The question of suddenness or drasticness simply does not arise."

* Excludes of Rs. 2,09 lakhs being the amount at the credit of depositors in Burma at the time of separation.

** Includes Rs. 2,09 lakhs being the amount at the credit of depositors in Burma at the time of separation.

accounts is not less than that of the Post Office Savings Bank rate. The terms on which some Indian Banks sell their Clash Certificates are not less but more favourable than those of the Post Office. So even our poorer people can become the customers of our Banks and transfer their capital from the Post Office to them, if they have confidence in our Banks and make it easy for them to open accounts with and have transactions with them. Generally Banks do not accept less than Rs. 250 or Rs. 200 as a opening deposit. They do not also allow their depositors to make payments of very small sums by cheques. It is a laborious and troublesome task to open numerous accounts for small sums and to pay cash for cheques for small sums. But unless this task is undertaken people of small means cannot become "bank-minded." The Hooghly Bank has undertaken the task of opening small accounts, and it allows its depositors to pay their washermen's and milkmen's small bills and menials' wages by cheques. At Uttarpara even hackney carriage fares have been known to be paid by cheques on its local branch. This entails much labour but no additional risk. The poorer public may thus have increasing confidence in the Hooghly Bank.

During our recent visit to the village of Mulghar in Khulna district we found that a co-operative bank there had long been keeping a good many small accounts and allowing small sums to be paid by cheques on it.

Finland Compelled to Accept Soviet Peace Terms

In the war with Russia the Finns displayed unsurpassed courage, patriotism, love of liberty and military skill. But they were overborne by the superior man-power and resources of Russia. So they have had to accept the peace terms of the latter. We are very sorry for them, but they have earned the respect and admiration of the world for all time. Had they been a numerous people like the Chinese or even like the Japanese, they would have been able to bring the Russians to their knees.

The Finnish Government resigned on the 27th March last and a new ministry was formed:

HELSINKI, Mar. 27.

In a message to the retiring Government, President Kallio described the Soviet peace terms as "immoderate."

He added that yet the people and Parliament had realised that even an ungenerous peace was preferrable to years of sanguinary war in the face of great odds.

M. Kallio paid a warm tribute to the outgoing Government for its endeavours to secure munitions during the war adding "the defensive capacity of our army is quite different from what it was at the beginning of the war. It is true our country is mutilated —a matter which we mourn—but the Finnish people, alive to its duty, our independence and our heroic army, still exist. These are foundation stones on which we shall continue to build our future."—*Reuter.*

Stalin Does Not Follow Lenin

John Haynes Holmes, editor of *Unity* (Chicago), a paper which requires no introduction to lovers of liberty, writes in his paper that Lenin wrote as follows in *Pravda* on May 15, 1917 :

"The class-conscious proletariat, true to their program, are for the freedom of Finland as well as of other non-sovereign nationalities to separate from Russia . . . . The bourgeoisie are carrying on the same Tsarist policy of subjection, of annexation. For Finland was annexed by the Russian Tsars as the result of a deal with Napoleon, the strangler of the French Revolution. If we are really against annexation, we must come out openly for Finland's freedom. It is not by violence that we should draw [this people] into union with the Great Russians."

Finland became a free sovereign state after its Czarist annexation. But under Stalin Soviet Russia, contrary to Lenin's principles, attacked Finland to annex it and has succeeded in annexing a part of it.

The Great Chinese People

It is very welcome news that within the last few days the Chinese have won two important victories over the Japanese. Perhaps the Chinese have lost a far larger number of men and vastly larger property in the present Sino-Japanese war than any other people in any other war in history. But nevertheless they are not down-hearted. There is every hope that they will be able in the long run to rid their country entirely of the Japanese invaders.

The Late Mr. Yakub Hasan

The late Mr. Yakub Hasan, minister in the ex-Congress cabinet of Madras, was a genuine nationalist, and an able and patriotic citizen. His death has been a great loss to Madras and India.

The Late Professor Jitendra Lal Banerji

The tragic death of the late Professor Jitendra Lal Banerji of Vidyasagar College as the result of a motor accident as he was proceeding from Asansol to Burdwan at breakneck speed on his election campaign, has been widely and sincerely mourned. He was a very successful professor of English, remarkable for his

extensive knowledge of its literature. His notes on many books prescribed for university examinations were eagerly purchased by students and many professors, too, made use of them. He was a very eloquent speaker, commanding a large vocabulary and never at a loss for the right word to express his thoughts and feelings. He joined different political parties during different parts of his, often brilliant, political career.

A New Indian F. R. S.

Dr. Kariamanikkam Srinivasa Krishnan, Mahendralal Sircar Research Professor of Physics at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta, has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society according to information received here.

The five other Indians to receive the honour are the late S. Ramanujan, the late Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sir C. V. Raman, Prof. Meghnad Saha and Prof. Birbal Sahni of the Lucknow University.—*A. P. I.*

We congratulate Dr. Krishnan on his new honours.

British Rule and the Economic Condition of India

Science and Culture for March, 1940, has a telling and documented article on the economic condition of India under British rule, from which we are able to reproduce only the conclusion :

Without committing ourselves in any way to the full implications of the Congress resolution, opinion may be expressed that the wording relating to 'economic ruin' understates the situation as it focusses attention only on drainage of wealth and exploitation. The economic backwardness is 90 per cent. due to the absence of a planned policy of development of the country's natural resources. The following clause may therefore be added:

"The British Government has shown the greatest reluctance in adopting a policy for the fullest development of the natural resources in power, minerals, chemicals, forest and agricultural products in which India abounds, according to the latest methods of science and technology, and in taking up a scheme of industrial expansion, and has therefore failed to work for a better and modern standard of life for the Indian masses."

Minimum Requirements For Civilized Existence In India

In a lecture published in *Science and Culture*, Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, lays down the following minimum requirements for civilized existence in India "without any fear of contradiction" :

1. Food which would include carbohydrates, fats, proteins, minerals, and protective foods like milk, in suitable proportion at 75 per cent. of the level prescribed by the League of Nations.
2. Clothing at 30 square yards per capita per annum.
3. 100 cubic feet of space per capita in clean well ventilated dwelling houses which are easily accessible by road or other forms of transport to urban centres.
4. Provision of free medical aid on the basis of one health unit for 1000 persons.
5. Free education up to the age of 13 years

They are indeed the minimum.

Mr. Jinnah's Demands

However wild and unreasonable Mr. Jinnah's demands may be, he has to be taken seriously for two reasons : he, a clever man, has power for mischief, and British opponents of India's freedom back him, some openly, some secretly. But though we take him seriously, we do not generally write much about him and what he says, and that mainly for two reasons: he is impervious to facts and arguments; and what may be said in criticism of him and his opinions is being increasingly said by his Muslim fellow-believers themselves with cogency and power. These Muslim critics of his are mostly non-Congressites, and some of them have been or are still in the Muslim League.

He wants the Muslim League to be recognized as the sole representative organization of the Muslim community. But the Momins, probably the most numerous Muslim group, the Arhars, a very vigorous Muslim organization, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, a body which carries great weight with orthodox Mussalmans, and all Congress Mussalmans, repudiate the claim made on behalf of the League.

Mr. Jinnah wants India to be divided into Pakistan and Hindusthan. This is an insane and impracticable proposal. The Hindus, who are by now at least 300 millions strong, will oppose it to a man. We should like any power on earth to give effect to it. The Mussalmans in the Hindu majority provinces and some in the Moslem majority provinces, too, are opposed to it. We have no doubt the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Adibasis are opposed to it.

There may be British imperialists who may be inclined to value Mr. Jinnah's wild fancy as a sort of red herring across the Indian Nationalists' path. But such persons should consider whether the Arab-Jew problem in Palestine should be magnified very many times in India in the form of a similar Hindu-Muslim problem. British imperialists should not have an exaggerated idea of their power to deal effectively with all problems. A plan like Mr. Jinnah's, if given effect to, is sure to lead to civil war in all provinces of India owing to

greatly aggravated and accentuated communal bitterness.

If Muslims are to have their Pakistan, why should not the Sikhs have their enclave in the Punjab, consisting of the regions where they preponderate? Why should not the Adibasis of Chhotanagpur have their own Jharkhand? And so on and so forth.

The British Government itself has shown that in its opinion there is nothing sacrosanct in provincial boundaries. Districts which at one time formed part of the province of Bengal, now form part of the province of Bihar or of Assam. If Bengal is to form part of Pakistan because it is a Muslim majority province, why should those districts of West Bengal like Bankura and Midnapore, of which 90 per cent. of the inhabitants are Hindu, form part of Pakistan? Are we to divide the whole of British India into small Hindusthans and Pakistans district by district, sub-district by sub-district, village by village?

In China Buddhists, Muslims, Confucians and Christians form one nation and are fighting Japan as one nation. In Egypt Muslims and Christians form one nation and have fought for freedom together. There is nothing inherently incredible or impossible in Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and others forming one nation.

Khaksars in the Panjab

If the really military Khaksar movement had been checked at its very inception, the tragic fate which has overtaken many Khaksars in the Panjab could have been averted. Its leader ought to have been interned long ago. Perhaps, there was some idea somewhere of utilizing this movement as a counterblast to the Congress movement, and hence it was tolerated. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's government is to be commended for its firmness. His requirement that the movement should shed its military or semi-military character is statesmanlike.

The Caxton Hall Tragedy

Udham Singh, who is undergoing trial in London on the charge of having killed Sir Michael O'Dwyer at Caxton Hall in London with revolver shots and of having fired also at Lord Zetland and others, cannot but be very strongly condemned by all reasonable men for his heinous crime. It is really difficult to account for his insane conduct. His act has no political significance at all. Even in times of political excitement, such acts do no good, but only retard India's progress. When Udham Singh acted as a mad man there was no political excitement at all.

Labour Strike in Bombay

The labour strike in Bombay affecting many textile mills and involving the unemployment of thousands of men and women workers, drags on its weary course, causing untold misery and resulting in immense loss to both the mill-owners and the workers. He would be a great benefactor to society who would be able to bring about a settlement between the parties.

Bankura Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition

The Agricultural, Industrial and Health Exhibition in Bankura which was opened last month by Rabindranath Tagore had one feature which has not attracted the attention which it deserved. The Fine Arts section was under the charge of Srijut Manik Lal Banerjee, Art Teacher of the Bankura Zilla School. He collected and exhibited some 200 paintings by many of the artists of Bengal. Some thirty old paintings (*pots*), in the form of long rolls or scrolls, of the districts of Birbhum and Bankura, depicting mythological stories, were also exhibited. Thirty-four half-tone reproductions of photographs of Ramayana reliefs of the old Hindu temple at Prambanan, Java, were also on view.

Dwarakanath Govind Vaidya

The late Dwarakanath Govind Vaidya was not a famous man, nor a great man, as greatness goes. But he was a good man, a pious man, strictly dutiful, methodical, and quietly affectionate and serviceable. For decades he served the Bombay Prarthana Samaj with marked ability and devotion as editor of its organ, *The Subodha Patrika*, and in other capacities. Genuine and unfeigned humility was one of the most charming features of his character. He was entirely free from any provincialism. He was considered a standard modern Marathi prose writer, his biography of Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar being considered one of the best works of its kind. The Editor of *The Modern Review* cherishes his memory as that of a very affectionate younger brother.

The Retiring Mayor of Calcutta

Sj. Nisith Chandra Sen, Barrister-at-Law, retiring Mayor of Calcutta, delivered on the 26th March last what may be called a valedictory address. It showed that the finances of the

Calcutta Corporation were not in such a hopeless condition as the public might have been led to suppose from the recent official statement on the subject.

Sj. Sen deservedly received encomiums from all parties in the Corporation for the manner in which he had discharged his duties.

Had he agreed to stand for re-election as Mayor and had he been re-elected for some successive years, his great abilities, his freedom from partisanship and his devotion to duty would have been of distinct advantage to Calcutta. But that is not to be. His retirement from the contest for a councillorship in favour of Sj. N. C. Chatterjee, who has won, shows the bent of his mind.

All-India Oriental Conference

The tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference commenced on the 21st March last in the Oriental Institute at Tirupati, Madras. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, observed in his presidential address, which was read in his absence by the local secretary :

> "Sanskrit learning owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Dravidians : they have preserved it in the darkest periods of its history."

This is true to the letter. This handsome acknowledgement ought at least to soften the acerbity with which a section of our Tamil friends have been carrying on a campaign against the culture of Northern India, as they think. The fact is, the so-called Aryan culture belongs in important respects to South India.

> After making a general survey of oriental studies and scholarship Pandit Malaviva said, "We must not remain content with our achievements, creditable as they are. India must not only become and remain the centre of Indological studies but must also attract a continuous stream of scholars from abroad as she did in the days of Nalanda and Vikramsila."
>
> Pandit Malaviya proceeding said that there was some difficulty in creating in this country centres of research in Indology of world-wide reputation. Much of the material for research in the shape of manuscripts, copper plates etc., existed in centres like Oxford and London. The speaker said that they were grateful to Great Britain for having carefully preserved these objects of priceless historic importance but they should now be kept in the country to which they belonged and where they could be most utilised.

This is a legitimate and very necessary demand.

> Concluding Pandit Malaviya said that the aim of the conference should be not only to study and reconstruct oriental philosophy and culture but also to spread their message in and outside India. They were meeting today in the midst of a world catastrophe which he feared would recur again and again as long as the fundamental principles of their ancient religion and philosophy were not appreciated by humanity.

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganathan, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, opening the Conference, said :

> The progress of India lies not along the line of reversion to the past or of a blind imitation of the west but in the adaptation of the intellectual resources of the west to the essential part of our own cultural heritage. India is rich in a variety of cultures but the unity of the country transcends these linguistic and cultural differences. The great need of the land is that we should strengthen this sense of unity by mutual understanding and appreciation of one another's culture. While we should conserve all that is best in our own cultural heritage from whatever sources it is derived, it should now be our endeavour to press forward and seek new ways of living and acting together, consistent with changed conditions, so that a united and prosperous India might arise.

This call for living and acting together should evoke a wide response from all communities and classes in all provinces, Madras included, where the old bitter feud between Brahmans and non-Brahmans appears to have re-incarnated itself in the form of the "Dravidian" *versus* "Aryan" agitation. There is no pure anthropological race anywhere. Hence, there is no unmixed "Aryan" or unmixed "Dravidian" community in Madras or any other part of the country.

Both Hungerstriking Students of Scottish Church College Break Fast

We are glad both the hungerstriking students of the Scottish Church College have broken their fast on Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherji giving an assurance that he would look into the affair and try to effect a settlement satisfactory to both parties.

Calcutta Corporation Elections

In the recent Calcutta Corporation elections, according to *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, organ of the Bose party, the Bose party (miscalled the Congress party) has captured 26 seats, the Hindu Mahasabha 15 seats. According to *Bharat*, which supports Congress rightists and the Hindu Mahasabha, the Bose party has got 22 seats, the Hindu Mahasabha 16 seats, and the Independents 9 seats. These all belong to the General Constituency. Of the 22 Muslim seats 18 have gone to the Muslim League and 4 to Muslim Independents. The League victory was due to the influence of the Mussalman ministers, who are all Leaguers. The success of the Bose party was due partly to their (unauthorized) use of the name

of the Congress, which did not really run any candidates and had early last month declared that the Congress would not take any part in these elections. The success of this party was due also to the undoubted past sacrifices and sufferings of Subhas Babu in the country's cause, the more effective organization at his command, and his greater knowledge of electioneering tactics. For a first venture the success of the Hindu Mahasabha has been remarkable. It would have been more successful if it had not agreed at first to nominate candidates in co-operation with the Bose party, if its organisation had been more effective and if it had greater experience of elections.

All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference

Professor Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., delivered a very able presidential address at the fifteenth session of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference held last month in Calcutta. In it he dealt with a good many topics, chief among which were: Salaries of Teachers, Deprovincialisation of Government Arts Colleges, Representation on Governing Bodies, Representation on the Senate, Common Hostels, Corporate Activities of Students, The Problem of Discipline, Canalising Patriotism, Higher Education and its Aims, Our Role in the Sphere of Higher Education, Education in its Wider Aspect, and Our Function in the New World Order.

The Conference passed twenty-two resolutions on various aspects of education in the province. One advocated the deprovincialization of Government Colleges and Schools. We do not oppose it. But we have to point out one thing in favour of Government Colleges and Schools, namely, that they cannot be as easily coerced into submission by students' strikes as other kinds of schools and colleges. We are entirely in favour of removing all genuine grievances of students and of giving them opportunities to become enlightened and sturdy citizens. But we are opposed to coercion by strikes.

In another resolution the conference urged upon H. E. the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University to consider the desirability of nominating Principals and teachers of non-Government colleges in larger numbers in filling up vacancies in the Senate, the claims of private colleges, both Calcutta and mofussil, being specially considered. The Conference pressed also the necessity of having at least 3 members representing the Association on the Senate.

The Provincial Text Book Committee, in the opinion of the conference, should be re-constituted with representatives appointed by the University of Calcutta, the College and University Teachers' Association, the All-Bengal Teachers' Association and similar other educational Bodies. In some of the other resolutions the conference requested the University (i) to reduce the fees payable by Registered Graduates to Rs. 2/- only, (ii) to encourage the systematic translation and preparation of new scientific books in Bengali and to start a scientific periodical in Bengali. The conference considered it desirable and practicable to have B. T. classes attached to first grade colleges and requested the Government and the University to grant necessary affiliations and financial aid.

The conference strongly deprecated the tendency of some of the colleges to exploit the state of unemployment among the young scholars by paying them salaries much below the minimum recommended in the College Code.

The new scholarship Rules were considered to be open to many serious criticisms. In another resolution the conference deplored that whereas in view of the much higher price of chemicals and laboratory equipments the 'Imperial Grant' for laboratories and libraries should have been enhanced, as a matter of fact it has not been restored in full even this year.

The Conference finally considered the vexed question of unrest among college students and specially requested the Executive Committee to go into the whole question and place their suggestions before a special General Meeting of the Association. We hope that the Executive Committee will succeed, in co-operation with the Professors in charge of the College Unions of the different colleges and other college and University teachers who are in touch with the Student Movement, in evolving some practical steps which will be to the lasting good of the cause of education, which, while welcoming and encouraging the growing sense of mass consciousness among the student population, will be able to reconcile the same with the traditional relationship between the teachers and the taught in our country.

"The Times" on India's Constitutional Controversy

LONDON, March. 27.

In the course of a leader on the Indian constitutional controversy *The Times* says, "The views of the Moslem League cannot be lightly brushed aside by those charged with seeking a settlement in India."

[*The Times* does not lightly brush aside but seriously notices the views of the Muslim League in order that the views of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha may not receive their due weight but may, if possible, be superciliously brushed aside.]

[As a matter of fact, leading Congressmen, Hindu Mahasabhites, Liberals, Arhars and other Muslims have discussed the League views and dismissed them after serious criticism—nobody has lightly brushed them aside.]

The Times points out that there are eighty-million Moslems and says the appearance of a common nationhood, which now exists in India, emerged from the British connection. It may even be no exaggeration to say that apart from British paramountcy, there is no Indian nation as it may be said of Europe that there is no European nation. The French are a

minority in Europe which does not imply they must submit to German domination. To Moslem minds this is an exact parallel to their own position in India. British faith in Federation derives from the belief that it represents a genuine effort to harmonise those conflicting opinions which prevent India from automatically attaining nationhood.

[There has been an Indian nation from ancient times, though not exactly in the European sense, when Britons were savages.]

[The analogy between the French and the Indian Muslims is ridiculous. The French have a distinct country of their own and speak a distinct language. But Indian Mussalmans live among Hindus and others, widely scattered all over India and speaking all the languages spoken by Hindus and others.]

[The British scheme of Federation in calculated to introduce disharmony and conflict even where these do not exist, so that India may automatically not attain nationhood.]

Referring to the Viceroy's announcement with regard to Dominion Status, *The Times* suggests that Congress circles will be well-advised to reconsider the offer, remembering that to the Moslems and the Princes, Dominion Status makes even less appeal than did Federation. To them, it means the virtual disappearance of British paramountcy and the elimination of the special responsibilities now vested in provincial Governors and the Governor-General.

[That Dominion Status makes even less appeal to the Princes and the Moslems than to the Congress is not an argument in its favour]

The paper continues, "To talk of conferring Dominion Status on the country is to misunderstand the meaning of the words, and any suggestion that the British Government intend to impose it will meet with the implacable opposition of both Moslems and the Princes. Already the Moslems are suggesting an alternative in the form of innumerable "Ulsters" throughout India a solution which none in this country favours or desires. It would mean the end to Indian unity.

[We thank *The Times* for its anxiety for Indian unity and its recognition of the fact that the Pakistan scheme involves the creation of numerous Ulsters in India.]

The Times concludes that the final constitution for India can only emerge out of an agreement among Indians themselves and the prospects of Indian nationhood will brighten when Indian leaders recognize this and agree to harmonize their views in the interests of their country. In this process, Congress leaders will find that the Moslems and the Princes are as anxious to obtain self-government as they are, but are not prepared to accept complete independence which the Congress Party demands. However much the Congress Party may dislike it, the fact remains, and it can only be overcome by some effort on their part to allay suspicions and remove the fears of those who disagree with them.—*Reuter*.

We agree with *The Times* in its conclusion that the final constitution for India can only emerge out of an agreement among Indians themselves. Therefore it is that Congressites and some other Nationalists insist on the recognition of India's right of self-determination. Let Indians be allowed to arrive at an agreement among themselves without the intervention or interference of Britishers. The means of arriving at that agreement may be through a Constituent Assembly, or some other means may be adopted. That is a comparatively secondary matter.

Whether the Princes and Moslems would really dislike the form of independence which may evolve out of the unfettered deliberations of Indians and Indians alone is for the Indians themselves to consider. It is noteworthy that *The Times* lays stress on what the 500 and odd Princes are alleged to hold, completely ignoring the eighty million people of the Indian States. They are human beings, and they want freedom like the "British-Indians." They are more important than their Princes. There are many countries without Princes, but there is no country without its people.

A Picture of Frontier Raids

A no man's land, rugged and sterile, which in its rocky fastness harbours men fated to be ever hungry, savage and relentless, a land where rifles are valued more than even wives and where every cave is a fortress, a land where no law has ever dominated save the customary law of the tribe,

That was the picture which speaking on the 25th March before the members of the Indian Journalists Association, Mr. Bhanjuram Gandhi, ex-Minister of the Nolth-Western Frontier Province, presented of the region and its people that lay between the Durand Line and the borders of the N.-W. F. Province.

Mr. Gandhi described the raids which the predatory hordes, who had from time immemorial resisted civilization, had carried in the settled districts of the Frontier. During the last three years or so, he pointed out, there must have been several hundreds of raids. More than five hundred men, women and children had been kidnapped. Not less than 100 had been butchered in cold blood and properties worth lakhs had been looted in course of these incursions.

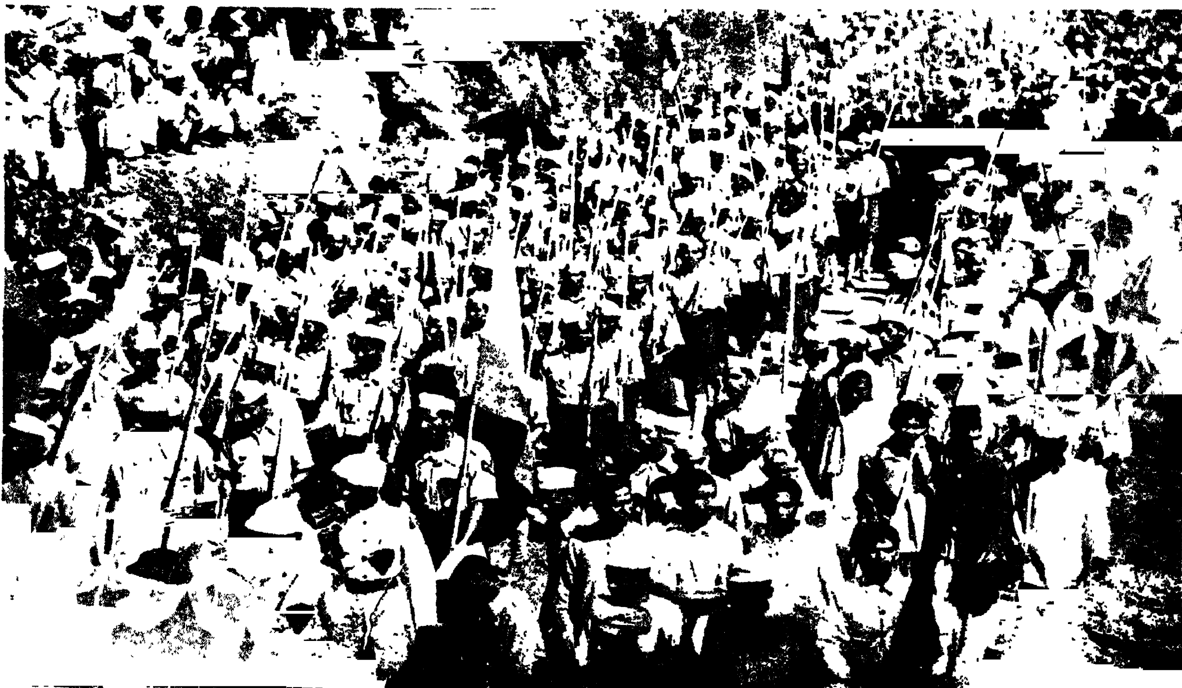
Even at the present hour, Mr. Gandhi added, four women, five girls and nine men were still in captivity.

Four-Hundredth Number of "The Modern Review"

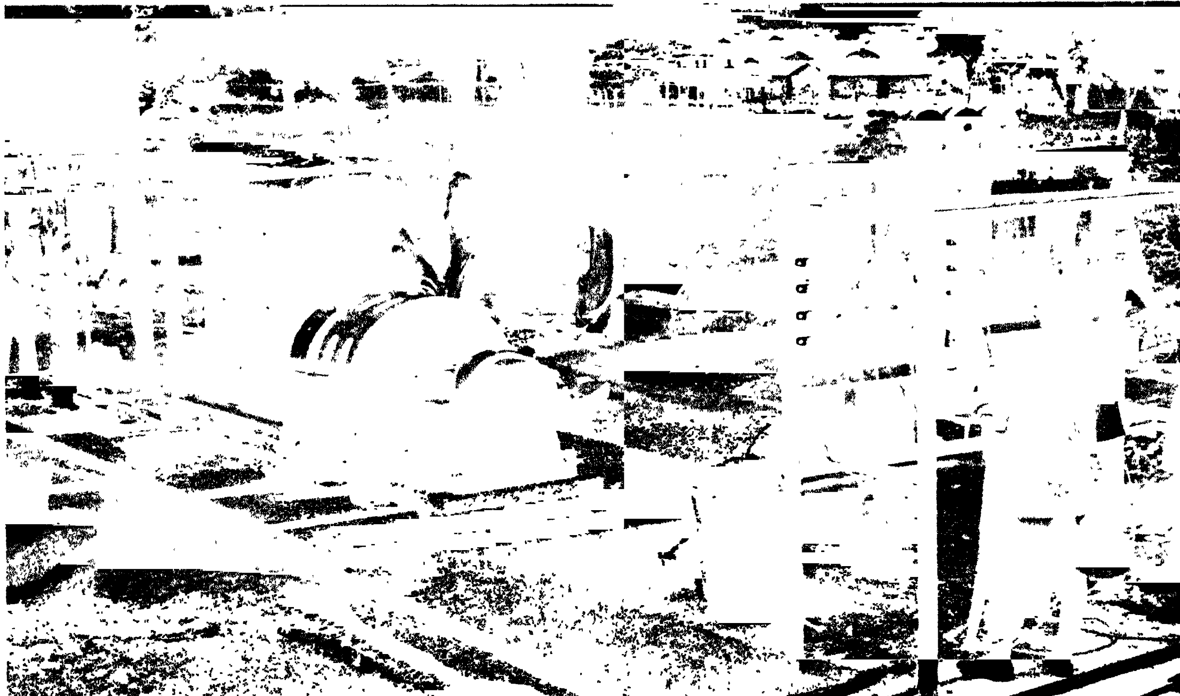
By the grace of God we are able to publish this, the 400th, number of *The Modern Review*. We had intended to make it an enlarged and specially illustrated issue. But war conditions, we regret, have prevented us from doing so.



The Congress President's procession at Ramgarh
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. On his left Dr. Rajendra Prasad



A view of the Congress President's procession marching from the Ranchi Road Station to the Congress Nagar at Ramgarh



Electric dynamo and engine installed at Ramgarh for the supply of electricity to the Congress Nagar



Water-preserver of the Ramgarh Congress

WAR AND PEACE AIMS

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Ever since war started there has been considerable discussion in this country on war aims and peace aims. The British Government's view of war aims is that we must win the war and stamp out Hitlerism. How exactly they intend to stamp out Hitlerism, they have not attempted to define. Nor have they given any clear indications of what their peace aims are. Although the Government no doubt have their hands full enough with the prosecution of the war and their methods of financing it—costing as it does £6 or £7 millions sterling every day—there are many individuals and organisations giving much thought to the peace aims.

What kind of world are we going to have after the war? All the preparations in this country are being made for a war of at least three years. But many well-informed observers are doubtful if it will continue for anything like so long. In any event, the war must end some time, and by that time untold millions of pounds will have been dissipated, and it is impossible to say how many human bodies will have been destroyed or maimed in the struggle. There is, in addition, the agony of the tens of thousands of people—Jews, Poles, and others—who have been uprooted from their homes and are at present, often vainly, trying to keep body and soul together.

After the last war it was hoped that the League of Nations would put an end to war by establishing a Court of International Justice, to which all international disputes might be referred. The League has failed because in the first place the United States, whose President inspired it, drew their skirts around them and refused to stir out of their isolation. The second reason lies very much at our own door. In 1931, when Arthur Henderson was the British Foreign Secretary, the prestige of the League stood high, and, under the leadership of this country, looked as if it might, to a considerable extent, fulfil many of the functions for which it had been brought into being. But when Arthur Henderson was replaced by John Simon we had a Foreign Secretary with a very different outlook. Since that date neither Britain nor France has made any endeavour to get the League to function. Rather have we considered merely what we imagined to be in our own selfish interests. Gradually the influence of the League has waned until we have reached the present state of world chaos.

I have referred previously to a book, *Union Now*, written by an American, Clarence Streit. On the strength of this book there have been formed many associations of Federal Unionists, both in America and in this country. The underlying idea of the book is practically the same as that of the League of Nations, except that the Federal Unionists aim rather at a union of the peoples of the nations, who would give up a right to some part of the absolute sovereignty of their nation, than the League of Nations idea of an association of Governments who give up no part of their national sovereignty.

It is a fine idea. But if the United States refused to come into the League of Nations, which still left them their absolute sovereignty, can there be much hope of their being converted to this much more far-reaching idea? It would seem that it is in isolationist America rather than in Europe that the Federal Unionists would have to do most of their spade work.

The League of Nations never possessed any power to enforce the settlement of disputes between nations and, unless civilisation is to go back into barbarism, some body must be called into being with such powers or there will never be an end to these insensate wars. Some system must be adopted internationally to outlaw war and to ensure security and justice to all nations. And, of necessity, this must mean that, to some degree, the full implications of national sovereignty must be abandoned. Then there may be hope for the fruits of peace to be gathered. Men will be able to carry on their daily work with a sense of security and

> "Man to man the world o'er
> Shall brothers be and a' that."

These ideas will not be easy either to formulate or to bring into being. But the world is in a parlous state and something must be done to save it. The more people who are thinking of and discussing these ideas, the sooner will they be realised. Things are much too serious for anyone to be wedded to his own

particular pet theory. Surely the combined wisdom of the nations is sufficient to work out some system by which they will be willing to hand over to a super-national authority some of the functions which hitherto they have regarded as essentially a symbol of their nationhood.

Norway continues to protest about the violation of her sovereign rights by Great Britain in the ordering of the *Cossack* to enter Norwegian territorial waters and remove the three hundred British prisoners who were on board the *Altmark*. The Germans threaten reprisals against Great Britain, but what they can do more than they have already done, and are doing, it is difficult to imagine. Germany has scrapped international law whenever it suited her and up to the end of January the Scandinavian nations alone had lost eighty ships, totalling **218,000** tons, through German action. It will be remembered too that two British ships and one Greek ship were torpedoed last December (two of them without warning) within the 3-mile limit of these same Norwegian territorial waters.

France, perhaps not unnaturally, gives entire support to Great Britain's action. The attitude of the French Press was very succinctly summed up at the time by their wireless announcer. He said that the indignation of Germany was that of the pickpocket who had in turn had his pocket picked by his victim—and who then loudly protested against the illegality of his victim's action.

The chief authorities on international law in America are unanimous that Britain was "entirely justified because Norway was clearly guilty of an altogether un-neutral act" in allowing the *Altmark* to use Norwegian territorial waters and harbour with British prisoners on board. They recall the case of the British liner *Appam* which came into an American port on 31st January 1916 with a German prize crew on board and 429 British prisoners. The United States immediately ordered the release of the prisoners and this action was upheld by the United States Supreme Court. Mr. James Gerrard, who was the United States Ambassador in Germany at the beginning of the last war, maintains that the Germans had no more right to take prisoners through Norwegian waters than they would have had to take them by train from New York to San Francisco. Mr. James Rayon, the Chairman of the American Bar Association Committee for the Protection of American Property in Foreign Countries, says that Norway should not have failed to detect the presence of British prisoners on the *Altmark*. He referred to the careful search to which the *Bremen* was subjected in New York before she sailed, and points out that if the *Bremen* had become a raider, Great Britain would have been entitled to hold the United States responsible.

The leading American Press is unanimous in supporting the British attitude. The *New York Herald-Tribune* says that

"there is undeniably a good deal of grim humour in the wild cries of anger, pain and outraged moral virtue being sent up from Berlin over the *Altmark* case."

And it goes on to say,

"A nation whose governors have made brute force their deity, which has torn up one treaty obligation after another with no regard for law or decency, which has butchered the Polish civil population without compunction, which has torpedoed crowded liners without warning, which has strewn murderous illegal contact mines in shipping lines without thought of the rights either of humanity or neutrality . . . has had the tables turned on it in a relatively mild way.

"And it suddenly shrieks to high heaven over this 'criminal' inversion of the natural order."

Hitler, it is said, behaved like a maniac when the affair of the *Altmark* was reported to him. Falling into one of his fits of hysteria he sent for Admiral Raeder and Dr. Ley and issued frantic orders for an impossible speed-up of Germany's submarine warfare. He had hoped so much from the return of the *Altmark*: he had told her Captain to bring home the prisoners or go to the bottom! The captured British seamen were to have been paraded in triumph through Berlin as living trophies to the prowess of the lost pocket-battleship *Graf Spee*. They were to have given heart to the German people and colour to the false Nazi propaganda that the role of the lost battleship was that of a commerce raider rather than a fighting ship. As she had brought home no naval victories, captive merchantmen were to be turned into glittering prizes. But all these hopes were dashed by the British descent on the *Altmark*. And Hitler lost the pretence as he had lost the reality.

All through this naval war with the Nazis—and of course the War has been chiefly at sea—it has been impossible to avoid comparisons with the naval war against Spain which was waged by Britain in the Elizabethan age. Now, as then, England is at war with a great tyranny. Moreover the tactics of the smaller and less heavily armed British ships in the River Plate action are exactly the tactics of the smaller British ships of other days in outmanoeuvering the towering Spanish galleons. The action of the *Cossack*, too, in entering

neutral waters in order to rescue British prisoners from the Nazis, is reminiscent of Drake in more ways than one. It is not merely the "legality" of the situation which is Drake-like. It is also the *mise-en-scene*. The Nazis have made these waters their hunting-ground. Their submarines have operated from Norwegian waters. Their fleet was not so very far away. Why did they not come out and join issue with the British ? All the British espied, on their way back across the North Sea, were the usual German mines. It was, in truth, very like a case of " singeing Hitler's beard."

To strain the analogy a little further, Hitler's rage is rather like Philip II's fanatical gloom. Does it suggest that Hitler, in turn, is about to launch a great armada against Britain? There are many who have been prophesying that Germany would make a great onslaught in the Spring. The American Ambassador to Britain, Mr. Kennedy, thinks that within the next two months " all hell " will break loose. (It is typical of British *morale*, incidentally, that the reaction to this was not apprehension, but a hasty jumping to the conclusion that Mr. Kennedy, it was, who was afraid!) Neutrals nearer home are also of Mr. Kennedy's opinion. In particular, Holland anticipates such a move. The Dutch know that last November the Commander-in-Chief of the German Army, General von Brauchitsch, himself flew over the south of Holland on a tour of inspection. They know that it would suit the Nazis to march westwards into South Holland and then on to Antwerp. Their objective, it is said, is the Island of Walcheren " and the coastal strip of Holland which lies west of Antwerp." Once established there, the Nazis would have sea and air bases scarcely more than a hundred miles from Britain. And, at the same time, they hope they would have brought the French and British away from the Maginot Line—since French and British troops would at once go to the assistance of Holland and Belgium.

All this of course was eagerly canvassed last November when the Nazis were generally reputed to be on the point of invading Holland. Invasion then, it was afterwards learned, was averted only at the eleventh hour. Two reasons were given why the Nazis gave up or postponed the project. One was the intervention of King Leopold of the Belgians, who telephoned Berlin that if the German Army invaded Holland they would have to fight Belgium too. The other reason was—opposition from the German command. The German Army, it was said, disliked the idea. They felt it would create difficulties for Germany abroad and be injurious to German morale. But is the German Army of the same opinion today ? Has the Army, indeed, an effective opinion of its own? One of the strangest and perhaps most significant reports coming from Germany now is that of the "abdication" of the German Army.

When the war began it was predicted by some people, Mr. Duff-Cooper amongst them, that the German Army would soon get the upper hand in Germany and get rid of the upstart Hitler. The Pact with Russia, the betrayal of the Finns, the retreat of Germans from the Baltic and from all over Eastern Europe which has followed, all this seemed to pile up reasons why the Prussian element, at any rate, should repudiate Hitler and von Ribbentrop. But to reason this way, it seems, is to forget the German defeatist psychology. Instead of revolting against this fatal leadership, the Army is adopting a *non possumus* attitude. Germany, if reports are true, is moving ever closer to the Left. Dr. Ley, of the Nazi Labour Front, now uses the slogan of the Marxists—"Workers of the world, Unite"—and takes over their assumption that all must join with them to overthrow "capitalism." (The Nazi version of this is "English-Jewish-Democratic high finance.") And the Army, in face of this deceitful and dangerous pro-Russian clangour, does nothing. Some of the weaker element are even said to be joining in. Most revealing of all though, if it is true, is the report that comes from Poland. There it is said that the Army has abdicated and turned over the administration of the occupied territory to the Nazi civil authorities. It plays the part of Pilate, washing its hands of the Nazi Terror, which wades ever deeper in blood. (The Nazis have just condemned a child of seven to be beheaded in Poland. The court decided that he had been a leader of a raiding party and contributed to the shooting by Polish soldiers of "about eighty people of German blood.")

Some people, as they contemplate such senseless crimes as the Nazis are daily committing, feel that all the elements of tragedy are deepening in Germany. They see the better elements withdrawing into themselves—or committing suicide, as did the Commander of the *Graf Spee*—and they think that German morale will not be able to stay the course. They note that the Goebbels propaganda has been jumping about and contradicting itself a lot lately: it looks as if it is losing its power to draw. Even the hearty General Goering, when he broadcast the other day to German agricultural workers, made them not so much a speech as a desperate

appeal. In fact, so depressing an effect did he create throughout the Reich, that the Nazis did not reproduce the speech in the newspapers next morning.

But all this is probably of less significance than it appears to the wishful thinkers and those are most probably right who warn us that the Nazis will not begin to crack until they have suffered a major defeat. Moreover, although the unbalanced and highly strung Hitler may be quite unfit to keep the lead when at long last the luck may be turning and it is no longer a case of helpless victims falling into his power, there are many acute observers who believe that a change of leadership inside the Nazi regime is coming—though Hitler may still remain a figure-head. And, notwithstanding his defeatist and desperate speech already referred to, General Goering is the man whom they think will rally the Nazi interest.

Speculations often turn out to be unprofitable, but the speculation which centres in Goering at the present time has some foundation in fact. Ribbentrop on the one side, and Goering on the other, do stand for opposite policies—and perhaps Goering may feel strong enough to put their quarrel to the test. Broadly speaking, Ribbentrop stands for the alliance with Russia—and Goering for the alliance with Italy. Ribbentrop's costly deal with Russia becomes daily more unpopular with any thinking Germans there are left, however much the Goebbels propaganda tries to pretend otherwise. In fact from its very beginning, when it failed to frighten France and Britain out of going to war with Germany in support of their pledge to Poland, it has revealed itself as the trick that failed. Goebbels makes good use of the Press in order to push the Russian deal. As a result, all the world knows now the price which Stalin exacted. And if there is one thing more certain than another, it is that all the gain has been on Russia's side. Indeed, if the nefarious schemes of Stalin do not miscarry—as they do, for the moment, at any rate in Finland—Russia obtained for the asking from Ribbentrop far more than she could have hoped to gain in a major war, and in a major war against Germany too! Three Nazi newspapers have made it clear that Estonia, Latvia, Finland, part of Sweden, the northern part of the Norwegian Atlantic coast—all these are to come under the Russian sway. And why? For no other reason than to challenge German supremacy in the Baltic.

In these circumstances it is not surprising if General Goering, who is always on the popular wave, feels it is high time to return to the Italian alliance—especially if Italy, who loathes Russia and Russian influence in the Balkans, can succeed in keeping the Balkans "neutral". In face of the Allied Blockade Germany has only two sources of supply, the Baltic and the Balkans, and the Balkans, because of their place at the beginning of the Oil area, are more than a life-line to Germany.

The Balkans and the Baltic, the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea, the only Seas where the Allies do not operate! Is any development to be expected in these quarters? Since they are of such paramount importance, it would seem they are the two spots on which it would be wise to keep a look-out. And at the moment of writing, it is worth adding, moves or rumours of moves in these areas are in the news. The British Navy, it is reported, has been seen in the far North near Petsamo. Its object there is said to be to prevent supplies being sent by Russia from Murmansk, down through Norwegian territorial waters, and so to the Baltic. While from the Balkans come the strangest reports. The Russians are said to have crossed into Turkish territory—whether by mistake or on purpose or as deserters, is not yet clear. But such a rumour is a straw in the wind which is blowing there. Turkey occupies the key position in the Balkans. She is a member of two systems. On the European side, she is the head of the Balkan entente which consists of Jugoslavia, Rumania, Greece and Turkey. On the Asiatic side, which is the predominantly "oil" side, she is the head of the Saadabad Non-Aggression Pact, which includes Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey. And Turkey is also the ally of Great Britain.

Is the next phase of the war to be a war for oil, that *sine qua non* of modern warfare, and is it to be fought out in the Near East? It is difficult to say if that is the way the cat is going to jump, but it looks like it. The Anzacs are waiting in Egypt, the French are massing troops in Syria, and the Russians have doubled their Black Sea units. On the other hand, many people believe that Germany is encouraging these rumours of trouble in the Near East in order to divert attention from her preparations for the invasion of Holland and Belgium. And, finally, these rumours are perhaps encouraged by America and American journalists, who cannot believe that the present stage of "siege" warfare can continue indefinitely. (Americans always anticipate a show-down, in fact they invented the term.) All the same, there is Mr. Hore-Belisha urging open intervention by us in Fin-

land. He has been right at the heart of this situation: does he know that war with Russia is in any event on the way?

The Allies, for their part, have no reason to seek for a show-down. The war in their eyes is developing according to plan. Unlike Germany and Russia, they have no man-power to throw away in large-scale offensives. They are prepared instead to endure a long war of siege on the enemy's coasts and supplies. They have no need of some startling move to revive their morale. This question of morale, incidentally, is of great interest and might be commended to impatient or defeatist Americans. Mr. Villard, the well-known journalist who wrote some articles recently on the state of opinion in Germany, has recorded that in all his travels in war-time Germany, he did not see a single happy countenance. Mr. Noel Baker, who has just returned from Finland, was struck most of all by the wonderful cheerfulness and morale of the Finns. The same is true of France and England. France and England and Finland are all confident of the issue, whatever hardships and set-backs may intervene. Moreover, the Finns and the Allies *have* their victories to lighten the darkness. The British Navy, with its brilliant action at the River Plate, and its "P.S." of the *Altmark* incident as Mr. Winston Churchill has described it, give proof enough that they have not lost the Nelson touch. And the French Navy, which shows a native politeness in not parading its own successes at sea, has brought off some wonderful feats. One French destroyer alone, it will be remembered, has accounted for no less than three U-boats.

Britain, indeed, has every reason to prosecute the war at sea, but to remain on the defensive on land and in the air. We have no margin of man power to spare for offensives. To make war in the air is to invite retaliation. And a glance at the map reveals how vulnerable is Britain to such retaliation. Germany has a coast-line of only one hundred and twenty miles—from Denmark to Holland—to defend. It is easy for her to concentrate her defence. Britain, on the other hand, has to defend a stretch of coast, between the English Channel and the Shetland Isles, of as much as *seven hundred miles*.

All the same, the situation may be about to change in the Near East, or in the North, or in the Netherlands or in all three. Dictators live in and by the lime-light and the present state of being held in check must be irksome to them. Perhaps a break through will be attempted. In that case, Mr. Sumner Welles, the American envoy at large, will find himself in the war zone at a very inopportune moment. When everything is to be put to the hazard, nations at war can have little time to give to those who have come to discuss the situation *after* the war. Moreover, in this country at least, some impatience is felt with the American attitude; it is felt to be fumbling and self-deceptive. Americans, surely, know that Finland's cause is the cause of every man who cherishes his freedom. And yet America fights shy of lending Finland money with which to buy arms and takes refuge instead in lending her money to buy agricultural implements. Never, to the ordinary English mind, was there such a case of trying to argue with oneself. Similarly, it seems rather presumption on America's part to take it for granted that she will have a hand in the making of peace. She seems to take it for granted that the Allies will win, and that she will have to step in to restrain the Allies when it comes to deciding on the terms of Peace. Why on earth should she, who has avoided all the heat and burden of the fight, step in at the end to prescribe the general duty ? Such an assumption, of course, runs counter to all English ideas of law-making. What touches all should be the concern of all. And, by the same token, those who stand aloof from the common concern, have no part in deciding the future course of that concern. America has not learnt the lessons of the last Peace. She took a hand in its shaping—and then ducked out. With that experience of her peace-making does she expect the Allies to invite her to help in the next peace ? When peace, as history has proved, must rest on security. And America is so nervous of making any sacrifice for security that she cannot even send a few arms to Finland. Mr. Sumner Welles, it is to be hoped, read a letter from a European neutral which appeared the other day in the *Daily Telegraph*. There is nothing, said the writer, that the Neutrals dread so much as this—a German victory or an American peace.

Are people in India able to listen-in to the broadcast given by General Swinton on Thursday evenings ? If so, they will have heard him say, more than once, that in this war we are fighting for our lives. To some this may have seemed an over-statement. We have been apt to think of our war objective as the liberation of the world—and of the German people themselves—from the over-riding tyranny of Nazidom. We had not thought so much that we ourselves were in actual danger of destruction. But any doubts as to the extent

of the danger which confronts the British Commonwealth must be dispelled by two authoritative Nazi statements which have recently appeared—the one in Europe and the other in America—and which set out for all to see the war aims of Nazi Germany.

On 31st January there appeared in *Die Woche,* the authoritative German weekly which is published in Berlin, an article entitled "The World When Britain Is Defeated." In this is described what will happen to the lion's skin when once the lion has been slaughtered. *Independence* of course is promised to India, but with the rider that she may have to accept with it the necessity of Russian influence (!). Canada is advised to merge with the United States. (It will be remembered that the United States has already guaranteed Canada's frontiers.) Australia is to go to a more powerful neighbour —meaning Japan. South Africa is, like India, tempted with the possibility of *independence,* this time " with certain reservations. " And so it goes on, right through the British Empire, distributing Gibraltar to Spain, Malta to Italy, the Falkland Islands to the Argentine, Bermuda to the United States—all pawns which the Nazis propose to move about as suits their very jejune ideas of how to make the world safe for Germany.

But it is not merely the British Empire which is to be re-arranged to suit the Nazi programme. They intend to " settle " their immediate neighbours also. Spain is to be given Portugal, what time Germany annexes the Portuguese Colonies. Holland and Belgium will be merged with " a greater Power." It is quite plain which Power. In fact, if we turn now to the statement issued in South America, it is more than obvious. " The Great Germany," says this pamphlet, " is only at the beginning of its great mission. There are still *some small States, neighbours of the Great Teuton State, without valid reasons for existing.*"

And when Germany has divided up the British Empire, and ground under her heel all those small States of Europe which are without valid reasons for existing, she will, says this pamphlet, turn her eyes to South America. Perhaps the crazed words are worth recording.

> " Have patience faithful South American followers of the Great Germany. Europe is rapidly learning the civilising lesson of the Great Hitler ! In the Americas the proselytising work continues . . . Germany will offer you, like a mantle of protection, the glorious wings of the German Eagle. Learn, now, to raise your arm and to shout with enthusiasm, HEIL HITLER ! "

No : Hitlerism will never win because it is fundamentally bad. Be it long drawn out or short, the forces behind Great Britain have a greater moral power. Germany is fighting to trample under foot all that millions of free men and women hold dearer than life. Britain is fighting to ensure life and that more abundant not merely for those who at present are under the heel of the tyrant Hitler, but for all, in a world freed from domination of one nation over another—and in that freedom can anyone doubt that India will share ?

Wesminster, London,
February 28, 1940.



EMERSON AND "AUNT MARY MOODY"

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

PERHAPS no personal influence in Emerson's life except that of his mother exerted a stronger influence upon his development than his intimate and lifelong friendship with Mary Moody Emerson, his aunt on his father's side. In the biographical sketch of her which Emerson wrote after her death he says hers was "a representative life such as could hardly have appeared outside of New England; of an age now past and of which I think no types survive. ....It has to me a value like that which many readers find in Madame Guyon, in Rahel, in Eugenie de Guerin, but it is purely original and hardly admits of a duplicate. It is a fruit of Calvinism and New England and marks the precise time when the power of the old creed yielded to the influence of modern science and humanity."

It is almost impossible to characterize this remarkable woman. In attempting to do so Emerson himself employs the adjectives "proud, pious, eccentric, exacting, inspiring." Of all these, not least emphasis should be placed on the word "eccentric." Some persons even called her crazy. But Emerson would never listen to that. There was too much "method in her madness." He recognized in her a brilliant mind, even if strangely and sometimes annoyingly erratic. To him her extravagances had a direct connection with genius. There were real gems and gold in her thought. She was a woman of high character and great earnestness. She was sincerely religious. She was never so happy as when helping somebody and doing good.

Her story was to a degree tragic. She was born in the midst of the Revolutionary War. Her father was Ralph Waldo's grandfather, William Emerson, minister at Concord, ardent patriot, who enlisted as chaplain in the American army at Ticonderoga but in a few months was taken ill and died. He had a wife and four children, a boy and three girls, all of whom except Mary, the youngest child, he left at his home in Concord. Mary, a babe, he carried to his mother in Malden, with the request that she keep the child until his return from the war. The little girl remained with her grandmother for a time, until the death of the latter, after which she was adopted by her father's brother, who lived on a farm. The farm was poor, the neighbors were distant; she had little society and suffered many hardships. But she early learned to read and had an insatiable eagerness for knowledge. As a result she read every book in the house and all she could borrow. By the time she reached womanhood she was possessed of an amount of information that amazed everybody. On the death of her adopted parents she was left means sufficient to afford her a modest support. She never afterwards had a home, but passed her years as a wanderer in many different places,—living sometimes for brief periods with relatives, sometimes with friends.

During the childhood of Ralph Waldo Emerson she spent considerable time in the home of his father (her brother) in Boston, and became very much attached to the five young boys of the family, especially to Ralph,—an attachment that was never broken.

There could hardly have been a greater contrast between two women than between the stern, eager, restless aunt and the mild, gentle, home-loving mother. But each appreciated and esteemed the other and in many ways each supplemented the other. Aunt Mary became almost a second mother to the small boys. She was rigorous and exacting with them, but she had the rare ability to win their respect, admiration and love. They looked upto her, they were stimulated by her. They willingly heeded and obeyed her. It was no wonder for she took a constant interest in them—in all their studies, in their work and in their play. She praised them when they did well and frowned on them when they did poorly. She stirred ambition in them always to do their best. When a task was hard she laughed and called it all the better fun. One of her stirring injunctions, given to them often, was, "Always do what you are afraid to do." Young Ralph Waldo was so impressed with this that he never forgot it, and when he came to have children of his own, his son tells us, he spurred them with the same rigorous motto.

Seemingly Ralph's first correspondence was with Aunt Mary. Whenever she was away they wrote to each other; and all his letters were written with great care, for he knew that she

would notice any mistake, however small, and any sentence that was not perfectly grammatical or not in perfectly good taste. This correspondence was kept up many years, in fact most of their lives, and it always had the same stimulating, invigorating influence on him.

In view of the fact that in his boyhood he was obliged, by lack of financial means, to be much dependent on others, she warned him against the dependent spirit, declaring that it was a mean spirit, that he must think of himself as in the world not to get but to give; not to receive benefits from others but to confer benefits on others.

At the age of thirty-six, Emerson writes in his Journal : " I spent all yesterday afternoon reading Aunt Mary's letters. She is a genius. Her thought is always new, subtle, frolicsome, musical, unpredictable. All your learning of all literatures and of all states of society, Platonistic, Calvinistic, English or Chinese, would never enable you to anticipate one thought or expression of hers. She is embarrassed by no Moses or Paul, no Angelo or Shakespeare, after whose type she is to fashion her speech. Her wit is the wild horse of the desert....In reading these letters of Aunt Mary Moody, I acknowledge (with surprise that I ever could forget it) the debt of myself and my brothers to that old religion which, in those years, still dwelt like a Sabbath peace in the country population of New England; which taught privation, self-denial and sorrow; that man was born, not for prosperity, but to suffer for the benefit of others, like the noble rock-maple tree which in all the villages bleeds for the service of man."

In another entry in his Journal Emerson writes of her : "My Aunt Mary Moody Emerson has an eye that goes through you like a needle. She is dowered with the fatal gift of penetration. She disgusts many people because she knows them too well." Again in the entry of November, 1834, Emerson writes : " Aunt Mary is now boarding here in Concord. She keeps up a surprisingly good understanding with the world considering her transcendental way of living. Yesterday, she came here with the shabbiest horse and chaise, which she says she saw standing at the door where she was stopping, and, having found out whom it belonged to, she asked the man to let her go and ride while he was making his purchases, for she wanted to go up to Dr. Ripley's. The man, I suppose, demurred, so she told him she was his own townswoman, born within a mile of him; and finally, she says, when she left him, he told her not to hurry. . . Once she even impressed the horse of a man who came to call the physician at whose house she was stopping, and rode sidewise in a man's saddle to the manse."

Besides many references in Emerson's Journals to this eccentric, gifted, highly esteemed relative and friend, we have among his biographical sketches an extended account of her. In one paragraph there he appraises the influence of Aunt Mary Moody on his own boyhood when he says : " She gave high counsels. It was the privilege of certain boys to have this immeasurably high standard indicated to their childhood; a blessing which nothing else in education could supply." He quotes from a letter of her nephew Charles Emerson : "I am glad the friendship with Aunt Mary is dipening. As by seeing a high tragedy, reading a true poem, or a novel by Corinne, so, by society with her, one's mind is electrified and purged."

When Mary Moody Emerson visited her relatives and friends, her coming was likely to give some consternation. Yet at the same time it was often, at least to the children and young people, much like the coming of a circus. She always furnished spice. There was nothing dull in the house while she was there. She was a nettle; but, if the sting was not too sharp, those that were stung were likely to rub the place and laugh, because it came from Aunt Mary. A friend said of her: "She is too concentrated a bitter cordial to be ever taken long at a time at any one boarding place." When she had stayed at one place as long as she cared to, all of a sudden she would be off for another.

In looking for a boarding place she usually preferred the home of a minister. She generally had very distinct ideas about how he should write his sermons and manage his parish, and was not likely to be slow in giving him information on these subjects. Yet the keenness of intelligence with which she did it and the wit and humor that she mixed with it, usually modified his pique and often caused him considerable quiet enjoyment. If she fell into discussions with him, as was often the case, he found that he had an antagonist worthy of his steel. After she had gone away his sermons were apt to be noticeably brighter and more practical than before.

One of the stories Emerson tells about her in his biographical sketch is very amusing. " When Mrs. Thoreau called on her one day, wearing pink ribbons, she shut her eyes, and so conversed with her for a time. By and by she said, ' Mrs. Thoreau, I don't know whether you have observed that my eyes are shut.' ' Yes, Madame, I have observed it.' ' Perhaps you

would like to know the reasons?' 'Yes, I should.' 'I don't like to see a person of your age guilty of such levity in her dress'."

At one time she was offered marriage by a man of ability, education and social position, for whom she had respect and esteem. Emerson says she gave the proposal consideration but finally decided to reject it.

In her own way she was deeply religious. Her religion was Calvinism with such of its corners as she did not like knocked off. Only those persons were to be sent to hell who, she thought, deserved to go there. Mr. Emerson says that in his boyhood she wrote the prayers which he and his brothers read mornings and evenings at the family devotions. And in middle life he declares that at times her "prophetic and apocalyptic ejaculations" still sound in his ears.

She thought and talked a great deal about death, especially in her later years. She had no fear of it for herself but often seemed eager for it, feeling sure that on the other side, all would be well for her and for those whom she loved and approved. Several years before she died she made for herself a neat white dimity shroud. Since the occasion for using it for its intended purpose was long delayed, it seemed to her a pity to have it lie idle, so she wore it, first as a night-gown, and later as a day-gown, going out on the street in it, and even wearing it on horseback. Out of doors on cool days she threw a shawl over it. Mr. Emerson thought she made and wore out several shrouds.

There are many evidences that she realized her eleentricities, the criticisms that they brought upon her and the barrier that they formed between herself and others. Her diaries and letters reveal that this realization sometimes gave her pain. At other times she ignored and defied it.

Emerson's fondness for "Aunt Mary," notwithstanding her eccentricities and her often cutting speech, is shown by the testimony of his son: "My father would often consider it a fortunate conjunction of the stars that brought his fiery and affectionate Sibil to Concord from her peregrinations and wanderings in various parts of New Egland." Again he writes: "The constitutional oddities of this strange enthusiast must not so far absorb attention, that her achievements in culture and piety shall be forgotten." Her thought and her character were permeated through and through by her lifelong devotion to the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Milton, the English poets of her own time, the great religious writers of New England, and, above all, the Bible. The unselfish nobility of her character is well summed up in this sentence which Emerson himself quotes from her: "What I regard as my best gift from God is my delight in the superiority of others."

POEM

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Raidas, the sweeper, was a tanner by caste
whose touch was shunned by the wayfarers
and the crowded streets were lonely for him.
Master Ramananda was walking to the temple after his morning bath,
when Raidas bowed himself down before him from a distance.
"Who are you, my friend?" asked the great Brahmin
and the answer came,
"I am mere dust, dry and barren,
trodden down by the despising days and nights.
Thou, my Master, art a cloud on the far-away sky.
If sweet mercy be showered from thee upon the lowly earth,
the dumb dust will cry out in ecstasy of flowers."
Master took him to his breast
pouring on him his lavish love
which made a storm of songs
to burst across the heart
of Raidas, the sweeper.

SIR VENKATA RATNAM NAIDU

A Memoir

By C. F. ANDREWS

I HAVE before me the last two volumes of the sermons delivered on different occasions by Sir Venkata Ratnam Naidu, whose death last year made another great gap in the ranks of the earlier members of the Brahmo Samaj. Those older men went through persecution and suffering for their faith, and stood out in modern India for a high nobility of character which has rarely been surpassed. Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, who compiled and edited, each year, these eight volumes of one whom he loved to call his Guru, was himself a younger member of that earlier generation which suffered for the faith. He too has passed away since these last two volumes have been published by him. His task had been completed, and he soon followed his Guru into the life beyond.

It was his wish that I should review these two latest volumes, and in doing so I propose to make this article into a personal memoir; for it was my privilege to meet Sir Venkata Ratnam on many occasions and I can speak with some first-hand knowledge of his later years. It was through the kindness of one who was utterly devoted to him, the Maharajah of Pithapuram, that I came first to know him, and afterwards, whenever I was in Madras, I would make it a point to go to visit him; for affection drew me towards him, and it was always a joy to me to see him, that I would not miss, if I could help it. For whenever I could be with him and share his fellowship, it was easy to note that it was a joy to him also to meet me, and this added to my own pleasure.

On one occasion, which I shall never forget, in spite of his old age and ill health, he insisted on being taken, in the early morning, to the railway station itself to meet me and give me his welcome. He said to me quite simply, "I could not wait till you came. I wanted to see you so much."

We never on any occasion talked politics, and I had no idea at all whether his own political views differed from my own or not. For the things of religion absorbed our conversation; and he would tell me with perfect frankness and humility about his own inner life and his longing after God. He could speak of these things quite naturally, and without the least sense of restraint, because they were all in all to him and the object of his daily thoughts. Also he knew that he had found in me a willing listener.

From his boyhood this longing after God had obsessed him and it was at a very early age just when he had married that the greatest trial of his life came. His first-born son was born to him, and then within a little over a month his child died. His father who did not share his new faith chided him and reproached him saying that it was owing to God's displeasure with him that his child had died. But he remained true to his faith and his wife remained true also. He tells this story in one of these volumes with touching simplicity and in doing so reveals the depth of suffering which he had to go through while he remained firm, as Prahlād remained firm, to his new found faith. He writes :

> "My first-born was a boy; and he died just one-and-half months after his birth. Pointing to me, my father said, 'His son is dead because of his revolt against God in joining the Brahma Samaj.' My father came and asked me to make a promise not to attend the Brahma Samaj any longer. My mind was sore-stricken with grief; and I did not say anything. I did not eat that day at all. They turned to my wife and tried to persuade her to tell me not to go to the Samaj. She said, 'I don't want to tell him.' Then, my father said, 'I will leave home and go my way.' My poor mother felt torn within herself. She was in a dilemma as to whether to go away with the husband or to remain behind with the son. She showed great kindness to me, embraced me and said, 'Prahlad's story has come over into your homestead. What am I to do?' I softened and ate. Venkiah ran out and brought in some neighbours. My mother entreated me, saying, 'I don't want you to give up your faith. Only, give up going to the Samaj for some weeks.' Then raged some conflict within. In the end, I promised to do so. At once she went and said to my father, 'He will not go to the Samaj next week. Why be angry with him any more?' When persecution was again up in arms at home about attending the Samaj, I said to my wife, 'So they keep on harassing us like this in so many ways. Had we not better cease thinking of the Samaj?' And straight came the answer, 'I don't know; perhaps, you will do it. But I cannot.' Then I added, 'Oh, I never meant it seriously myself.' The relations between us and the elders of the family became worse and worse. God so designed it; and it could not be helped."

In the same essay he writes :

"In the Brahma Samaj, how many members have not had to weep bitter tears for painful separation from kith and kin—all due to their own inconvenient yet inviolable sense of Duty? On the one hand, Light says 'Go on,' and, on the other, Love says 'Stay on.' This is the tortured condition of many a Brahmo. But the truly religious, that is, spiritual-minded, man cannot long continue to disbelieve in evil customs and still follow them merely for the sake of near and dear ones. No real peace can be purchased on those terms. Goodness alone knows, in the case of humble people (so-called), how much of pain had or has had to be borne and endured by them at the hands of parents and other loving and loved ones. To refer briefly to just two strikingly inspiring instances within our own intimate circle. For Dr. Ramakrishna Rao, it will be thirty-four years of widowed life three days hence. His wife died on the 25th of December, 1895, soon after he had completed his nineteenth year. He was not eighteen and she was ten or twelve at marriage. When the bereavement occurred, I was away in Cocanada. There the news and the call came; and I reached Masulipatam on the 27th December. His father was then talking very lightly, being full of proposals for a remarriage without delay. . . . He passed away in 1918. He never wasted one word upon the intractable son all those twenty years and more. The victim has silently suffered it all. And we all know how austere the life he lives, keeping pure the white flower of chastity by God's grace. Then, D. P. Bapaiah—what a beautiful life his was! He was slowly dying of consumption attended with complications. He lost Rs. 12,000 in the Arbuthnot Bank crash. Deserted by his own and his wife's kinsmen, he was living in the hospital. I said, 'Bapaiah, so all your money is lost!' He replied, 'Well, what does it matter, Sir? I have a hundred rupees in the Savings Bank; and that will keep me up for some time. If, by His grace, I get better. I will earn again for myself.' He had always a smile upon his countenance. He was always so subdued and gentle. His farewell words to P. Sitaramayya, when dying, were: 'Don't neglect the Samaj. Serve the Samaj; and serve through the Samaj.' So he suffered for his convictions to the last moment."

Sir Venkata Ratnam had a fund of humour which was quite inexhaustible and he was continually telling stories even in his sermons. Here is one of them which he told at the Thanksgiving Service on his seventy-first birthday when all his friends were around him :

"When I first came to Cocanada as Principal, there happened something very interesting. You recall that story in Julius Cæsar's life: he tripped and fell; people thought it a sign of weakness in him and an ill-omen for him; but in the very act of falling down upon the ground, he declared, 'Thus, Rome, do I lay hold of thee.' So, when I came, I was rushing along the railway platform, from one carriage to another, to see where my old mother was to be found. I tumbled and fell and said, 'Thus I lay hold of Cocanada.' And so I did. I was not going to be removed from Cocanada and the College at Cocanada. When one makes up one's mind to be devoted to a thing, one will cling to it despite all opposition and all the forces seeking to dislodge one from it. How was it in my case? Not that I came to remain in my office till the latest date possible. I came to love the Institution. When my application was received, one of the members of the Committee remarked at one of its meetings, 'This does not look like an application but rather like the communication of a declaration and an authoritative statement that he is taking possession of the place.' After three months of a tornado of public agitation, I found myself securely established."

During the twenty or more years that followed, no one was able to win the hearts of the students more than Venkata Ratnam did as Principal. He was in many ways a strict disciplinarian and he never allowed the large numbers in the College to outrun the personal interest he took in each individual pupil. All knew him, from the youngest to the oldest, and he soon won their esteem.

At the same time, every student realised that he had a soft corner in his heart for the erring ones who had gone astray; and many a lad owed the fact that his own life had been saved from shipwreck to the kindness and consideration of the Principal.

He tells a humorous story how one of his students who knew that he was in the wrong and had been punished for it by being not allowed to appear for his examination came to him and asked him whether they had not been learning together in class, from the *Merchant of Venice*, Portia's speech about the 'quality of mercy,' which was twice blest. The student, with a twinkle in his eye, then asked if the double blessing could not be won on this occasion. The joke so pleased the Principal that he sent him up for the examinaion. "Of course, he failed," writes Venkata Ratnam. But he would not have been the Principal that he was, if he had refused to take notice of such a humorous appeal.

One of the kindest and yet most difficult tasks that he undertook, by different ways and means, was the care for the *devadasis* and the attempt to raise here and there one or other of them to a new status. The last volume which Dr. Ramakrishna Rao published before he died is dedicated *"to the 'fallen' and the forlorn, with whose cause he identified himself in life-long service,"* and one of his most beautiful addresses is on behalf of his sisters who belong to this community. It is a great pleasure to me to be able to quote from it, for it shows not only the spirit of his work, but also how much has been accomplished. He writes :

"God is the Father and Mother," not merely of the wise and the good; but He is really and particularly the protecting Father and the loving Mother of the erring and the sinning. That was my message then. That

is my message today also. I am a sinner; and I count it the greatest mercy of God that even to me, the sinner, He is both Father and Mother. In the same way, every one, however erring, however sinning, can say, "God is my Father and my Mother, I can be better; I can be purer." Have that faith in yourself. Place that trust in God. And you will feel a new hope, a new strength, leading you on and enabling you to improve in life more and more every day. That is the hope I wish to awaken in you strongly. Let that hope burn as a light before you. Let that hope move as a force within you. Then, that hope in God's mercy and guidance will for ever keep you in the right path, put you to useful service and make your lives happy. That is my brotherly advice to you.

"More than twenty years ago, it was my good fortune to help in bringing about the marriage of a girl of your community. She was the sister of a student of mine at Cocanada. The girl, then married, is the dear wife of Mr. Ch. Razu Naidu, now a useful, prosperous and benevolent member of society as of the community at Cocanada. That marriage was followed by the marriage of the girl's cousin-sister, and she is the dear wife of our President today. Thus one marriage has followed another; and, by God's grace, we have this day scores of instances, all over Andhradesa, of girls drawn away from the unhappiness and sinfulness of the old custom and settled in virtuous and honourable ways of life. This great change has done good not only to your single community but to the whole nation by improving its moral tone and strengthening its moral will. It is thus the duty of all sections and classes to help and co-operate in this good movement.

"At present, there are several great movements for the betterment of India—for example, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, mass education, complete prohibition of intoxicants and so on. But of all the movements for the uplift of the Indian nation this movement for the regeneration of the community is, in my judgment, the most important because its direct objective is to purify and strengthen the moral nature of man. Work in this direction is dear to God and will be blessed by Him. Work on and on, I beseech every one of you, to the best of your powers until, by His grace, the entire community is completely drawn out of the old unfortunate custom and becomes as pure, as good and as honourable as the best section of the Indian nation.

"My sisters of the community, you are dear to our *Andhramata*, to our *Bharatamata*, to our *Viswajanani*. Prove yourselves true daughters of the mother-country and of the Divine Mother."

"God bless you all!"

Many years ago, I was staying near to Cocanada and the *Devadasis* of the neighbourhood heard that I had come. They associated my name with that of Mahatma Gandhi and for this cause asked me to meet them at a certain place so that they might tell me their sorrows. It was one of the most solemn moments of my life when I met these, my dear sisters, both young and old, and heard from their own lips by interpretation how sad their lot had become and how difficult it was for those who were thus born in this community to start a new life. I remember well how the older sisters said to me that while they were too old to begin anew, I should help them to save the children. The burden, that was thus laid upon me was too heavy to bear alone. I wrote about it in *Young India* (as Mahatma Gandhi's weekly paper was then called) and he made his own kindly comment upon it. But in Andhradesa itself I spoke to Sir Venkata Ratnam Naidu, for I knew what a large heart of love he always had for those who had thus suffered at the hands of sinful men. It seemed to me incredible that things of this evil kind could be done by men in the name of Religion.

Of all the qualities that drew me to Sir Venkata Ratnam Naidu, whenever I saw him, the greatest was his supreme devotion to God in humility of spirit as the Author and Giver of every good gift which he possessed. This blessing of the "pure in heart," who "see God," was not lightly received, or easily held fast, in the midst of the din and tumult of the modern world. Day by day, through quiet and solitude and prayer, the vision became brighter and brighter, till his very face reflected something of the unseen beauty within the soul.

The world, as Wordsworth told us more than a century ago, has been "'too much with us." With "getting and spending, we lay waste our powers." But he, in the purity and innocence of his heart, had kept himself from such a fatal course. A few moments in his presence was enough for me to realise that he was not as other men—not, indeed, that he claimed anything extraordinary for himself, but simply because he had followed the law of the inner life, that through continual renunciation, the purest joy becomes our own, and only in that loss of self, which comes with humility and sacrifice for others, the true Self is found.



WESTERN LEGACY IN INDIA

By M. MANSINHA

The first contact of man with his neighbours is always through the necessities of existence. Intellectual and spiritual companionship come later only as a luxury. It is the same story with the relation between the nations. The contact of Europe with India may be traced back to very remote times, through the history of such household commodities as pepper and sugar or such luxuries as gold and precious stones or fine woven stuff. Europe has always depended for these things on the tropics and not to a small degree on India, and for long long centuries these things came to Europe through slow and devious routes. It was during the Renaissance when the human energy in Europe became conscious of itself and through sheer force of youthful vitality wanted to break all barriers, intellectual as well as geographical, to get access into the vast outer world, that the direct sea-route between India and Europe was discovered and established, and the process of direct acquaintance between the two civilizations began.

After the Portugese had discovered the sea-route to India there was a Europe-wide mobilization among the several nations to have a share in the spoils of Commerce with that land.

The East India Company formed in London to trade with India and East Indian islands, got the charter from Queen Elizabeth in the year of grace 1600 A.D. It was a time when both India and England were going through one of the glorious periods of their histories. For England it was the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth when the small insular race inhabiting her, found itself suddenly expressing its pent-up energy in all human ways, making its presence and influence felt on land and waters far beyond her small boundaries. It was the time when Englishmen circumnavigated the world and defeated the mighty Armada; when Spencer wrote his bewitching poetry and Shakespeare his splendid dramas. On the other hand in India it was the period when Great Akbar was ruling the Indian Empire and for the first time in the history of mankind, by listening to the tenets of all religions and realising their essential unity, was trying to evolve a new universal religion. And the Empire of Akbar was so prosperous and the Emperor himself so popular that the people of Hindustan declared in sonorous sanskrit that "the Lord of Delhi, that is the Lord of the World."

So, on both sides the beginnings were auspicious. In those days, when the English merchants had to wait for months on the grace of the Mogul Court at Delhi to be granted a few privileges of trade here and there in the Empire, who could have ever dreamed that the scales of destiny would so turn as to completely reverse the situation, making the race of the waiting merchants rulers of the same Empire issuing commands from the same Court of Delhi to be obeyed by 375 millions of people? Who could have ever imagined that the language in which the letter of King James I to the Emperor Jehangir was written and which must have appeared funny to the latter, would one day be learnt by millions of the intellectuals of that vast continent of India, and would in that land turn out to be a precious means of fertilising her literatures, of spreading political propaganda, of unifying the multitudinous races into one solid national entity and of communication with the outer world?

But a Destiny more powerful than human will was at work and through a gradual process it paved the way for the more intimate contact of the two races. At the end of the 17th century, after several reigns of unparalleled magnificence which has left its mark on the face of India in the marvellous marble cities, like Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur, and in the fairy-land structures like the Tajmahal, the Moguls found themselves empty of their pompous energy. The empire fell to anarchy and civil war among vain-glorious war lords. It was at this moment that the English came into the field, with their racial characteristics of energy and efficiency and mastered the soil through all means that go by the name of diplomacy.

The real beginning of the British Empire in India was made at the battle of Plassey in 1757, after which Bengal came under the English control. From this date to 1857 when the three universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were established and from which the

real story of western influence in India begins, the English administrators were too busy with wars, conquests and concomitant disorders to give any serious attention to the cultural side of their government. But all through the century missionaries had been coming in and establishing printing presses to propagate the gospel of Christ among the supposed benighted nations and there were some philanthropic Englishmen too who had been making private efforts to educate the natives in the western way. In the beginning the people themselves were extremely reluctant to learn English for fear of losing caste, but the economic advantages of such an education were too alluring to be long resisted. Pupils poured into government, private and missionary schools. And the results were amazing. In 1831 the Committee of Public Education stated that

> "Although measures for the diffusion of English were only in their infancy, the results obtained at the Vidyalay or College at Calcutta surpassed all their expectations."
>
> "A command of the English language and a familiarity with its literature and science has been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe."[1]

These results so encouraged the authorities of the East India Company that the Directors were persuaded to grant more and more money for the education of the Indians. Before the universities were started and a definite plan of education was decided upon there was a long and tense controversy as to the Oriental or Occidental system of education to be adopted. And it was an Indian, the great Indian Reformer Raja Rammohun Roy who showed remarkable foresight in rallying his tremendous influence on to the side of the occidentalists and strongly advocating the western method of learning in place of the Indian, for the liberation of the nation's soul and intellect from the dead weight of tradition, superstition and ignorance. It was for the good of India that the occidentalists won the battle. From the establishment of the first three universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, we are now nearing a century. The intellectual, spiritual and political changes that have occurred in India during these years have been tremendous and are far beyond the dreams of those who started the system. Let us see what is the nature of these changes that have come upon an ancient oriental people due to its contact with the western civilization and culture.

1. Fraser: *Literary History of India*, p. 398.

II

No oriental people have been under so direct a contact with a European race for such a long period of time as the Indians. But it is a modern miracle indeed that of all peoples in Asia and Africa the Indians are the least westernised. Three long centuries of European contact and nearly two centuries of British administration, one of the most efficient of governments in the world, have not been able to work out those changes which have entirely changed the face of other countries and peoples where western contact has been far from direct. It is now a familiar sight, and to me a sad ugly one, to see Iranian, Chinese and Japanese ladies in skirt and coat and high heels. But the picture of a cultured Indian lady in English costumes remains to be seen. The trilby and the bowler have replaced the Fez in Turkey and Iran but no government in the world can persuade the proud Sikh to change his beautiful turban for anything else.

This is typical of the changes that have come upon India during the last two centuries of British contact. Vast social, religious and political changes have made India grow out of all recognition during these two hundred years out of this contact; but the people remain essentially Indian. The first cultured Indian who ever learnt English as a means of knowledge, was the man to advocate western methods of learning in the country in the place of the Oriental, as well as the man to be regarded as the Father of Nationalism in India. This man, Raja Rammohun Roy, stands symbolic of the intellectual ferment that the western contact caused on Indian genius. By his activities he has shown how India, while eager to learn all that is the finest and the best in European culture, is not going to sacrifice anything that is essential and worthy in her own. This man, born and brought up a Hindu, was dead against idolatry even before he learnt English. Besides his own mother-tongue Bengali he learnt Arabic and Persian and got his first inspirations in monotheism from the Quran. At a young age he was driven out of his home by his father for his heresy and during his wanderings went to Tibet to know all about Buddhism. He had to flee from Tibet to escape from the wrath of the Lamas whom he had attacked for their superstitious beliefs which were far from what the Buddha had preached. While in Benares he learnt Sanskrit and studied the Vedas and Upanishads and was so overwhelmed with their monotheistic doctrines, that he called upon the Hindoos to look back on

their past to find out the true conception of Godhead and thus started the first national movement in India—the Brahmo Samaj. After he learnt English he eagerly studied the Christian. scriptures and not satisfied with the authorized version of the English Bible, learnt Hebrew and Greek to read the Old and the New Testaments in the original. And as a result of these studies he attacked the Christian conception of the Trinity as a form of pure idolatry and started a unitarian church in Calcutta. He was the man who persuaded the British Government in the suppression of the Suttee and was the first Indian to sail for England to appeal to the British Parliament for the political rights of his people. In England he was received with respect by all classes of people and he wrote and spoke English so well that Jeremy Bentham had to declare that he wished that the style of James Mill had been equal to it.[2] But with all his heretical activities and his insatiable search for knowledge from all sources, he lived and died a Brahman, tended by his own Brahman servant and wearing his Brahmanic thread.[3] And he started a religious movement—the Brahmo Samaj—that had its roots deep in Indian culture, but was not blind to assimilate some of the beautiful features of the western culture too. And it is for this marvellous fusion that some of the noblest of Indians including the poet Tagore, have come out of the nursery of this reformed Indian church, while purely christian communities have contributed next to nothing to the national regeneration of India.

This fusion of the two cultures and this assimilation of what is good in the western civilization and rejection of what is bad and incompatible with the Indian conception of things are the keynotes in the entire story of the tremendous changes that have come upon India in the last two centuries. Now, as literature is our province, we should see what part western literature has played in these intellectual and social revolutions and evolutions and if Shakespeare, the giant, has played any part at all.

III

In point of fact the British Government in India have not done all they could do for the free expression of the Indian genius after it became conscious of its imprisonment in the narrow and dark cells of superstition and ignorance. But the subtle and penetrating influence of western literature has been able to work out that awakening and revitalising of the Indian mind that the Empire's police force could not prevent. When the new system of education was started in India in the fifties of the last century, Macaulay had expressed the fond expectation that

> "if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any effort to proselytise; without the smallest interference in the religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection."[4]

The results have been so contrary to Macaulay's expectations that an Indian can only laugh at such a statement. The very first effect of the western education on the Indian mind was to make it conscious of itself. The unhistorical Hindoo suddenly linked himself to the glorious Past of his land. If the Christian missionaries attacked the Hindu idolatry the Hindoo reformers went back to the good old Upanishads to find out the purely monotheistic Hinduism and to resurrect and popularise it. And thus indeed were the many religious reforms started and they so absorbed the interests of the educated intelligentsia that the sluices for the surging stream of christian conversion among the upper classes of the Hindu Society were closed for good and all.

So the quintessence of the western legacy in India is really nothing that is merely western, but the precious gift of shaking the Indian energy out of the dead inertia of ages and making it conscious of itself. In the old days the Hindoo lived an intensely selfish and individualistic life. Each and every Hindoo was concerned only with his own spiritual salvation through austerities outside the world or through observing his Dharma (social duty) inside it. The Hindoo had no idea as to who actually built the magnificent temples with which the entire face of India is ornamented. He believed gods had built them. Now, however, things have entirely changed. The Hindoo now has learnt to plan out his life with relation to his people and his country; he has come to believe that his personal salvation lies in the salvation of his race. He is proud of his temples, in fact proud of everything Indian, and he knows now that it was not the gods but his Indian forefathers who made them. And he now dreams of contributing his own quota to the splendid heritage of his forefathers by trying to liberate his country from foreign bondage and in many other ways.

The following extract from a book by

2. Fraser: *A Literary History of India,* p. 391.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 403.
4. *The Legacy of India,* p. 402.

Mr. C. F. Andrews will go far in corroborating my point :

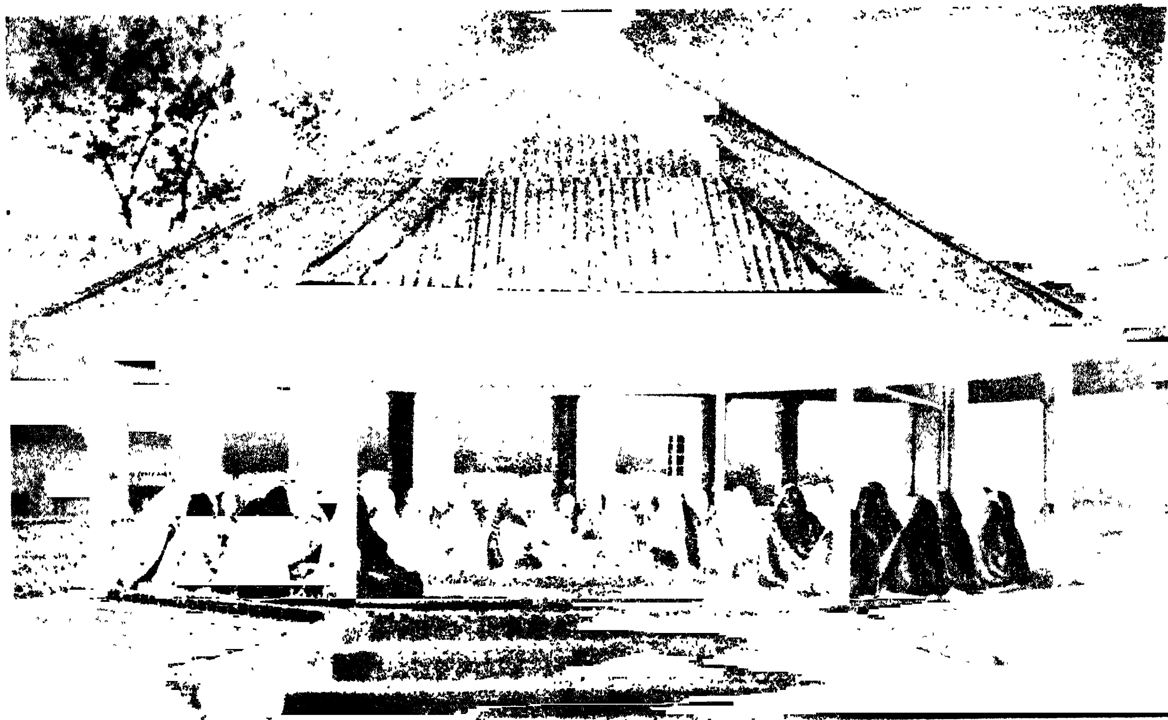
> I remember well at Delhi teaching Wordsworth's poetry to a group of young, eager Indian students. We came to the greatest of all the famous 'sonnets on liberty' :
>
> We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake: the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held.—In everything, we are sprung
> Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.
>
> After explaining its meaning to them, I was asked by one of the group whether Indians could use the same language about themselves—when they in their turn had learnt to 'speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake' Without a moment's hesitation I answered "Yes," and I am sure that the answer was right.
>
> When I was taking the essay work in the same class, one of my students said to me, "Sir, that line of Wordsworth—'we must be free or die'—haunts us !" That is just what every true Indian feels today Why does Great Britain keep us in subjection ?[5]

This is typical indeed of the intellectual reaction in the Indian of the acquaintance with western literature. And for a parallel we need not go anywhere farther than to the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth when they were being made to bubble over with the new vitality of national consciousness after the May-morning of the Renaissance had awakened them into the glorious possibilities of life and letters. There was a tremendous desire among the English in those days to catch up with or outstrip the others of Europe in every branch of human activity, and the literary figures of London in those days did not want to rest content with the imitations of classical products, but to excell them, if they could, by their own original works. And in that truly nationalistic ambition, everything borrowed from the classics was transmuted into things English that smelt of the race and the soil. It is the same story repeated in modern India. The very essence of western literature after Ranaissance has been, and still continues to be the freedom of man. India in the pre-British days was not different from the Europe of the medieval times—a priest-ridden people, bound hand and foot by worn out social and religious laws which they thought were divine in origin and were beyond the question of man. The common man had no rights of his own, from his very birth they were surrendered either to the caste or to the landlord. The Brahman denied the nation the knowledge of scriptures and more often than not knew very little of it himself in the proper spirit. Into conditions such as these the entire Post-Renaissance literatures of Europe came as an eye-opener to the educated Indian through the English language. And I believe the Renaissance that started working the regeneration of human energy three centuries ago in Europe was destined, after it had finished her job there, to cross the seas and set about working among peoples and places where conditions similar to the medieval times of Europe prevailed. What the fugitive Greek scholars from Constantinople did to Europe, the trading sailors have done to the Eastern lands. And if in Turkey, Iran, Japan and China the effect is tending to be a blind westernization, in India, it has been as it was in Elizabethan England, a strong feeling of national consciousness, a process of liberation of the Indian mind from the useless accretions of the Past and a splendid outburst of new national energy in new literatures—in poetry, drama, novels, stories, magazines and daily papers.

In the beginnnig, however, the new light of the west had so dazzled the Indian's eyes that he could not see his way clearly and followed that light as a matter of course. But reactions came quickly. In religion, art and literature, customs and manners, the leaders tried to stem the tide of denationalization by reviving, interpreting and sublimating the national counterparts. And in these efforts they have been immensely successful. And that explains the picturesque personalities as well as the essentially Indian nature of the activities of people like Tagore and Gandhi than whom it will be difficult to find out greater admirers or better assimilations of what is truly good and beautiful in the west.

5. *The Challenge of the N.-W. Frontier,* by C. F. Andrews, pp. 185-86.





Pupils of the Kanya Gurukula, Dehra Dun, performing the *havana*

The knitting class working in the showroom [*Courtesy* : **Kanya Gurukula**



Acharya Ramdeva with a group of students and teachers of the Kanya Gurukula, Dehra Dun

"Old Girls" of the Kanya Gurukula at Dehra Dun [*Courtesy* : Kanya Gurukula

FULL-ORBED EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

It was a day in midwinter; but bright—very bright—as is often the case in north-western India. The sun smiled from a light-blue sky unspecked by clouds, warming and at the same time gilding the earth at Himalaya's feet.

The shadows had just begun to lengthen perceptibly in the open space in front of a series of low structures, many of them "tin"-roofed, built upon high land rising towards the feet of the "King among Mountains" just where the lime-washed, glass-verandahed bungalows that constitute Mussoorie shine like dolls' houses seemingly set against the sky. Into this courtyard tripped girls.

There must have been 200* of them—perhaps a few more. In age they ranged from tiny tots that not long before had been tied to their mothers' apron strings, to those who were passing through that indefinite and undefinable period when Nature transmutes the care-free child of her own irrepressible sex into a responsible woman who efficiently and cheerfully shoulders the family burden.

One distinctive characteristic was common to them all. This was a sense of joy—joy in living—joy in sitting at the feet of older, more experienced women who were engaged in shaping their bodies, minds and hearts so that, in course of time, all three would be able to bear the stresses and strains inseparable from the work-a-day world.

II

A school it was—a school ensconced in the sacred valley of the Hindus—Dehra Dun—bounded on the north by Himanchal, loved and revered by our forefathers and on the south by the saw-toothed range of the Siwalaks, dear to Lord Siva's heart.

It was residential. Its pattern had not leapt from the mind of any non-Indian educator. Its founders derived their inspiration for constituting it out of lore almost as hoary as Himalayas' brow.

In two hours' walk from where it was located on the western bank of the Rispana *Nadi* (a *nadi* or stream, be it noted, only when the rains had been torrential up above in the hills), one could see the spot hallowed by the feet of one of the greatest *gurus* of olden times—the Acharya Drona, the preceptor of the Pandavas and Kuravas, who later engaged in India's ancient Armageddon, the *Mahabharata*.

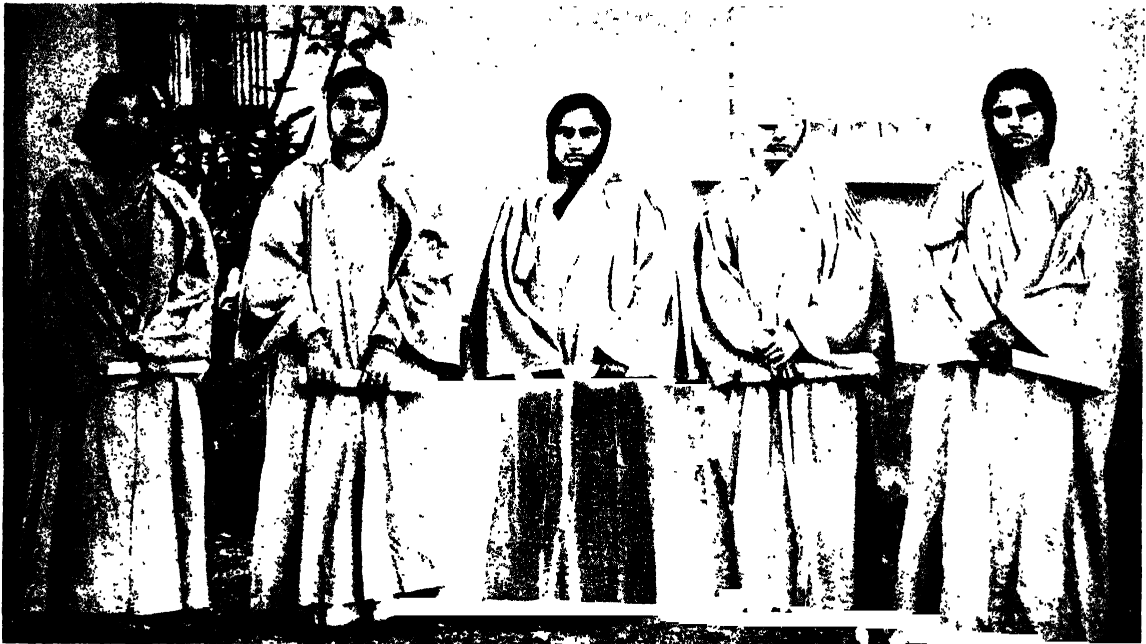
Man's cupidity had left little of the woods



[*Copyright* : St. Nihal Singh
Acharya Vidyavati Seth, B.A.,
the soul of the Kanya Gurukula, Dehra Dun,
caught by the camera in a moment of deep introspection

in that *dun* that still bore his name. Boys who sought the privilege of sitting at his feet came from the palace of the *chakravartin* (universal monarch) and from the regal mansions of the lesser kings, as they did from the homes of the

* Since then the number of pupils has increased. It is now in excess of 250.



[*Courtesy* : Kanya Gurukula

Snatakas—1939 Graduates of the Kanya Gurukula, Dehra Dun, with the diplomas in their hands

humble. For their admission fees they carried over their shoulders faggots hewn by their own hands. It symbolized, to them, as hardly anything else could have done, that at least for the duration of their stay in the *gurukula* all sense of social prestige had been put to sleep. In essaying to serve the preceptor they had offered the only entrance or, for that matter, tuition, fee payable to him. They were to be his "sons" till they reached the twenty-fifth year, when, for them, the period of organized learning to the exclusion of all else, including indulgence in the sex passion, was punctuated by a solemn ceremony that ushered all who so wished into the next—the householder's—stage of life.

III

As the girls proceeded from the sun-dappled verandahs where they had been resting and chatting after their noon-day meal, towards the playing-field they gave no sign of military-like discipline. They did not form themselves into a file as if at the bidding of a drill sergeant, supremely influential though invisible. They moved about in groups, small or large, just as the alchemy within them threw together. The sound of their happy voices and merry laughter drowned the noise made by their scampering feet.

There was no constraint—no show of authority or imposition of discipline from without—no "queening it" by one girl over her schoolmates. Yet there was no boisterousness—certainly nothing that might be described as ill-mannered—only healthy spontaneity.

Their simple *saris* of hand-spun, hand-woven, coarse cotton cloth, dyed with ochre (*gerua*) to indicate their vow of *brahmacharya* (maidenhood), carried my mind back to the Acharya Drona's days, when patricians' as well as paupers' sons went about, perhaps in this very spot, clad in birch-bark. Clean and sweet-smelling were those *khaddar* garments, as if fresh from the ironer's hands.

The girl who came from a home filled to overflowing with the goods of this world wore a robe exactly the same in cloth and pattern as did her fellow-pupil from the poorest family. As it fell in graceful folds, it sent out a powerful suggestion that it was no new-fangled garment owing its material, make or style to any alien.

What I liked most about this uniform—uniform in the original sense of the word—was

that it carried no taint of the death-dealing military mind. It was equally free from the mercenary touch. The institution provided it without making any "extra" charge for it. Such being the case, no girl could be envious of another because that other could afford smarter, more expensive, gayer garments than she could: nor would any student acquire spendthrift habits as she might have done had her parents, in their folly, sent her to a so-called fashionable academy.

IV

A little earlier, when I had seen the girls eating, I had likewise been impressed with the simplicity of the food and the way it was served and eaten. Purely vegetarian, it was neither complex in composition nor in style of cooking. Condiments, I was told, were not permitted—not even too much salt. Relishes were avoided and even onions and garlic. Yet the dishes set before them were delicious, as I could assert from sampling.

The basic idea was, I learnt, to provide plenty of body-sustaining, body-building materials and those in sufficient variety so as not to pall upon the palate. The food, however, must not be of a nature that would rouse, much less feed, the passions.

The cooking had been done under the supervision of a lady whose soul had passed through the furnace of tragedy and in that passage had been purified, like gold that has been fired in a crucible. Her helpers were all voluntary workers—all athrob with the ideal of service.

The girls who served their fellows that noon would, in turn, be served, on the morrow, by some of those upon whom they had lovingly waited. Carrying food in buckets, baskets or trays, they walked in the aisles between the rows in which the diners sat in the shed, open on all four sides, but roofed over to protect them from any inclemency of the weather.

The dishes from which they ate were mostly of brass or bell-metal, not of brittle china or glass. No knives or forks were in use and through them the children taught to look down upon their forbears as barbarians because they did not convey the food, with such implements, from the plate to the mouth.

No diversity in victuals could be observed by me. When I spoke about this matter, I was told that it was permitted only under the explicit orders of the physician, usually an honorary or semi-honorary worker, who resides on the premises. Nor was there a "tuck-shop." No student, therefore, could buy any "extras" in the way of eatables and thus introduce a note of disparity in the dining hall or dormitory. This is one of the ways in which the girls unconsciously acquire the solidarity associated with a family.

V

With thoughts of this tenour running through my mind as I traversed the path in the wake of the joyous students of the Kanya Gurukula, I found myself in a huge, grassy square set aside for play and pastime. Before I had really had any warning, the youngsters, without being told to do so by any one, engaged in sports of their own choice.

Near me were a number of small girls who had stationed themselves on a plank such as the railways use for sleepers. In the centre it was fixed to a stumpy upright the other end of which was buried deep in the ground. The see-sawing became more and more rapid—energetic. Not much of the lackadaisical, sleepy East there, I said to myself.

A few yards away girls were swinging. As they developed momentum the short, wooden seat securely tied to the saddle of the rope carried them high up into the air.

Nearby other girls were swarming up long ropes, with knots tied in them here and there, that were suspended from stout cross-bars. They did so with the ease and grace of trained acrobats: but for pure fun, not for plaudits, much less at any one's goading.

To the other side of me a group of girls were skipping the rope. Whether little or big, their movements were fleet and vigorous.

Right in front of me stood two girls each armed with a single-stick. Salaaming each other, they began to manœuvre, each trying to catch the other off her guard so as to be able to strike her. Soon the thud-thud of the single-stick was heard as it was caught upon the leather shield, or now and again struck against the body of one or the other contestant.

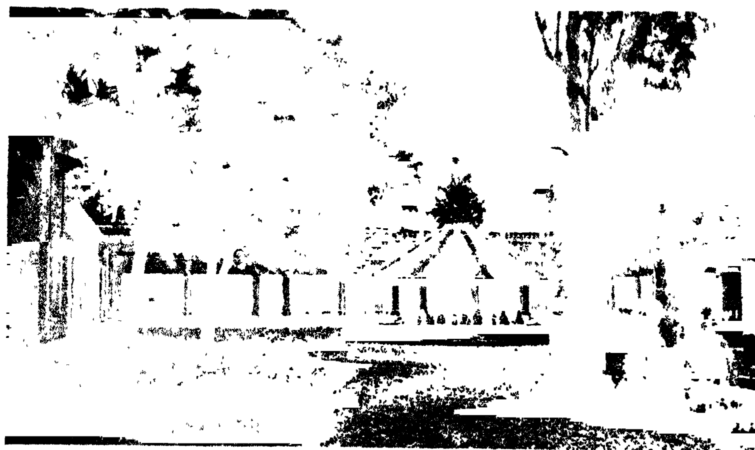
A fine exercise for the muscles and for the eyes, I thought. A finer training in self-protection it would be difficult to imagine.

So it seemed to me till I witnessed the next demonstration. It was the dagger-play. As I saw one girl grappling with another, trying to drive a long, curved knife into her body while the other caught hold of the attacker's wrist and twisted it till the dagger fell to the ground, I rubbed my eyes to assure myself that I had not been whisked back by some magical spell into the mediæval ages. No. I had not. A girl who could hold her own against an assailant

armed with a dagger could surely be trusted to take care of herself in any emergency.

VI

Another day I visited the *Gurukula* expressly for the purpose of seeing the *kanyas* (maidens) at their studies. As their *Acharya* (of whom more later) conducted me towards the school-house, she told me that education was wholly free there. No entrance or tuition fee was levied. No charge was made for books, exercise books, or writing or drawing requisites. The Rs. 15 a girl's parents sent monthly—whether she was a tiny tot or in the "college grade"—was meant merely to cover board, lodging and clothes. As for teaching, the ancient ideal that it must not be bartered was scrupulously adhered to.



[*Courtesy*: Kanya Gurukula
Class rooms, Havan Bhavan and hostels of the Kanya Gurukula, Dehra Dun

We talked in Hindi—the language of the *Gurukula*. Half its success is, I think, due to its use. Nearly all the pupils come from families in which that derivative of Sanskrit or some other language allied to it is in common—in many cases in exclusive—use. The time and energy that would be dissipated in acquiring mastery over a foreign tongue adequate to enable them to comprehend the text-books and oral instruction in that language, are saved through this method. They can thus be easily turned to the work of acquiring actual educational equipment.

Girls who come from parts of India where languages not directly derived from Sanskrit are ordinarily spoken, become proficient in Hindi soon after they enter the *Gurukula* precincts. I recall meeting a Tamil girl. Only a day or two before she had been left there by her parents. She knew hardly a word of Hindi and I wondered how she would fare. A month or two later, when I again visited the institution, a miracle had been worked. She prattled in Hindi as if she had learnt it at her mother's knee.

VII

The Kanya Gurukula takes in girls when they are barely old enough to be parted from their mothers, generally between the ages of six and eight years. They remain at the institution till they have finished the school course, round about the 16th year. Some elect to remain on for college or even post-graduate work.

Until they have passed the *adhikari* examination, *i.e.*, completed the school course consisting of eight grades—they are not permitted to go home. At widely separated intervals, however, their parents may come to see them, putting up in the guest-home provided by the school for this express purpose.

The Acharya Rama Deva, of whom I wrote in the February issue of this *Review*, explained to me, once when we were discussing this matter, that he and his colleagues believed that, till the habits of body and mind had been fully formed in consonance with the Vedic ideas, it might easily be disastrous for the girls to be exposed to the world's ill-winds. They did not, therefore, approve of alternating periods of school and home residence.

I did not then see eye to eye with him in this matter, nor has time effected any change in my attitude in this respect.

VIII

A round of the classes, held out of doors instead of in stuffy rooms, brought home to me the unifying force that this institution exerts. All the provinces, many of the States and several Indian settlements overseas were represented in the groups sitting on the mats or gunny-sacks, in true Indian fashion.

The teachers, too, came from various parts of the Motherland. Among them were mis-



[*Courtesy* : Kanya Gurukula

Kanyas (maidens) ready for exercise with Indian clubs

tresses from Travancore, Maharashtra, Gujarat, the Punjab, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Bengal. Like the pupils, they wore plain home-spun, though not ochre, some of them being in the householder stage. Each taught through Hindi, whatever subject she had specialized in or whatever part of the country she had been born and brought up.

IX

In the scheme of studies, the acquisition of Indian culture is given the prominence that English is generally given in the curriculum framed, originally by foreigners, for Indian schools and colleges. Soon after the girl is admitted, the teaching of Sanskrit is taken in hand. By carefully graduated stages she advances till she has obtained a fair knowledge of the more important branches of Sanskritic literature.

Education here is not one-sided—lop-sided—however. The girls learn, by easy stages, the various branches of mathematics; history, first of their own nation and later of other peoples; logic and psychology; physical sciences, including the elements of health preservation; and English sufficient to enable them to understand any book that they may find it profitable to consult or to study.

I have neither the need nor the desire to go into details in regard to the curriculum. I must, however, tell of the very practical methods employed to awaken and to develop the girls' faculties.

I cannot speak too highly of the modes that enable the students to acquire a grip over India's past, remote as well as immediate; and also over current affairs in the Motherland and the countries with which she is more or less intimately related; and of the world, in fact. In examining the older girls I have been greatly struck with their readiness to answer difficult questions. On one occasion, for instance, I asked a student about the struggle for independence in the Philippines. Much to my surprise she could give me an account that did credit to her and to her instructors.

I put queries to other girls that, I am sure, would have confused many a college student belonging to the supposedly superior sex. The promptitude with which they answered showed how keen was their intelligence and how carefully they followed history in the making.

Then, too, the girls are trained as dialecticians. A Convocation at the Kanya Gurukula is invariably enlivened by a debate between two *Snatakas*—graduates. Their knowledge of Sanskrit is good enough to enable them to propound propositions and to refute them in that language supposed to have been dead for nearly two thousand years.

X

The ideal that the Acharya Rama Deva had in view in perfecting the Kanya Gurukula curriculum was to train girls as human beings. Since they normally are to function as wives and mothers in addition to being social workers, he did not neglect that side of their education.

One of the happiest reminiscences I have of that great educationist was his avidity for suggestions in this regard. Some years ago, when he conducted Mrs. St. Nihal Singh for the first time over the institution he tried to obtain from her ideas that would help him to develop the teaching of domestic science. The next time she went there she saw that many of them had already been put into operation.

The girls learn to cook and to serve, to sew, to crochet, to knit and to embroider. As they grow older they, by being told off to look after the new entrants, learn mother-craft. Care is taken particularly to teach them first-aid and sick nursing, including invalid cookery, the hospital attached to the institution affording them ample opportunity for such studies.

XI

The soul of the Kanya Gurukula now that the Acharya Rama Deva is gone, is a gracious lady whom he discovered and trained for the work. The Kumari (Miss) Vidyavati Seth by name, she is as self-effacing as she is efficient.

Her father was something of a pathfinder in the profession into which circumstance shunted him—railway accountancy. He, despite prejudice, forced his way farther than had any Indian theretofore. But for his broad-mindedness, his daughter would not have studied side by side with her brothers.

An article on widow-marriage that Vidyavatiji wrote caught Rama Deva's eye. He made it a point to seek her out the very first time he visited Lucknow after reading it. That was almost 30 years ago, when the convention of purdah made such a call unusual.

Vidyavati's adoption by Rama Deva as a younger sister came at the psychological moment for her. She had appeared in the B.A. examination of the Allahabad (*) University but had failed to pass—I think in history. This failure occurred at a time when tragic circumstances in the family had been undermining her health and making her mentally distraught. She was for giving up the attempt to secure the degree. Through Rama Deva's encouragement and personal instruction—he was a teacher born rather than made—she reappeared and had the distinction of being the first non-Christian woman to graduate from the same University.

After engaging in literary and social work for a number of years she took up the principalship of the Kanya Gurukula and has been in that position, in a purely honorary capacity, from the first day of its existence to the present time. The training she received under Rama Deva will, I am sure, stand her in good stead now that he has crossed the Vaitarni (Styx) to the region of celestial bliss.

* Not the Lucknow University, as wrongly stated in the article on Rama Deva in the February issue of this Review.



SO SPOKE THE KIDNAPPED HINDUS

By DHARMAVIR, M.A.

"I'M NINETEEN years of age," so said Mr. Radha Krishna when he was asked by the two representatives of the Rastriya Swayam Sewak Sangh from Lahore, to relate how he was kidnapped. "I'm a student of the ninth class of the local Government High School. On September 22, 1939, I was at Bannu. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon on that day we took a lorry from there bound for Dera Ismail Khan. Besides the Mashud lorry-driver and the Mohammedan lorry-owner there were a few Mohammedan officers, one Hindu lady and my friend Mr. Ram Chandra. Between Tittar Khel and Ghazan Khel, forty-two miles from D. I. Khan, nine Mashuds held us up. It dawned upon us now why the Mashud driver had charged us (Mr. Ram Chandra and myself) only annas ten each for the one-rupee ticket and pursuaded us to go to D. I. Khan at that particular time in his lorry. As soon as he saw the Mashuds he pulled up the lorry. To make a distinction between Hindus and Mohammedans the Mashuds asked the Hindus to come forward. Whatever we Hindus possessed was snatched by them. The Hindu lady also had to part with everything valuable. We were made to walk on foot from half-past three in the afternoon to eight in the following morning, *i.e.*, for sixteen hours and a half. We were allowed no rest. After covering sixty miles we found ourselves in the independent area—No-man's Land—beyond the boundaries of the N.-W. F. Province. On the way several Mohammedans met us. The Mashuds, our captors, asked them not to tell anybody about their find (*i.e.* us). At our destination in the independent area were seen some male Hindus, one Hindu girl aged eight and three young Hindu sisters. One Pathan snatched an ear-ring from one of the ears of a young Hindu with the result that his ear began to bleed. We saw several aeroplanes flying over us in the sky. On the third day some pamphlets were dropped down by the aeroplanes wherein the Pathans had been threatened if they did not let go those whom they had kidnapped. Two days later some aeroplanes warned the Pathans and gave them one week's written notice. When the Pathans did not care for the notice the British aeroplanes dropped bombs in the plain outside the populated area. Of this there was absolutely no effect on the Pathans. On the other hand severities began from the side of the Pathans. We were made to carry stones and dig underground mines from morn till eve. After such hard labour we were given one *chapati* or thin bread. These were prepared by our brethren. We were allowed no sleep during the night. With hand-cuffs on we were made to stand throughout the chilly night. After tying us to trees cold water was poured over us.

"One day the Pathans gave each of us a piece of paper, a bit of a pencil and a cover. We were asked to write to our people at home for a ransom of rupees five thousand. Mr. Ram Chandra wrote to his employer, Seth Fateh Chand, who paid rupees four thousand to the Rescue Committee. The bargain struck at rupees sixteen hundred so that he was set at liberty by the Pathans on October 22, 1939. (The President of the Rescue Committee was Ghulam Hussain Khan, its Secretary Doctor Jhanda Ram and a member Hafiz Haque Niwaz. Unless you deposit rupees thirty with the Committee you cannot place any grievance before it.)

"Id had arrived. The Pathans thought of sacrificing me instead of a goat or a cow. Decorating me with flowers and the like they escorted me in the form of a procession to the *Idgah*, the place of sacrifice. They rejoiced there for a pretty long time at the end of which they were informed of a new find. They gave me up and went towards the new-comer. Thus I was saved for the time being. Sometimes later they thought of converting me to Islam. They required a cow for the ceremony. But it was nowhere to be found. At last they got hold of a calf for which they were ready to pay rupees ten. But the owner was told by an acquaintance of his that it was time to make rupees fifty instead of ten. To my good fortune I was saved a second time because they considered rupees fifty an exorbitant sum for a thin lean calf.

"A few days later some Pathan boys took me to a hillock nearby. There one of them asked me: 'Which of the organs would you like to part with?' Another: 'An ear, a lip, a hand or the nose?' I entreated them

again and again not to do any such thing. But they complied with none of my supplications so that one of them, Shah Jahan Bhatini by name, cut off my right ear. I had not received any reply from my home to my letter. They placed my severed ear on my right palm and asked me to write a second letter. My ear was despatched along with it. At last the bargain was struck at rupees two thousand. The correspondence was carried on through one Amu Khan. He was therefore paid rupees twenty-five as commission. They set me free on December 24, 1939.

"While I was there I saw aeroplanes flying above me several times. Sometimes they threw down pamphlets, at other times bombs over the open fields so that no harm was done to the Pathans. Besides the young Hindu damsels they had with them Messrs Sahib Ram, Sham Das, Lacchman Das and Chaman Ram as captives. A dagger was thrust into the abdomen of Mr. Sahib Ram on the day of Dusserah, Vijaya Dashami or Durga Puja. On another day when some bombs were thrown down one of the bombs did not burst. The Pathans asked Mr. Lacchman Das to fetch it with his hands. He had to do it with the result that the bomb burst open and Mr. Lacchman Das got bruised in several places. Sometimes later when he recovered he was taken to the hill close by. From there he was hurled down the precipice and stoned at. Before doing so he was told that that was being done just to avenge the death of a Mohammedan in Dera Ismail Khan. Still Mr. Lacchman Das survived. During the night we tried to give him some fomentation for the sake of relief from the physical pain. But the cruel Pathans did not allow us to do so.

"Mr. Sham Das, at one time, told me a bit of his own story. When he was kidnapped he had two companions with him: Pandit Vithal Das and a Mohammedan. The Mohammedan was let alone while Pandit Vithal Das was taken hold of. Being an old man of seventy-five years the Pandit could not keep pace with the Pathans. Therefore they shot him dead. Messrs. Sham Das, Lacchman Das and Chaman Ram were set free after the Pathans got rupees four thousand.

"Out of the three kidnapped young Hindu sisters one was forcibly married to a Mashud after performing the *Nikah* ceremony. That Mashud had lost both of his hands on account of a bomb. The rest of the three females, two damsels and the eight years old girl, were also forcibly converted to Islam.

"These Mashuds live permanently in the North-Western Frontier Province. After kidnapping Hindus they go out into the independent area or the No-man's Land. From there they visit their villages, not during the day but at night. Then they and their agents meet their friends and relatives. They carry the looted property also during the night to their homes. For several days at a stretch they live concealed in their villages. No villager carries any news about them to the Government. They play tricks with bombs. With blankets in their hands they catch a bomb thrown down from above. A bomb caught in such a manner usually does not burst on account of the blankets."

The second gentleman had his own story to relate. "My name is Udho Das," he said. "My age is thirty-eight years. I run ration stores in Wana. On October 19, 1939, I took a lorry bound for D. I. Khan. I had with me a few bags of walnuts. Our driver was a Mashud. A friend of mine, Mr. Bodh Raj, also accompanied me. Both the driver and the lorry-owner were Mohammedans. D. I. Khan was yet fifty-eight miles when our lorry was held up by a few Pathans. We were made to walk sixty miles in the No-man's Land. My shoes parted company so that more than a dozen-and-a-half thorns found way into my feet. They were bruised and began to bleed. (The wounds have not healed even now.) I was asked to write a letter for rupees two thousand. At the end of every twenty-four hours I was given one *chapati*. On account of the long iron bars between the legs attached to the rings round the ankles we had to stand erect throughout the night. All day long we carried stones and wood or dug mines. My wife sold her golden bangles and borrowed rupees four hundred besides. Thus were collected rupees six hundred and fifty. Out of this sum five hundred were given away as ransom and one hundred and fifty to the Mashud who tried for my release.

"Every now and then when the Pathans saw a 'plane hovering about in the sky they used to take me to the plain and tie me to a tree. They would watch whether the 'plane would throw a bomb at me.

"On December 7, my shop, where my son, Khem Chand, two Hindu servants and a Mashud were staying, was put to fire. All of them died of smoke. The Pathans broke through the doors and looted the shop. I have several times complained to the authorities about this but no heed has been paid to it."

The third person was a young man of seventeen. He had his own experiences to

narrate. "My name is Bhagwan Das," he told the gentlemen. "I along with my nephew, Tulsi Das, took a lorry from D. I. Khan to Fort Sandeman. There were two other lorries besides. We reached Tonk late in the evening. The day dawned at Manzaki. At Jandola we supplied ration to the Government officials.

"In our lorry there was its owner besides the driver. None else. Between Jandola and Tanai we met an armoured car. We were informed by its occupants that certain Waziris were coming and that we should arrange for our safety. A mail van followed it. That too gave us the news of the Waziris. After lunching on the bank of the river Tawakul we resumed the journey. On reaching Mittal Khel the *Khasedar* told us that certain Waziris were waiting for us. We had gone only a very short distance when we were fired at. The engine was brought to a stand still. By chance the owner received a bullet (he was occupying the front seat). We tried to hide ourselves in the goods but were caught hold of. Our lorry was also looted. We were made to walk. When we felt very hungry the Waziris gave us each a quarter of a *chapati*. On advancing further there was scuffle between the *Khasedars* and the Waziris. The *Khasedars* got wounded.

"All through the evening and the night we were on our legs. For the next six days we kept on walking. On reaching the No-man's Land each of us was forced to write letters to our relatives for rupees five thousand. During the earlier part of our captivity we were allowed the luxury of tea besides *chapatties* once in twenty-four hours. All day long we had to do the job of carrying wood and stones. In the night we were asked to make fire for others. Two Waziri boys were taught Urdu by a *Munshi*, a teacher. Later on they were coached by us. We were removed from one place to another and then to the third. Now we were given blankets also. Each of us was forced to write for rupees five thousand a second time. The last place was not a levelled one so that we had to remove stones and the like. Once again we were put to troubles. At last we were set free after paying rupees two thousand.

"While we were there a kidnapped Hindu couple was brought. The young husband was put to death and the lady was made over to a Mohammedan after forcibly converting her to Islam. When we came away from the independent area and reached Tonk we recognised the son of one Alam Khan who had given shelter to those Waziris in his house who had taken us away as captives. We reported this to the Tehsildars."

Kidnapping of Hindus—nationals of this country is not an unfrequent event. This is Hindusthan—the land of the Hindus.

Once a white girl was kidnapped by the Pathans and the whole strength of the British Empire was up in arms.

Lahore,
Feb. 20, 1940.

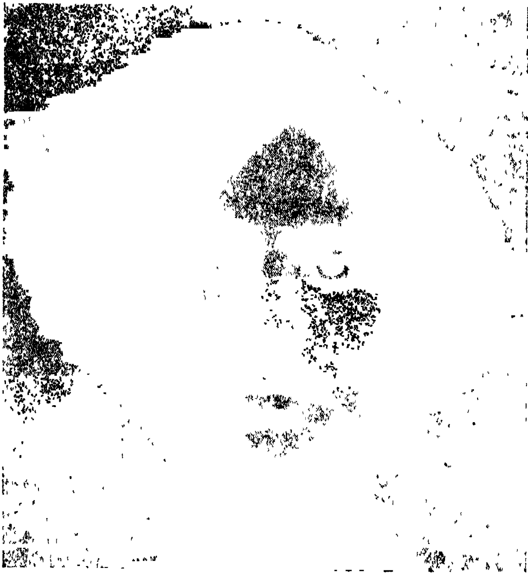


URMILA'S SLEEP

An Andhra Folk-Song

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

Like a fairy godmother, the ancient story of Rama and Seeta presided over my infancy. Along with scores of village boys, my imagination was reared in the tragic tale of Ramachandra's banishment, his wife Seeta's sufferings and the self-effacement of his devoted brother, Lakshmana, voluntarily following him in his exile. To me Lakshmana was noble, but somehow, as the story proceeded, his brave little wife Urmila faded into the background; my desire to see her accompanying her husband found no scope in the story. Only if Lakshmana would not have forbidden Urmila to follow him, I would have offered myself for Urmila's role in the *Rama Leela* performance.



Sri Krishna Sastri
• With love that a poet alone can bestow on a folk-song, Sri Krishna Sastri, worthily called 'a new voice in Telugu poetry,' praised *Urmila's Sleep*

However I wished I could not get to know her closely. Even the *Ramayana*-reciter, in our village, seemed unable to satisfy my inquisitiveness. " It is more of a story of Rama and Seeta, my boy, now listen," he would say. My precocity gave me a clue. Urmila must have swooned as soon as Lakshmana left Ayodhya with Rama and Seeta : the wives of Bharata and Shatrughna, Rama's brothers, shudderingly rushed in to put drops of water in her mouth and fan her face; slowly that lady of red and gold revived. But after that how did Urmila pass her days ?

Later I read an essay by Rabindranath Tagore, in his *Prachin Sahitya*, where he pointed out Valmiki's indifference towards Urmila. It seemed to me like a revelation, and once and again I read it with renewed zest.

And when I heard of *Urmila's Sleep*, an Andhra folk-song, originally known as *Urmila-devi Nidra*, in 1932, at Berhampur, Gunjam, it spurred my fancy. The year 1939 saw me once again approaching the Andhra folk-song. Sri Krishna Sastri, worthily called " a new voice in Telugu poetry ", spoke of Urmila's song very highly. With love, that a poet alone can bestow on a folk-song, he praised its ancient theme. Time and again he gave his ear to it. Every time it renewed his interest. " It is already in print ", he told me, " surely I'll get you one tomorrow. "

II

Like all genuine folk-songs, Urmila's Sleep is anonymous. There are slight verbal differences here and there in different editions that have hitherto been published by different firms. I procured three different editions. Sometimes the text differs to the extent of one full line or even more. And on the living lips of old grannies the difference might have been greater. But all the variants harmonize in most of the texts. The song suffers in print. There is a mass of printing mistakes; it needed a great discernment on the part of my interpreters to free it from mistakes, so that I might enjoy the content of the genuine revision.

III

The song opens with the court scene at Ayodhya with Ramachandra sitting on the throne. It is rather conventional and even distorted.

> The coronation being over,
> King Rama sat in his durbar,



[*Photo* : N. S. Chouhan

Bride and bridegroom
The middle class bride loves the old panorama of tradition and legend. Modern scepticism has not yet disturbed totally her fancy for Urmila

Bharata, Shatrughna and Lakshmana
duly serving him,
Hanuman, the offspring of the Air-God,
pressing Rama's feet respectfully,
Sugriva kneeling reverently,
Tumbura and Narada entertaining them
with their songs.
Rambha and her partners,
the dancers of heaven,
performing their dances,
Sanaka and many renowned seers
immersed in discussion,
religious and philosophical;
flowers rained over them that morning.

Then, as if through some mystery-door, enters Seeta; she looks rather modest, and lends a new colour to the miracle-play.

Having a full view
of the whole durbar,
and turning to her husband,
Seeta, with a heavy heart
came to Rama,
and folding her hands,
she said, "O god of gods !
Please hear me,
pray let me have my say,
please hear and take into consideration,
as even the divine serpent Shesha would hear;
mine is just a small plea.
With your brother Lakshmana,
when we were leaving for the forest,
Urmila, his wife, so dear,
seeing him accompanying us,
became anxious to follow him.
But Lakshmana said,
'No, you'll remain here,'
left her and proceeded to serve us.
Since that day,
Urmila has been lying
on her bed unconscious in deep slumber.
Command your brother Lakshmana,
pray do send him
at least now
to Urmila—that moon-faced lady !"

We see Seeta's heart in her words. Seeta's words had their effect.



Contemplation
The middle class girl has not yet discarded her old ways. She loves the songs of her grandmother, and will not easily forget Urmila

When Seeta closed her speech,
brooding over it
Rama felt greatly sad.
Wonderingly he addressed Lakshmana :
"Brother, just come near,
O hurry up,
brother, come here.
Is it fair
to keep away from your wife—
that beautiful woman ?
It is high time,
do go to her even now !
With your words,
sweet and lively,
O mitigate all her pangs of grief even now."

Lakshmana only knows to follow Rama's order.

Since he made Rama speak thus,
soon Lakshmana left the durbar,
saying, 'great is your kindness,'
agreeably in reply.
Crossing the yards
he reached his palace.
Entering his bed-chamber,
he saw his parrot-throated wife;
putting her *Sari* in order.
Then wearing the befitting garment,
sprinkling water cool
on Urmila's face,
Lakshmana sat down
on his life-partner's bed,
with the words of a deserter on his lips:
"The moon craves, O lady,
to have a glance
of your kissable face !
Though you gave up betel-chewing long ago,
Your smiling under-lip
looks fresh like a new leaf's tip !
O speak to me
like the pouring down of nectar;
pray appease my soul !"

Urmila rubs the sleep out of her eyes. She discovers, to her astonishment, that some stranger—some trespasser—has stepped in. Sheepishly she still lies on her bed, her eyes not yet opened.

Urmila, who had long lain asleep,
forgetting herself,
began to quiver.
"Who are you, O man !",
she broke forth,
"O you came for mischief-making !
Searching through passages,
small and narrow,
You came to do such a wrong !
Knowing that none else is near,
O did you start
for this solitary corner ?
If my father, King Janaka, will hear,
He won't keep quiet
till he passes upon you his order.
If my sister and her husband
King Rama will hear,
O in danger to your life it will result;
even if my sister alone will hear,
your life on the face of the earth
certainly she won't spare.
Ah me, what disgrace
descends on the fair name
of a great lineage !
O what shall I do !
Though born in a family of fame,
now comes to me a bad name !
O what shall I do !"

Urmila's speech continues. Here the folk-poetess, in the course of Urmila's further words, goes rather astray from the original technique of the legend of the long unbroken sleep of Urmila for fourteen years, when we find that she is aware of Seeta's capture by Rāvana.




[*Photo* : Devendra Satyarthi

(*From left to right*): Sri Srinivasacharya, M. Krishnamurti, Devendra Satyarthi and Sri Singaracharya. It was rather like a syndicate when at Ellore Sri Krishnamurti, Srinivasacharya and Singaracharya helped me in the translation of *Urmila's Sleep*. I based my rendering on the literal translation mostly, and for it the sole responsibility is mine

Urmila's argument presents the orthodox Hindu view.

Isn't it by having the desire
of acquiring another's wife
that Indra's body was spoiled ?
Isn't it by having the desire
of acquiring another's wife
that Ravana suffered utter destruction ?
And knowing all this before,
O you came to do such a wrong !
O have you no sister
or mother like me ?

Urmila had not yet opened her eyes; her blood was all aflame within her.

As Urmila closed her speech,
Lakshmana, who heard it
with due attention,
and felt sorry,
began to say :
"I'm Rama's own brother,
who else is like him
in the whole creation ?
And am I not the son-in-law
of King Janaka ?
O graceful one, born of a hundred-petalled lotus,
am I not Seeta's own brother-in-law ?
O they call you Urmila,
and I swear by your name
and tell no lie !
Leaving father Dashratha,
as we went to the forest,
there Seeta was captured.
Putting Ravana to death,
we brought our Seeta back.
If I wrongly raised my hand,
O moon-faced woman,
I'd myself become infamous !
Am I not Seeta's own brother-in-law ?
Lady, be kind now and get up.
Since I departed from you, my sweetheart,
I knew no food nor sleep !"

With a pleading voice Lakshmana continued:

"If you won't get up, my love,
I won't live any longer !"
With tears in his eyes,
Lakshmana again broke forth :
"I'll kill myself !"
and he suddenly took his sword
out of its sheath.
As he argued thus,
Urmila got up with a shock.
Knowing for certain that he is her lord,
And lotus-eyed Urmila then bowed down
on her husband's lotus feet.

Lakshmana consoled his wife.

Lifting her up with his hands,
Lakshmana embraced Urmila,
and wiped her eyes,
wet with tears !

Urmila had well thought over what she would say.

"My father, King Janaka,
wrongly took you in confidence,
and married me to you;"
(Urmila went on to say),
"thinking that his son-in-law was a prince,
how immensely he rejoiced!"

In a very pleading voice, Lakshmana took to a traditional argument.

As Urmila stopped speaking,
Lakshmana, overwhelmed
with sorrow, perceived the meaning
of the fine-toothed woman's comment,
made in a sorrowful mood.
"O why still feel sorry?"
he began in a soothing tone,
"In some previous birth, my love,
we might have separated
some pious husband and wife;
what if several ages pass,
we can't resist the law of *Karma*!"

The scene that follows is rich in life and poetry.

When Kaushalya found
the husband and wife, immersed in sorrow,
the *champak*-sented oil she brought;
and seating them on gemmy *peethas*,
she smeared it on their heads.
A maid of honour then brought
sandal-paste for them;
in lavendar-water she bathed them,
with a silk towel she wiped Lakshmana's body.
The maid then dressed Urmila
in gold-flowered silk;
the blouse she gave her to wear
shone as if with rays
of one crore of suns!
She adorned Urmila,
who looked another goddess of wealth,
with many an ornament and jewel;
and she gave a *tilaka* mark
on Lakshmana's brow.
Urmila, a precious gem of a woman,
looked on her image along with her husband
standing before a large mirror;
shyly she bent her head
and stood there with a smile.

The next scene brings us to the royal dining-hall. Urmila's personality is brought out in good relief.

Then Rama came
and sat in the dining-hall
luxuriously like the god Indra
on a *peetha*, bedecked with pearls.
"Come in, O gem of a sister-in-law,"
with these words Rama welcomed Urmila.
All lovely shyness,
Urmila looked like a parrot,
while she bent her head
on the other side:
sweetly tinkled the anklets
on her feet,
as she walked in:
like an image of beauty
how graceful she looked!
To Urmila, briskly smiling,
Sumitra gave a seat
near her son:
in gold plates she served them,
in silver cups
Kaushalya brought *ghee*:
Sumitra put cow's *ghee*
before her son:
Shanta, so fond of flowers,
then spoke to Lakshmana,
Sumitra's affectionate son,
"Brother, for fourteen years
in the forest,
you lived without food and sleep;
all fatigue you'll forget, brother,
O do take sweets and *ghee* and cakes"
"Take cream and butter you all,"
again said Shanta,
"and after your own hearts
drink the buttermilk."

The dinner concludes rather abruptly.

Lo! they finished off the dinner:
to their hearts' content
they ate and got up:
with the water of the Ganges
they washed their hands.

Entertainment comes in next.

As they all took to betel-chewing,
(Shanta remarked smilingly):
"Give audience to me, O Seeta,
O daughter of King Janaka,
O what a good genius is Urmila!
On her gold bed lay she
for full fourteen years in swoon!
All the charm
of this gold image,
O where had it been hiding!
O Seeta, perform
around Urmila's face
the ritual of auspicious *Arati*,
then would harm her
no evil eye!"
When Shanta closed her speech,
Seeta, who understood it,
commented laughingly:
"O your brothers are moons!
they are worthy
of inducing even gods like Indra
and the moon itself
to feel a sort of love for them!
So that no evil eye
would harm them!"
Soon as Seeta thus spoke,
Shanta resumed laughingly:
"O what a beauty is Urmila,
and what a beauty indeed you yourself!
Beware of an evil eye,
O you coquettes,
you winners of my brothers' admiration!"
Soon as Shanta closed,
Seeta commenced smilingly:
"Your husband, Rishi Shringi,
who is a brother to me,
leaves not your company
in the hermitage
even for a minute,

and you, O Shanta, mock
at the simple-minded Rishi !"
Her ear she gave fully
to Seeta's words,
and then Shanta began :
"O Seeta, O you my sister-in-law !
O you daughter of the Earth !
How sacred became our family,
O soft-skinned Seeta,
since you became our daughter-in-law ! "

The next scene moves like the flowing water. Full of absorbing interest, it is instinct with the raciness of folk-poetry.

Sumitra provided a couch then,
with fluffs of swans spread on it,
for her fatigued son :
placing on it silk-pillows,
lavendar-water she sprinkled on it :
lo ! a parrot-throated maid of honour
brought a *Vatti* fan;
sandal-paste and musk
and scents, *Punugu* and *Javaddi,*
she brought in cups
and put them beside the couch;
betel nuts and green leaves, too,
she put beside the couch;
and pearl-dust she placed
to be used instead of lime.

Urmila and Lakshmana come in. The song holds our attention. The breeze that comes from champaks and jessamines plays its miracle on love-lit hearts. And we find Lakshmana engaged in combing and braiding Urmila's locks.

Lo ! the champak-ladden breeze blows,
lo ! Urmila and Lakshmana rose
to shut the outer door.
Lo ! the breeze blows
that came from the jessamines,
lo ! they sat on the couch.
As to dress her hair
after the *Koppu* coiffure,
lo ! Lakshmana braids Urmila's locks;
and with *Bodu* jessamines and *Jaji* flowers,
her long braided hair he adorns
with all the art he knows.

Urmila asks her husband about Seeta's abduction by Rāvana, and Lakshmana tells the story in detail. He seems to be missing the perspective when he forgets to tell the moving story of his own life in the forest—that life without food and sleep, so well-known to Andhra legend. Nor does he care to properly comprehend the vital importance of Urmila's long sleep for fourteen years.

Lakshmana and Urmila,
both together chewing betels,
and exchanging words in sport,
"How it was," asked Urmila,
"my sister was stolen ?
Brave as lions you were there,
O how was Seeta captured ?
You both were by her side,
how was captured the beauteous woman ?"
Thus spoke Urmila and Lakshmana then replied :
"To escape from what is destined, my dear,
O is it possible even for god Brahma, tell me ?
Setting out from Ayodhya,



The village temple
The temple-going women dream of antiquity more than anything else. Urmila lives in the twilight of their legends

in a hut of leaves our days we passed :
a golden deer of illusion one day
came near the door of the hut :
asking for that deer your sister bowed down
at her lord's feet :
and taking his arrows and bow,
Rama proceeded to hunt the deer.
Drawing the bow as he shot his arrow,
the deer made a peculiar sound,
'Alas, O Seeta, alas, O Lakshmana !'
Seeta got frightened and spoke to me;
'no, revered lady,' I said, 'you don't know,'
after Rama as she asked me to go.
O she said many a word,
each word, to my ear, an arrow;
drawing a boundary line around her,
I went after my brother :
Ravana, in disguise, soon after,
stood, saying '*Narayana,* O Almighty God !'
in front of the good-eyed Seeta :
a devotee of god Vishnu he was she thought,
and readily she gave him alms :
soon as he showed his ten heads,
Seeta swooned with fear :
To Lanka Ravana carried her away.
Rama returned with the golden deer,
but Seeta was not there.
We searched the hut,
and we searched the forest.
On Kishkindha mountain we met
the great King Sugriva.
'We are Dasharatha's sons,' we said,
and a bundle of presents he gave us;
and as the bundle was opened,
Seeta's ornaments were found;

'Come, brother,' thus calling me,
Rama showed me the ornaments.
'I know not,' I said,
'all these ornaments, brother Rama :
these anklets alone I recognize indeed;
every morning I saw them,
while I bowed down at her feet.'
Then calling Hanuman,
giving him his ring,
and telling him about Seeta's distinctive marks,
Rama sent him in search of Seeta.
Hanuman crossed the sea,
searched Asoka garden,
and met my sister-in-law Seeta :
he gave her the ring,
got from her in return a gem :
and a long talk he had with her.
Soon returned Hanuman,
and stood before Rama :
'How am I to bring Seeta back, O king?
How disarranged were her locks !
In her heart burnt what a fire !
To think about Seeta's hard lot,
O how unbearable it is !'

Engrossed in sorrow Rama heard and swooned;
and as the fit was over,
Lanka's secret he perceived,
and he killed Ravana along with his armies,
strong and huge.
'Adorn Seeta and bring her
before me,' he said :
and as she was brought said Rama :
'O she was for ten months
in the enemy's possession,
O I won't speak to her !'

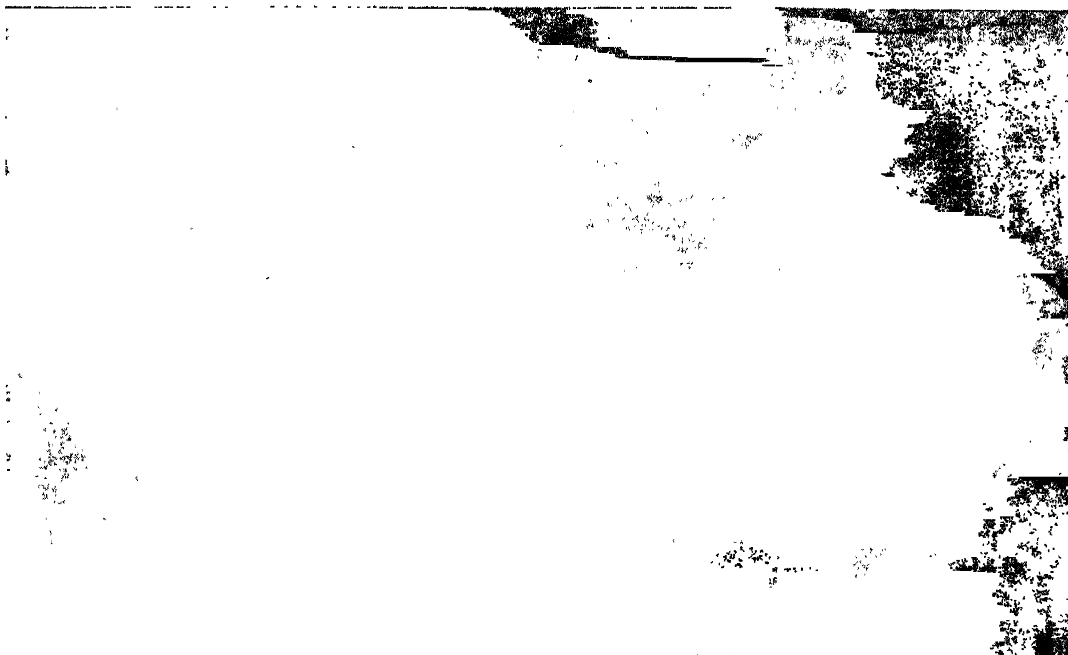
Then follows the story of Seeta's ordeal by fire, out of which she came quite unscathed.

Urmila and Lakshmana retire. And the song ends with a conventional epilogue that transforms Lakshmana into a god—a god who is empowered to bless the singers and listeners of the song of *Urmila's Sleep*.

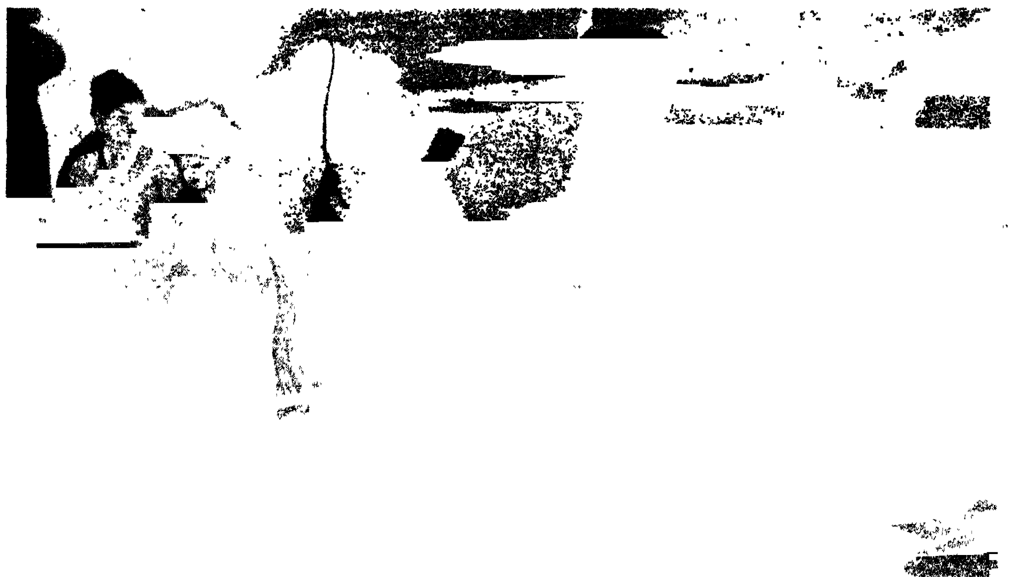
Urmila symbolizes to the imagination of the Andhra woman a loyal wife who outshines even a goddess.



Dr. Robert A. Millikan
[After a sketch by S. N. Swamy]



Urmila's sleep — By M. Krishnamurti



Rama's exile — **By D. Ramarao**



Mother : By M. Krishnamurti
The Andhra mother teaches Urmila's song to her daughter, even when she is a baby



It is a pity that the modern girl remains untouched by songs like "Urmila's sleep"



Winnowers A. S. Edwin
Surely a day will come when the entire range of the *Women's songs,* cradled by the womenfolk of the middle class, will reach the hearths of the peasantry



"Ye my pots" D. Satyarthi
The potter's daughter too shares Urmila's legend with her sisters of the middle class

DOMINION STATUS OF THE WESTMINSTER-STATUTE TYPE

By Prof. H. N. SINHA, M.A., Ph.D.

In the past few weeks we have had frequent references to the Statute of Westminster in the context of the political goal of India. National leaders and British statesmen have spoken of its substance and scope in various ways. Generally our opinions are formed on inadequate information, perverted facts or heresay statements. It may, therefore, be worth our while to examine the implications of this Statute, in the light of the reactions it has produced in the working of Dominion Governments.

The Statute was passed on December 11, 1931 by the British Parliament at the request and consent of the Dominion representatives gathered at Westminster. Since then significant changes have been introduced and unforeseen tendencies have developed in the government of the Dominions. While the Irish Free State and the Union of South Africa have sought to wring out of the Statute all that it could yield, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of Canada have been less exacting, and New Zealand and New Foundland have taken it with a spirit of complacency. Of course in adopting this divergent attitude each Dominion has been actuated by considerations of the geographical situation, political needs or problems of defence into the details of which we need not enter. That apart, it may be stressed at the outset that the Statute was the result not of speculative notions about the political goal of Dominions, but of the practice followed in maintaining political relations between the Dominions and Great Britain, which had gradually crystallised into conventions. One or two instances may be cited as illustrative of this statement.

In matters of defence the Dominions had gained practically complete autonomy since after the conclusion of the Great War. In 1921 the Union of South Africa undertook its own defence on land and of the naval base at Simonstown which was handed over to the Union Government by the War Office free of cost. In Canada the National Defence Act of 1922 transferred to a Department of National Defence control of the militia, navy, civil and military aeronautics. Australian defence policy had been framed on the principle of responsibility of each Dominion to provide for its own defence. Irish defence was regulated by the Treaty of 1921 which prescribed the maximum number of Irish troops to be maintained, and required Ireland to share the burden of her naval defence with Great Britain after 1926.

In matters of external relations, in 1923 Canada concluded a treaty with the United States of America regarding the Halibut fisheries. The treaty had been negotiated by the British Ambassador at Washington in accordance with the wishes of the Canadian Government. The question then arose whether the Ambassador should sign the treaty together with the Canadian Minister of Marine and Fisheries. The Canadian Government insisted that the treaty affected only Canadian British subjects and the Canadian Government, and therefore, should be signed by Canadian representatives alone. Eventually this view was accepted by the British Government and endorsed by the Imperial Conference of 1923 (Keith : *Governments of the British Empire*, p. 93). In the autumn of 1922, a telegram was sent by Mr. Churchill, Secretary of State for Colonies to the Dominions, inquiring if they would send military help to the British Government in case hostilities were renewed with Turkey. To this Australia and New Zealand replied in the affirmative, while South Africa and Canada wanted more information before they could act. The attitude of South African and Canadian governments was tantamount to a disapproval, and so the adventure of a new war was given up by Britain (*The British Commonwealth and its Unsolved Problems*, pp. 23-24). These facts were sufficiently indicative of a " tremendous change ", as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said in the House of Commons on June 26, 1924, that had come about in the relations between the Dominions and Great Britain and which was recognised and properly expressed in the Statute of Westminster.

The Statute is remarkably brief, comprising only twelve brief sections, but extremely comprehensive, though according to Commonwealth opinion " it reduced to cold legal form a relationship some of the supreme value of which has been its vagueness and elasticity. " Whatever view may be taken about its value there is no denying the fact that it confers

complete self-determination consisting in an independent national status, legislative supremacy with extra-territorial jurisdiction, unfettered control of national defence and fiscal policy, and perhaps a tacit recognition of the right to secede. Such being the sanctions of the Statute, they have raised, during the past eight years, issues of fundamental importance in regard to the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of the Crown.

Section 4 of the Statute provides that

"No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act (December 11, 1931) shall extend or be deemed to extend to a Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act, that, that Dominion has requested and consented to the enactment thereof."

This "self-denying" article along with sections 2 and 3 has encouraged various Dominions to undertake legislation, which has transformed their character. Ireland has passed the Removal of Oath Act 1933, and omitted from the oath of allegiance all reference to the King. Similarly from all official documents reference to the King has been deleted, and from stamps and coinage King's head has been removed. South Africa by the Status of Union Act 1934 has provided

"that the Parliament of the Union shall be the *Sovereign legislative power* in and over the Union, and no Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to the Union as part of its law unless extended by an Act of the Union." (Keith : *Governments of the British Empire*, p. 34).

Australia, New Zealand and New Foundland have been rather conservatively inclined, for they have not liked this surrender of imperial legislative supremacy on the ground that such legislation might have been a convenient method of carrying out for the whole Empire a common policy. That was why Australia delayed "the adoption of such sections of the Statute of Westminster for which Commonwealth consent is still required" till August 1937. (*Round Table*, December 1937, p. 181).

But the claims of the Free State and the Union have been confirmed by the decisions of the Privy Council on June 6, 1935 in the two cases of the *British Coal Corporation* v. *The King*, and *Moore* v. *Attorney-General for the Irish Free State*. These decisions accord the widest interpretation to the legislative authority given by the Statute of Westminster to the Dominions. The decision in the case of *Moore* v. *Attorney-General for the Irish Free State* upheld the validity of the constitution (Amendment No. 22) Act 1923, to abolish the right of appeal from the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State to the Judicial Committee, as provided in the Treaty of 1921 and in the Free State Constitution. For, as the Lord Chancellor pointed out in his judgment

"the Statute of Westminster gave the Irish Free State legislative power to abrogate or repeal the Treaty of 1921. This power flows from the fact that the Treaty and the Free State Constitution form part of the Statute law of the United Kingdom, which the Statute of Westminster gave the Irish Free State Legislative power to upset." (*Round Table*, September, 1935, pp. 785-86).

The decision in the case of the *British Coal Corporation* v. *The King* upheld the action of the Canadian Parliament in abolishing appeals in criminal cases to the Judicial Committee on similar arguments. The action of the Irish and Canadian Parliaments was valid because section 2 of the Statute of Westminster authorises a Dominion Parliament to override the statutory power given to the Crown by the Judical Committee Act, 1844, to admit appeals at discretion, and Section 3 enables the Parliament to give its decision extra-territorial effect as regards action to be taken in England.

But if these facts prove that the Dominions have "the sovereign legislative power", then in the matter of foreign relations the decision of the Irish Free State in 1931, followed by the Union of South Africa in 1934, to act in direct communication with the King without going through the Dominion or the Foreign Office proves that they have sovereign national status as well. For under the Status of the Union Act 1934, the authority of the King in regard to foreign affairs could be exercised by the Governor-General. Dr. Keith regards it as a

"striking innovation, for it has never been the practice for the King to delegate to the Governor-General his prerogative in respect of external affairs, such as the making of war or peace, the declaration of neutrality and the conclusion of treaties." (*Governments of the British Empire*, p. 97).

But it is a well-known constitutional practice that all the powers and prerogatives of the British King are exercised in his name by responsible ministers. Further he himself opines in conformity with the decision of the case of the *British Coal Corporation* v. *The King* that a Dominion Parliament

"can validly deal with any royal prerogative connected with matters within its sphere of authority." (*Governments of the British Empire*, p. V.).

And if the Status of the Union Act be valid, and there is no questioning of its validity, then what it authorises must be valid also.

Naturally, therefore, authorised by the Union Parliament the Governor-General could exercise the prerogative of the King in external affairs.

From this deduction arises the issues whether a Dominion may remain neutral when Britain is at war. As Prime Minister General Hartzog often asserted, and the Union legislation of 1934 in the form of the Status of the Union Act, and the Royal Executive Function and Seals Act lent support to his view, that since the Governor-General could exercise the external prerogatives of the Crown he could declare neutrality in a British war. And after the new Constitution of Ireland came into force (Derember 29, 1937) Irish neutrality in the present war could not be questioned in strict law. But law apart the actual disposition of the Dominions as the present war broke out may be an eye-opener in many ways.

On September 2, the day before Great Britain declared war, the Irish Dail and Senate were summoned to pass two emergency measures. One declared that a state of emergency existed though Ireland was not actually at war, and the other conferred on the Government emergency powers to make such provisions as in their opinion were necessary for securing public safety and the preservation of the state. When introducing the bills in the Dail Mr. De Valera said

> "that he did not think their policy of neutrality would come as a surprise to anybody, since he had stated last February that in the event of a European War it was the aim of his Government to keep this country out of it." (*Round Table*, December, 1939, p. 137).

The policy of neutrality was not challenged by any one during the Dail debate; but Mr. James Dillon, the Deputy-Leader of the Fien Gael party who was the first opposition Speaker said:

> "Our neutrality should not be taken as meaning that we are indifferent to the issue of the conflict......he believed that the vast majority of the Irish people placed their sympathy on the side of Poland, France and Great Britain against Berlin and Moscow......."

In Canada the declaration of war was delayed till September 10, because the Dominion Government wanted a full discussion of the issues involved at a special session of its Parliament

> "to emphasise *their separate national status* and the independent decision of the Dominion." (*Round Table*, December, 1939, p. 177).

After the decision was taken and proclamation issued in the name of King George VI at Ottawa, there was a protest from the Prime Minister of Quebec Mr. Maurice Duplessis, against the wisdom of the action of Mr. Mackenzie King and his ministry. He then sought a mandate of the people over this issue at a provincial election held on October 25, but was decisively defeated. This incident though of a harmlessly domestic nature suggests the attitude of a party in a province of the Dominion that desired neutrality and that was in accord with their "separate national status."

In South Africa the war precipitated rather a crisis of some importance. General Hartzog the leader of the United party (formed by the fusion of the Nationalist followers of his and the South African party of General Smuts) and Prime Minister of the Union told his Cabinet on September 3, that he had "decided upon" a policy of neutrality and moved a resolution to that effect, the next day. His decision which came in the form of an ultimatum, split the cabinet and the party. General Smuts moved an amendment to that resolution, that negatived the policy of neutrality and committed the Union to war. This was carried by 80 votes to 67. Hartzog ministry fell, and General Smuts formed Government. The close voting clearly suggested that there was a big enough section of public opinion that did not favour war. And General Smuts had carried the day because of the saving clause in his amendment, that "the Government should not send forces overseas as in the last war." The present position, therefore, is that the Union has to defend its own frontier and those of South West Africa, besides Simonstown and has probably to co-operate in the defence of Rhodesia and Tanganyika (*R. T.*, December, 1939, p. 210). This is not an easy task, and the dissatisfaction in regard to the war policy of the government, which has imposed this task on the Union, has found expression in the recent statement issued by General Hartzog and Dr. Malan, the leaders of the Parliamentary groups in opposition, who want a republican form of government in order that "South Africa will not again be drawn into the wars of Great Britain." (*Reuter* message from Capetown, January, 28. *The Statesman*, 30th January, 1940).

The disposition of Mr. De Valera, of Mr. Duplessis and of General Hartzog and Dr. Malan, insists upon a policy that does not derogate from the separate or sovereign national status of those Dominions, as does the disposition of Mr. James Dillon, of Mr. Mackenzie King, and of General Smuts. Only the neutrality of Mr. De Valera's government has landed them in some difficulty. For example

the office of Irish minister in Berlin fell vacant at the outbreak of war, and though the appointment of a new minister was made it became impossible for him to get letters of credence as His Majesty could hardly be expected to remain neutral. Then, as the war proceeded several crews from torpedoed ships arrived at different times on the southwest coast of Ireland, and on one occasion a German submarine entered Ventry Harbour, near Dingle, County Kerry for that purpose. It was realized that owing to their lack of an adequate naval force, the Irish government may have to face difficult situations unless the British Navy came to their aid.

So far with regard to the prerogative of the King in external affairs. We may next pass on to an examination of the question of royal succession as regulated by the Statute of Westminster. The preamble to the Statute says that

"any alteration in the Law touching succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

On the occasion of the abdication of Edward VIII, accordingly the Dominions had to be consulted in good time. On November 28, 1936 Mr. (now Earl) Baldwin for the first time informed the Dominion Governments as to what was happening and suggested three possible courses, first, the marriage of King Edward to Mrs. Simpson, she to become Queen; second, a morganatic marriage, of which the issue would be debarred from succession and third, a voluntary abdication. Of course all the Dominions were agreed on the desirability of the third course. But the procedure followed was rather important.

"Some if not all of His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions exercised their right to communicate with the King, whether in the shape of formal advice or otherwise. Their status in this respect was equal to that of the United Kingdom Government though the nature and urgency of the crisis made it inevitable that Mr. Baldwin should have played a unique part, and that His Majesty should not himself have directly sought advice from his Dominion Governments at the same time as he sought it from Mr. Baldwin." (*Round Table*, March, 1937, p. 245).

On December 10, the King's message of voluntary abdication was read by the Speaker in the House of Commons; on the 11th the Declaration of Abdication Bill was passed and received Royal Assent; the same evening King Edward left England; and George VI was proclaimed King on December 12. But the Dominions had to approve of the Act of British Parliament before King Edward's abdication could be valid and there was very little time. Since the preamble to the Declaration of Abdication Act acknowledged the assent of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, it was taken for granted they would soon endorse the abdication in their own formal way. Canada did it in due form by way of a Governor-General's Order-in-Council passed at Ottawa on December 10, and Australia passed a resolution approving of the Act on the same day. But the Free State and Union Parliaments were not sitting at that time. The latter was hurriedly summoned and after some discussion on December 11th the accession of George VI was duly proclaimed on December 12.

But in Ireland the occasion was seized to introduce some constitutional changes of far-reaching importance. The name of the Free State had been omitted from the preamble to the Declaration of Abdication Act, as Mr. De Valera had said that in conformity with the Statute of Westminster the abdication will not be valid for the Free State unless legislation for that purpose was enacted by its Parliament. On December 11, Mr. De Valera summoned the Dail, and presented two bills, which introduced important changes in the constitution. The first removed from the Constitution all the remaining references to the King and the Governor-General, and dropped the article that provided for the appointment and salary of the Governor-General. It also provided that in future all bills, when passed, shall be signed by the Chairman of the Dail, who will also summon and dissolve Parliament on the advice of the Executive Council. The second bill provided that in future the appointment of all diplomatic and Consular representatives, and the conclusion of all international agreements shall be made on the authority of the Executive Council; that so long as the Irish Free State was associated with the other nations of the Commonwealth, and so long as the King, recognised by those nations as the symbol of their co-operation combined to act on behalf of each of them for the purposes of the appointment of diplomatic and Consular representatives and the conclusion of international agreements,

"the King so recognised *may and is hereby authorized to act on behalf* of the Irish Free State for the like purposes as and when advised by the Executive Council to do so."

In a further section the Bill ratified the abdication of King Edward and defined the new King, *for the purposes of external association,* as henceforth the person, who, if King Edward had died on the 10th day of December, 1936

unmarried, would for the time being be his successor under the law of the Irish Free State. The result of the two bills was that the first took the King and the Governor-General out of the Constitution of the Free State, and the second put only the King back in the constitution for the purposes of external association that is, to act for such purposes on behalf of the Irish Free State when advised by the Executive Council to do so. These changes apart, the significance of which we will discuss presently, the delay in legislation to give recognition to the abdication meant, though without much political import, that

"for the space of one day Edward VIII was still King in the Free State whereas George VI had already succeeded him across the Irish Channel." (*Round Table*, March, 1937, p. 250).

Now this purpose of its association with the British Crown as defined by the Free State raises the most fundamental question whether the Dominions have the power, according to the Statute of Westminster to secede by unilateral action, from the British Commonwealth of Nations of which the symbol of unity is the Crown. The preamble to the Statute took for granted the unity of Commonwealth as founded upon "the free association of its members" and "a common allegiance to the Crown." The separate national status, and sovereign legislative power, claimed by the Dominions are in accord with the statute and the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926, that they are

"autonomous communities within the British Empire equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of British Commonwealth of Nations."

In spite of that, lately there have come ominous hints from responsible quarters, suggestive of the tendencies that are gaining upper hand in some parts of the Commonwealth. We have already adverted to the disposition of some responsible leaders in regard to the present war. It may now be pointed out that as far back as March 12, 1935 General Hartzog as Prime Minister emphasised in his policy speech the absolute refusal of himself and his fellow African-speaking citizens of the Union to co-operate with their English-speaking co-citizens on the basis of a freedom derived from "an integral and indivisible part of the British Empire." This rejects the notion that Dominions are integral parts of the British Empire and suggests a clear negation of the permanency of British connection, so far as the Union was concerned. (Keith: *Governments of the British Empire*, p. vii).

His policy of neutrality at the outbreak of the war, and the recent statement issued with Dr. Malan that

"a republican form of Government, separated from the British Crown is the best suited to the traditions and aspirations of the South African people are only steps forward in that direction." (*Reuter*—Capetown, January 28, 1940. *The Statesman*, January 30).

But if General Hartzog wants to sever British connection and have a Republic, Mr. De Valera has already led the way. On the occasion of King Edward's abdication the Act of settlement was modified in the light of the Statute of Westminster so as to make it clear that

"in the Irish Free State, at any rate, and perhaps in the Union too, the statutory title of King George VI rests solely upon Dominion law."

This fact puts to an end to the controversies about what is (rather misleadingly) spoken of as the divisibility of the Crown.

"Indeed as the legislation worked out, it chanced that for a day or two Edward VIII was King in some parts of the Empire and George VI in others, and allegiance was temporarily due to two different Sovereigns." (*Round Table*, June, 1937, p. 472).

Whether it was deliberate or accidental "with no permanent political significance," cannot be vouchsafed. But what followed in Ireland six months later may help to explain motives. On May 1, 1937 was published the draft of a new constitution to be submitted to the Electorate at a plebiscite simultaneously with the General Elections. Having been approved by the people and amended by the Dail on December 29, 1937 the New Constitution came into force. It provided for a President, a Council of State, a Senate and the Dail; embodied a declaration of fundamental rights; made all future amendments to the constitution dependent on referendum; and lastly omitted mention of the King and the Commonwealth. Instead of the King and the Commonwealth the constitution contained that

"for the purpose of the exercise of any executive function of Eire in or in connection with its external relations, the Government, may, to such extent and subject to such conditions, if any, as may be determined by law, avail of or adopt any organ, instrument or method of procedure used or adopted for the like purpose by the members of any group or league of nations with which Eire is or becomes associated for the purpose of international co-operation in matters of common concern."

Here "any organ, instrument or method of procedure" replaces the agency of the King,

and the association with Commonwealth changes into

"any group or league of nations with which the Eire may be associated for the purpose of international co-operation."

The Free State, which becomes a republic in all but name

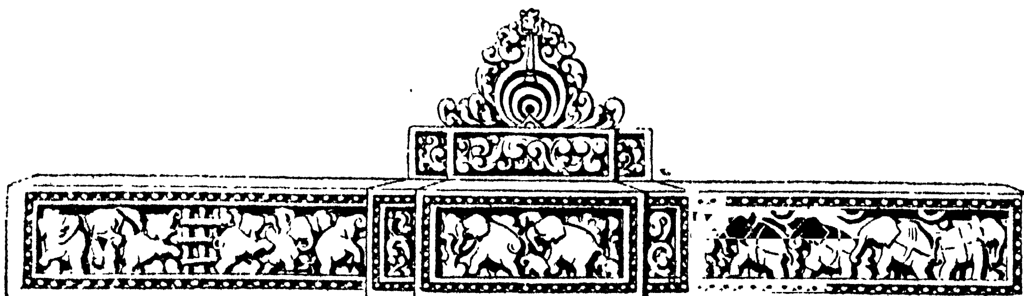
"will apparently remain a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and recognise the King for external purposes so long as it pleases its Government to do so." (*Round Table*, June, 1937, p. 590).

But the obvious suggestion is that for purposes of "external relations, any organ, instrument or method of procedure" may be adopted as an alternative to the agency of the Crown and "in matters of common concern" association with any group or league of nations may be preferred to association with the Commonwealth. The point made out here is clearly that of a contingent separation from the British Commonwealth as united under one Crown. As Professor James Hogan, Professor of History, University College, Cork, suggests, since the Irish nation is hardly prepared to take the British monarchy and its symbols to its heart the situation must resolve itself either into a new type of relationship or into secession. (*Ireland Today*, Sept. and Oct. 1937).

Hence if in the Union a policy aimed at "the negation of permanency of the British connection" is officially advocated in 1935 and another for the establishment of a "republican form of Government separated from the British Crown" is contemplated by a Parliamentary party; if in Ireland a Republic in all but name is established by a constitution that drops altogether the King and the British Commonwealth; and if both the Free State and Union legislation concerning succession, makes the Statutory title of King George VI solely dependent upon their own law, then the conclusion seems to be that the ideal of the Unity of British Commonwealth symbolised by "a common allegiance to the Crown" is fast losing its quality to inspire the Dominions. In 1931 the framers of the Statute of Westminster had sought to forestall all disruptive tendencies by laying down in the Preamble that since

"the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown . . . *any alteration in the Law* touching the succession to the throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

That is to say any alteration in the Law of Succession, has to be made unanimously by the Dominions severally and by the United Kingdom. This definitely ruled out any alteration in that law which has not been adopted by the "Parliaments of all the Dominions as the Parliament of the United Kingdom." Therefore unilateral action in altering the law of succession severing connection with the British Crown does not appear to have been sanctioned by the Statute. And so far no such action has been taken, not even by Ireland. But that is no guarantee that such an action will not be taken in future. When the Statute is silent as to how such a contingency be encountered, we have to leave it to the time-element and human nature, the two potent factors in politics to show the way. The vagueness of the Statute on this point is distressing.



THE WAR AND INDIA'S ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

By Professor BHABATOSH DATTA, M.A.

It seems to have become a matter of common belief that the economic life of India has entered a millennium as a direct result of the outbreak of war in Europe. The rise in the prices of agricultural crops and the increase in our export trade have combined to confirm this belief, and the enthusiastic among the economists of our country have been speaking in superlatives about the gains we have secured and the larger gains that are yet to come. Mr. B. N. Adarkar, for example, in a speech broadcast from the Delhi Radio Station, allowed himself to be eloquent about

"the great revival of activity which we see everywhere, the great regeneration which has come about in the industrial life of this country since the outbreak of war, the rise in prices and the great strides which India is about to make in the setting up of new industries."

This is typical of the enthusiasm with which some economists in India are regarding the situation caused by the war, and if one can share in this enthusiasm, it would appear that for India at least the present war will mean roses all the way.

It seems, however, to be forgotten that most often what a war gives with one hand, it takes away with the other. There are times when a war can give a decisive turn to a stagnant economic situation, but it rarely does so without creating at the same time difficulties unperceived at first, but tending to be insuperable as time passes. In analysing the actual and the potential effects of the present war upon the economic life of India, it is necessary to take note not only of the increased output and seemingly rising incomes, but also of the difficulties that are accumulating and the undercurrent of factors neutralising to a large extent the apparent advantages. As a broad thesis, however, it can surely be maintained that a war is advantageous to a country not directly involved in it. The peculiar position of India at present is that she is technically a belligerent, but in effect a neutral, and therefore it seems to be logical to conclude that India should be able to secure immense gains from the situation caused by the war. But this peculiarity is only one of the many peculiarities of India, and, consequently, our estimate of the possible gains can be accurate, or nearly so, only when we have taken into account all the relevant factors.

It has to be admitted that the war has come at a very opportune moment for India. The trade depression of 1930 and the years following and the second recession of 1937-38 had worsened a situation already distressing, and the need for something that would give a new turn to the wind had been felt to be imperative. A change for the better ensued in 1938 when the German occupation of Czecho-Slovakia had stirred many European countries to activity, leading to an increased demand for war materials. The demand for jute increased, and India received a foretaste of the war demand in an order from the British Government for 200 million sandbags. This order was a significant one from the standpoint of the jute industry, and indirectly of the jute-growers, but in relation to the economy of the country as a whole, the effect was not very considerable. The effective new turn came only in September, 1939, when major war operations commenced in Europe.

The first effects of the declaration of war are as yet living memory. The markets became all disorganised, and there appeared immediately all the inevitable effects—of cornering and speculation, of prices soaring up to unprecedented heights, of sellers holding up stocks and buyers purchasing recklessly even at rising prices. Such a period of uncertainty and disturbance is unavoidable after a major war has been declared, and what is surprising is that the effects were not even more far-reaching.

As compared with the situation in July, 1914, when the other great war was declared, the conditions prevailing in the Indian markets in the first two weeks of September, 1939, would appear relatively smooth. In July, 1914, not only were the markets affected by the war panic, but the Government had also to suffer from a considerable strain on account of the nervousness of the people. A large demand for encashment of currency notes into rupees ensued immediately after the war had commenced, and the Government had to pay out 10 crores of silver rupees in exchange of paper notes tendered at the treasuries during the first eight months of the war. The nervousness of the people was

also manifest in the demand for withdrawal of deposits in the postal savings banks; about 25 per cent of the total deposits was withdrawn within the first two months of the war. The exchange-rate between the rupee and the sterling showed a falling tendency and the Government had to prop up the rupee by selling large quantities of Reverse Councils.

The present war has created no such problems for the Government. There has been no extraordinary rush for withdrawing savings bank deposits. The note circulation has steadily increased since the declaration of the war; the total volume of notes legal tender in India was about 180 crores of rupees immediately before the war, and the average circulation in February, 1940, was about Rs. 227 crores. The rupee-sterling exchange has remained steady at 1s. 5-31/32d. since the beginning of the war and there has been no occasion for changing the Reserve Bank's discount rate of 3 per cent.

All this shows that we have started this time with certain initial advantages. In view of this, it ought to be easy to take advantage of the war condition for the development of industries and for increasing agricultural incomes. In the industrial field also our position now is considerably better than that in July, 1914. In 1914, our iron and steel industry was in an infant stage, but today it has definitely crossed the limits of adolescence. In 1914, the Indian cotton mills supplied only 26 per cent of the total amount of cotton goods consumed in India; at present the percentage of Indian mill production to the total consumption in the country has risen to 86. In 1914, India produced a negligible quantity of sugar; today her imports have become negligible. Instances can be multiplied, and it can be shown that this time we have started from a higher level on every side.

In order to examine fully the effects of the war upon our economic life, we have to take into consideration our agriculture, industries and trade, and to evaluate the extent of the benefit secured by each of these branches. In a predominantly agricultural country like ours, a rise in the price of agricultural products can turn the scale from a starvation-economy to a subsistence-economy, and if the rise is considerable, can free the cultivators from many of their accumulated burdens. A study of the prices before and after the war will lead us to conclude that the cultivators have benefited much from the conditions brought by the war. The greatest rise has, of course, been shown by the price of jute for which there has been a great demand from the belligerent countries as well as from some of the neutral countries. The huge orders for 200 million sandbags immediately before the war and 713 million after the war commenced, and also the orders for 43 million yards for hessian, have combined to create a large demand for raw jute and consequently the price of jute now is about three times the price ruling last year. The increases in the prices of other agricultural products have not been so remarkable, but even then these are sufficient to be able to bring about an improvement in the economic position of the raiyats.

The expectations, however, have not materialised to the extent it was thought that they would. The main reason for this is that the major portion of the benefit arising from the rise in the prices of agricultural products has gone to the middlemen and the stockists, and not to the actual cultivators. In the case of jute, many sale transactions were completed in the Bengal villages, just before the war, at the low prices prevailing then, and in some cases at not very high prices even after the war had commenced. Very few cultivators have been able to obtain this year the advantage of the war-price of jute. If the war continues next year, the cultivators, of course, will have a larger income, but even then the share of the gains going to the middlemen will be considerable. When official circles speak eloquently of the prosperity of the cultivators on account of the war, they forget the nature of the mechanism through which agricultural crops are marketed in India.

In the sphere of industries also, it is necessary to note the limitations to the assertion that an era of untold prosperity has commenced. The direct effects of the war demand for Indian goods have no doubt been felt mainly by the organised industries; but it is also noteworthy that the benefits have gone more to the industries operated by British capital than to those organised by purely Indian capital. Nobody will say that this has been due to any intentional manipulation, but the fact in itself has to be taken into account in estimating India's gain from the war stimulus. The greatest share of this gain has gone to the jute mill industry, which, as already stated, has received orders for about 1,000 million sandbags and 43 million yards of gunny-cloth. For a long time the jute industry had been troubled by an unnecessarily large capacity to produce, but the war has changed matters so much that the 54-hours a week rule is proving a handicap to the millowners. The woollen industry—also under foreign control—

has secured contracts for the supply of 750,000 army blankets and of other varieties of woollen cloth, and the entire output of all the woollen mills in India will for some time be diverted to war use. Compared with these, the orders for cotton cloth valued at 23 lakhs of rupees and for steel valued at 28 lakhs of rupees will appear relatively small, and it will be easy to realise that the gain secured by the British-owned industries in India has been greater than that available to the industries owned by Indian capital.

It is not yet time to measure the extent of the expansion that has taken place in industrial activities. It has been suggested that an indication of the expansion of the industries can be had from the fact that there has been within the last few months a 44 per cent increase in the volume of loans and advances granted by the scheduled banks. It is not, however, known what part of this additional amount has gone to industrialists and what part to traders and speculators. As these loans are mainly short-term advances, it is more likely that they have been taken largely by traders and speculators requiring larger financial accommodation on account of the war conditions. Besides, short-term loans taken by industrialists may indicate, not an expansion of operation, but merely an increased cost of working and of carrying stocks. While, therefore, it is true that the war has stimulated industrial output in India, it is also true that the benefit is not only incapable of being even indirectly measured, but is also not so great as it has been made out to be.

The recent figures relating to the international trade of India reveal an interesting story. There has been a substantial increase in the export trade of India, and some idea of the extent of this increase can be had from a comparison of the trade figures for January, 1940, with those for January, 1939. The total value of the exports from India in January, 1939, was Rs. 12·94 crores, and in January, 1940, the figure rose up to Rs. 23·30 crores. The exports of tea increased from 22 million lbs. in January, 1939, to 35 million lbs. in January this year, and the value of these exports rose from Rs. 147 lakhs to Rs. 280 lakhs. The export of raw jute declined from 62,000 tons to 60,000 tons, but the value of the exports increased from Rs. 123 lakhs to Rs. 304 lakhs. The decline in the volume of the exports of raw jute was however more than made up by the remarkable increase in the exports of gunny bags and gunny cloth. In January, 1939, 36·6 million gunny bags valued at Rs. 73 lakhs were exported; in January, 1940, the number was 202·8 million and the value Rs. 375 lakhs. The export of gunny cloths rose from 106 million yards valued at Rs. 98 lakhs to 166 million yards valued at Rs. 286 lakhs. Export of tanned hides and skins increased from 2,400 tons to 3,500 tons and the value of these exports from Rs. 52 lakhs to Rs. 86 lakhs. It is superfluous to add that the major portion of these additional exports went to the United Kingdom—her share in our total exports increasing from 31 per cent in January, 1939, to 40 per cent in January, 1940.

In the case of a number of commodities like raw cotton, raw hides and skins, groundnuts and linseed, there have been decreases in the volumes of export, accompanied by increases in value. For the present, the decline in volume does not raise much difficulty, but it may be difficult after the war to regain the losses. Valuable markets have been lost in the belligerent countries and even as regards our trade with neutral countries, shrinkage of available cargo tonnage has caused a considerble restriction of goods movements.

In the case of imports, the aggregate volume of trade has become much smaller, but the value of the imports has become greater. The increase in value has been due to a number of causes. The cost of production of foreign goods has gone up, and the transport and insurance charges have risen to abnormal heights—leading to an inordinate increase in the declared c.i.f. values of the foreign imports. The volume of our imports of chemicals, drugs and medicines, electrical goods and steel goods, etc., has become much smaller than it was, but the aggregate value of these imports has gone up. The most remarkable case, however, is that of cotton piecegoods, where in most of the items there has been a decline both in the volume of imports as well as in their value. A selection from the available statistics of piecegoods imports is given below :

	Jan., 1939 volume (million yds.)	value (lakhs)	Jan., 1940 volume (million yds.)	value (lakhs)
White piecegoods	14·9	27	5·9	16
Grey piecegoods	18·7	22	16·3	24
Coloured goods	20·9	33	13·4	28

These figures can easily be utilised to prove that war conditions can stimulate Indian industries not only through the increased demand for our products, but also through an effective protection of the home market from outside competition. The industries that can secure advantage from this fact are mainly the textile and

the iron and steel industries, but there are many others, like the manufacture of paper or glassware, that would welcome this appreciable decline in the imports from abroad.

While the temporary beneficial effects of the decrease in imports cannot be denied, there is another side to which attention has to be given. Already the tonnage available in cargo steamers has become very small, and with the progress of the war the difficulties of transport are likely to be insuperably greater. The insurance and freight charges will consequently increase at a progressive rate. Besides, belligerent countries will find themselves unable to an increasingly larger extent to spare their commodities for the Indian markets, and the neutral countries will find it more profitable to send what goods they can export to the belligerent countries, and not to the comparatively poorer markets of India. This will mean a number of disadvantages. First, the consumers will have to suffer so long as alternative sources of supply are not developed in India. Articles of daily necessity, like medicines, or razor blades, or safety-pins, or watches are not yet produced in India, and the consumers of these commodities will be hit hard. Secondly, the momentum imparted by the war conditions to industries will be to some extent neutralised by certain difficulties that will crop up. Machinery will become much more costly and it will be difficult even to secure a minor replacement without incurring heavy expenses. Besides, every industry requires certain ancillary materials which are largely imported. The cotton mill industry, for example, requires bleaching powder and dyes, and already the prices of commodities of this type have increased manifold.

When, therefore, too much is made of the advantage that India is obtaining, or is likely to obtain in the immediate future from the continuance of the war, it is appropriate to set forth clearly the limitations and difficulties that would restrict the scope of the advantages that the war can possibly yield. It is not sufficient to speak only of the advantages available without giving proper emphasis to the disadvantages that will inevitably accompany a prolonged war abroad.

It is pertinent, for example, to enquire to what extent the benefit from the stimulation of industries and of export trade causes *real* benefit to the cultivators and the labourers. We have already seen that the cultivators have not yet been able to participate fully in the prosperity caused by the war. Most of them sold their output at prices much lower than what they should have got, and consequently, the increase in their income has not been what it should have been. But, on the other side, from the very beginning of the war, the prices of the goods consumed by the cultivators have been going up rapidly, helped by profiteering, decline in imports, increase in the c.i.f. value of the imports, increase in money circulation and a host of other causes. If, therefore, the rate of increase in the cultivator's expenditure has been faster than the rate of increase of his income, it is evident that his *real income*, measured in terms of the goods and services he can command, *has fallen*. Even if next year the cultivator gets a better price for his crops, it is doubtful whether his real income will be greater so long as his cost of living increases at a more rapid rate than his money income. The need for price-control with a view to reducing the cost of living of the poorer classes seems thus to be imperative. But price-control has its dangers in a country predominantly dependent on agriculture, where the ultimate incidence of such a measure may fall upon the incomes of the producers of primary commodities.

The benefits of the labourers from the war stimulus are also actually less than what is apparent. In a boom period, the only real benefit to the labourers as a class arises from an increase in the net volume of employment, caused by the operation of what the present-day economists call "the multiplier." Employment usually breeds further employment, because the employed persons themselves give employment to others through their expenditure. If, thus, the war-enthusiasm leads to even a moderate primary increase in the number of labourers employed, it is likely that the cumulative effect on the total employment will be considerable. But against this is to be set the same fact as that operating in the case of the cultivators. In a period of rising prices and increasing profits, wages have a tendency to increase at a slower rate than prices, and consequently, real wages fall though money wages increase. Producers are also likely to resist the attempts of the labourers to secure compensatory increments in wages, and the labour disturbances in Bombay in connection with the demand for "dearness allowance" provide a case in point. It is also not unlikely that the producers in their attempts to resist the demands of labourers will find the Government, or even the Legislature, at their back. The possibility of this is illustrated by the refusal of the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 2nd March last to approve Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee's resolution demanding a

compulsory 25 per cent increase in the wages of all factory labourers. It may be that Dr. Banerjee's data were not absolutely accurate, but nevertheless, the speeches made on the occasion and the distribution of votes give an insight into the attitude of our lawmakers. A 10 per cent increase has been granted to the labourers working in the factories under the Indian Jute Mills Association. The increase in the cost of living has been about 40 per cent, according to the index numbers prepared by the Statistical Research Branch of the Government of India. This disparity between the rise in wages and the rise in the cost of living serves to emphasize our statement that the labourers' real incomes have been made lower by the conditions now prevailing.

There is another important problem that the war has raised, but this is often lost sight of in discussions on the war situation in its relation to our economic life. We can perhaps expect now that the war will last long; but if it does, all the benefits anticipated will sink into insignificance. A prolonged war cannot but touch India as it has touched the actual belligerents now. If, therefore, it becomes necessary to make war preparations on a large scale in India, the cost will be so heavy that the improvement in the economic condition that has come will be of but little help. If, on the other side, the war is found to be a short-lived one—(let us hope it will be so)—the favourable conditions will disappear even before we have been able to take full advantage out of them. The continuance of the benefits to India's economic system depends, therefore, on two conditions which seem to be mutually contradictory—the first is that the war must be a prolonged one, and the second is that India must never be directly involved in any military operation. But the first of these necessarily precludes the second and this ought to damp a little the enthusiasm of those who speak of "the great strides that India is about to make."

And, then, there are the inevitable post-war problems. A study of the war economics of India will be incomplete unless account is taken of the situation that is likely to develop immediately after the war is over. The experience of the years after 1918 tells us that the most difficult problem of war economics often comes not during the war, but after it. Here in India, the stimulus given to industries by increased demand and by the decline in imports, the increased purchases of munitions and direct monetary help by the newly-created Department of Supplies and the general optimism prevailing are likely to cause expansions and developments which cannot be maintained when the artificial conditions created by the war have disappeared and when the war-fed industries have to face an impoverished world. The old stories of dumping by defeated countries, scramble for markets, tariffs and retaliations, exchange-manipulation, surplus capacity and accumulated stocks are likely to reappear again, and economic history will surely recapitulate itself. If the price to be paid for prosperity now is a depression later, it is perhaps better not to have the prosperity at all.

The economic benefits that a war can yield are thus found to be lop-sided, at best temporary, and fraught with difficulties and dangers unless control and regulation are exercised at every step. The need for economic planning in war-time so as to allow and encourage only those developments that can be kept alive after the war, is great, and it is only when a definite and calculated programme has been chalked out that a war can be turned to good account. Up till the present, no such chalked-out programme has emanated from the Government. So long as a definite programme is not undertaken, we shall continue to secure windfall benefits here and there, but at the same time difficulties will accumulate. It is, therefore, necessary to be cautious when attempts are made to lead us into the belief that an economic millennium has already been reached or is at least nearly at hand. It is also necessary to keep in mind the important fact that there is no economy from war that a sound economic policy pursued by the Government cannot secure even in peace-time.



A NATIONAL LANGUAGE—HINDUSTANI, URDU OR HINDI ?

By Professor MURLIDHAR, M.A.

II

The Hindustani Academy in one of its questionnaires speaks of fostering three separate languages—Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani. So much grist for its mill ! But is not two evil enough ! Should we create another and a worse Switzerland in the United Provinces ? Switzerland is divided into three linguistic districts, where Italian, French and German are spoken; here they would be flourishing side by side, creating a chaos of tongues.

So long as there are two scripts side by side the language problem cannot be solved, even if the language was one. Almost the whole of Europe except Russia and a few Slav countries have replaced their native characters by the Roman. India as a whole will have no difficulty in accepting a common alphabet, for the letters and the respective sounds of each are almost the same, although their forms differ; but what about the Muslims of Northern India who hug their foreign alphabet ?

Two separate scripts, one for the Hindu and other for the Muslim, necessitate the preparation and printing of a double set of text-books in Hindi and Urdu. Teachers of the U. P. Government and aided schools have to pass separate examinations in Urdu and Hindi. Even in the moderately large towns the Government has to support a Muslim girls' school by the side of a school for Hindu girls, lest 'Urdu' and 'Purdah' be both lost.[1] In the boys' schools history, geography, mathematics and other subjects now proposed to be taught in the vernaculars will have to be explained to the Hindu and Muslim boys separately in Hindi and Urdu. Replacing Hindi and Urdu by Hindustani (so long as there are two scripts) will not remove the impasse; instead of cutting the knot it will make matters still more knotty. For Hindustani is proposed to be the medium of instruction in the Universities as well.[2] The text-books will have to be printed in two scripts.

How could education, primary and secondary or even higher, flourish under such wasteful circumstances ?

If the Congress can impose a common language on all India, why not a common alphabet ? This would once for all set at rest the endless conflict of scripts and exercise a salutary restraint on the warring camps and help in the evolution of a common language which will have its roots deep down in the soil, without there being any necessity for drawing its life-giving sap from the arid sands of Arabia and the cold dry plateaus of Persia,—a language (not Hindustani) which shall be acceptable to all and bring the different provinces and their tongues closer together.

"Any *script*," says Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, "*will do, provided it is simple and easy.*" The All-India Common Script Association very rightly says :

> "*There is no reason to grow sentimental over any script.* It is an instrument for the use of man, and it *is folly to* reverse the relation and *make man the instrument of the script.*"

If the U. P. and the Punjab Muslims hold fast to their Persian script and the Hindus stick to their Devanagri, there can be no common language for them; for a script has a curious magnetic attraction for the language to which it is related. The Muslim using the Persian or Arabic characters would naturally be drawn towards those languages.

Hindi, it is said, is getting highly Sanskritized. How can she help it ? A growing language, like a growing tree, must draw its nutrient sap from its native soil, and Sanskrit is the soil which feeds all Indian literatures. The Taj was built with Indian marble, not with stones brought from foreign countries. Hindi cannot be blamed if she is throwing out words and ex-

1. In Bengal, where the language and alphabet are one, a maktab is maintained alongside a pathshala. In the former, not duty to God, and one's fellowmen is taught, but a smattering of religious fanaticism and political separatism and a bastard Bengali is instilled into young minds. In the C. P. the Muslims will not touch the 'Vidya Mandirs' with a pair of tongs. The very name stinks in their nose! Mandir! tobah! tobah!

2. I pity the poor professors who will have to cudgel their brains in vain when the Hindustani 'Word-book' or the 'Gentlemen of Delhi and Lucknow' fail to supply them with the right term or expression at the critical moment; if they coin their own, it will be at the risk of being penalised for breach of rules.

pressions and phrases from Arabic and Persian with which she has been overloaded.

Those who have kept themselves acquainted with the trend of Nationalism in Persia and Turkey, know well how all foreign words (Arabic, etc.) are being sedulously eliminated from their languages; the latter country going so far as to reject the Arabic alphabet as well. No one condemns the Irani or the Turk for this purge. The purification of their tongues has resulted in their being easily understood by the masses and education, therefore, is advancing there by leaps and bounds. Who can blame the Persian and the Turk for uprooting the Upas tree whose poisonous effluvia has killed everything that came within its range.

What is the achievement of Urdu in the realm of literature ? What is its contribution to the field of education ?

Its poets are as numerous as the nebulae in the milky way. Almost all are poetasters except a few stars that shine out, but are so distant on account of their exotic lingua that their light does not reach us.

It has, as we have already seen, hampered rather than promoted education, both primary and secondary, and will prove a drag to the higher, if Urdu or its counterpart Hindustani becomes the medium of education in the Universities of U. P.

Except for *ghazals* and a few other unimportant styles of poetry, it has produced nothing worth mentioning. Its love lyrics possess some sweetness, some pretty conceits, but Urdu poetry has nothing great or noble to offer; it places no high ideals before us; it makes no appeal to the soul; it brings no message of hope; it animates us with no love of one's country, it inspires us with no spirit of sacrifice for the motherland; it is not in touch with nature or life. It possesses no epic, it has produced no drama.

Says Pandit Amaranatha Jha,

> "Urdu has adopted the script, the metrical forms, the frame-work and symbolism of a literature that came from Persia, and that except in rare instances does not depend for inspiration on anything Indian. It has sought no contact with the masses dwelling in the villages."

By its very nature, Urdu is incapable of growth or of bearing useful fruit, for it does not draw its food from Indian soil.

The late Duke of Devonshire had once the fancy to plant a mango tree in his garden, for which he imported soil from India. The tree grew in his hot-house under Indian temperature, bore three fruits, one of which His Grace presented to Queen Victoria. The tree then sickened and died. How could such a plant live and thrive ? The same is the case with Urdu.

In 1889-99, the number of books published in the U. P. in Hindi was 361 and in Urdu 569. The percentage was for Hindi 38·8 and for Urdu 61·2. In 1935-36, the number of Hindi books rose to 2,139, and the number of Urdu publications dwindled to 252. The percentage of Hindi was 89·5, that for Urdu was 10·5. This clearly shows that this exotic plant is withering and in a few years would die in spite of all the efforts that are being made to keep it alive.

The Urdu alphabets consisting of dots and dashes are difficult to learn, difficult to write, difficult to read, difficult to print and lend themselves easily to all sorts of forgery and falsification in the law-courts.

Urdu poetry and Urdu prose have of late been so oversaturated with foreign elements that without a thorough grounding in Persian combined with a smattering of Arabic they are impossible to understand. I give no translation but invite the reader to try to understand them.

Our point will be clear from the following extracts taken at random. Here is a poem on 'The Could' written in imitation of Shelley by Sir Mohammed Iqbal,[3] the greatest modern Urdu poet :

> "Ban ka gaisu rukhe hasti par bikhar jata hun;
> Dur se deedae ummid ko tarsata hun.
> Said karta hua jis dam labe ju ata hun,
> Baliyan nahr ko girdal ke pahnata hun.
>
> Sabzae mazar nau khez ki ummid hun main
> Chashmae koh ko di shorishe qulzum main ne,
> Ghunchae gul ko diya zaoq tabassum main ne."

Or take some lines from another well-known poet " Jigar " Muradabadi :

> "Har taraf ghul hai wah aya Jigar badah parast,
> Asre nashae sahba se sarapa bad mast.
> Shere Hafiz ba zuban, jam ba kaf shisha badast
> Be khabar az hama alam che balandast wa che past.
> Shore mastana kahan aur sakrune warz kahan
> Aj yah rind kahan anjumane waz kahan."

I would rather read and try to relish old Hafiz, Roumi and Umar Khayyam and the modern poets of Iran than these Indian 'nightingales' who pipe in 'pidgin' Persian.

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3. Report says that his father or grandfather was a Kashmiri Hindu and belonged to the Sapru family. Change of religion wrought such transformation in this descendant of a Hindu apostate that he wanted to divide his country into Hindu and Muslim India, yet this was the man who wrote "Sare Jehan se achha Hindostan hamara," and was proud to acclaim. "Khake walan ka mujhko har zarra deota hai." His poetry, his patriotism are both inscrutable to us Indians.

Urdu prose, as it is written today, is a jaw-breaking affair beyond the comprehension of the ordinary Indian. Below is a passage culled from an Urdu Daily, *Haqiqat,* published from Lucknow. The editor is probably a native of the same city and a gentleman to boot; his language, therefore, may be taken as typical 'Hindustani' according to the Academy's definition :

"Muslim League ke zer Qayadat Musalmanan e Janupur ne bahut hi shandar tarique par khair muqaddam kiya . . . . Muqami Muslim League ke kar kun aur razadar maujud thhe. Train rukte hi naarae takbir ke goonj men wafd ka khair. Mukaddam kiya gaya; dusre akabirain aur muazzizain talawat e Quraan sharif se jalse, ka iftitah kiya gaya. Sayed Zakir Ali Sahib ne arakin wafd ka taaruf karaya."

For the next two passages from "Muntakhaf Afsan" (Select Stories) I have to thank 'Nudas Veritas' :

"Urdu zuban ek bahr bekaran hai, jiska daman tabdar motion ka ek sair hasil jilwa zar hai."

"Jiski baligh maanwiat apni ijmal wa ibham men bhi kisi muzid tafsil wa tauzih ki muhtaj nahin."

God save us from this witches' cauldron brew !

And this jargon, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan complains, we *Hindus inspired by a communal spirit*[4] *have refused to accept as a 'lingua franca' for all India !!*[5]

Hindi is the language spoken by the people of Delhi, U. P., Central India and a portion of C. P.

In the seventies Hindi in the U. P. was confined to the villages and the masses of the towns. Owing to Urdu being the language of the Courts[6] and the administrative offices, the classes seeking employment in them were eager to learn the bread-winning language. Upto the end of the nineteenth century, Urdu was looked upon as the language of culture and gave one speaking it the impress of a gentleman.

It was about 1868-69, full thirty years before Malaviyaji and the Nagri Pracharini Sabha took up the cause of Hindi, that Mr. Ramkali Chowdhury (Sub-Judge), Mr. Pyarimohan Bannerji (the fighting munsiff, so styled by Lord Canning for having raised a force and driven the mutineers from a part of the Allahabad District), Mr. Saradaprasad Sanyal (Supdt. A. G.'s office) agitated in the columns of the *Reflector,* an Allahabad Weekly, now long defunct, for the replacement of Urdu and its script in the law-courts by Hindi and the Devanagari character, as the former was unintelligible to the people and led to all sorts of corruption; Syed Ahmed Khan vehemently opposed the proposal in *Aligarh Gazette.* Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. F. P., invited these gentlemen[7] to discuss the question with him. His Honour's final pronouncement was that when Hindi shall have a literature of its own worthy of the name, a *prose that shall be a fit vehicle for all kinds of thought,* then alone shall it oust Urdu from the position which it occupied. Such was the condition of Hindi in the seventies.

Tulsidas and Surdas had taken shelter in the cottages of the village folk and with the petty shop-keepers of the city. The Sanskrit Pandits, who could hardly write four lines of an application in Hindi correctly,[8] despised her as much as the Persian-educated office-seeking classes who were ignorant even of the Hindi alphabet.[9] Up to the end of the first decade of the 20th century Hindi had no place in the higher classes of the city schools. It was in the village Halkabandi Madrasa[10] and the pathshalas of the Bhaiyajis which were to be found in every quarter of the city that Hindi, discredited everywhere as the language of the

4. Only recently the Traders' Association of Allahabad applied to the Municipal Board to issue receipts in Hindi as they were not acquainted with Urdu. The members of this body are all respectable people. Muslim merchants all over India keep their accounts in Mahajani; Urdu is taboo there.

5. "A lingua franca is one of the essential pre-requisites of a united nation and till very recently Urdu was acclaimed as such by all . . . Narrow-mindedness of a section of our countrymen has not allowed even Urdu to escape the venom of petty communalism"—*Presidential Speech at the Bombay League Conference.*

6. Persian ceased to be the Court language in 1840.

7. These people were at the time in the forefront of all beneficial movements in the Western Provinces. Along with Lala Gaya Prasad Banker, Moulvis Fariduddin and Haider Husain, (Pleaders of Allahabad High Court).—all members of the Allahabad Institute, they approached Sir William Muir with a prayer, backed by promise of a large contribution from the citizens, for the establishment of a first grade college at Allahabad which had then become the capital of the Province. This led to the opening of the Muir Central College. Sir William also intended to establish a Medical College at Allahabad, but the Secretary of State negatived the proposal. The present Dufferin Hospital is built on its foundations.

8. I knew of a Pandit in a Govt. High School, who had ground at his Panini for seven long years at the Benares Sanskrit College, in his application for leave made six mistakes in 4 lines.

9. A neighbour of ours, a Kayastha gentleman who held an important post in the Civil Courts, desiring to learn *Gayatri* had noted it down on a corner of the End-paper of Pratapchandra Roy's English Translation of the Mahabharat, *in the Persian character.*

10. They were so named in those days.

uncultured masses, sought a safe nook for itself.

There were in the seventies no newspapers, or magazines in Hindi. The *Nasim Agra of* Munshi Jumunadas Biswas (a Bengali gentleman, called 'Munshi' on account of his deep knowledge of Persian, Arabic and Urdu); the *Oudh Akhbar* of Munshi Nawal Kishore, the *Aligarh Gazette* (a bilingual) of Syed Ahmed Khan were all published in Urdu, and except the first all the others depended on a Government subsidy in the shape of substantial subscriptions for their very existence. The *Kashi Patrika,* a Hindi monthly and for sometime a fortnightly, intended for village schools, lived on Government bounty.

In the eighties and nineties the only Hindi monthly worth mentioning was the *Hindi Pradip* of Pandit Balkrishna Bhatta, who deserves a monument for having created a workable Hindi prose; he did for Hindi what the great Vidyasagar did for Bengali. Without public support, without Government patronage he kept the 'Lamp of Hindi' burning for years until it went out for lack of oil. The *Pradip* is now a classic, but the Pandit died poor, unhonoured and unsung. Such was our love of Hindi in those days. From time to time some Hindi magazines like the *Anand Kadamvini* of Mirzapur, and one or two from Benares, the centre of Hindi activity in those days, merely went to swell the percentage of journalistic infant mortality.

Babu Harishchandra and a few lovers of Hindi whose number could be counted on two fingers wrote in Hindi in spite of the slight and neglect which were the lot of those who wooed her.

The "Nagri Pracharini Sabha" at the fag end of the 19th century began to promote the cause of Hindi by the collection of old manuscripts, works of old poets and issue of authoritative editions of its classic writers.

It was after the close of the last century during the first decade of the 20th, that with the rise of nationalism there was a flow in the tide of the fortunes of Hindi. It came gradually to be recognized as a subject for examination from the Matriculation to the highest examination of the Calcutta University; other universities followed suit at a long distance. The *Saraswati* was published as a high class illustrated monthly by the Indian Press; the great Bengali novelists were translated; and the Nagri Pracharini undertook to collect materials for its *magnum opus,* the 'Hindi Savdasagar,' all honour to it for its selfless labour.

Let us now examine the state of Hindi literature as it stands at present. Modern Hindi poetry is merely a jumble of words picked up at random, without much strength of thought, depth of emotion or music of words. Its poetical language has yet to be created, for with the acceptance of the head-splitting 'Khariboli,' as the vehicle of its poetic expression it has thrown overboard the sweet speech of the muses which Surdas and other Brijbhasha poets had created.

Here is a present to the reader from one of the recognized geat poets of modern Hindi, Pandit Sumitranandan Pant :

Is kshudra lekhani se keval
Karta main chhayalok srijan ?
Paida ho jahan marte bhava
Budbud vichar wa swapna saghan ?
Nirman kar rahe we jag ka
Jor jor *int chuna putthar,*
Jo chala *hathhure-ghan kshan kshan*
Hain bana rahe jivan ka ghar ?

* * *

Main jagjivan ka shilpi hun,
Jivit mere vani ke svar,
Janman ke manskhand par main.
Mudrit karta hun satya amar.

There may be brick and mortar and stone and hammer and chisel in these lines, but the house beautiful of poetry is still to build. The Slaughter-House-Inspector-Stamping-Meat suggestion is horrible indeed ! It makes one's flesh creep.

Let us have a song by another noted warbler *Nirala* :

"Bhava jo chhalke padon par,
Hon na halke hon, na nashwar
Pran ko nirmal kare wah
Tap sab mere hare wah
Naha ai jo sarovar,
Gandh wah hai dhup meri
Ho tumhari priya chiteri
Arati ke Sahaj pheri
Ravi na kar de kam kahin kar."

These lines resemble very much the "churan wala's bani" (the street cry of the 'digestive' seller), as a professor in one of the universities of these provinces has very aptly described Hindi poetry of today. There is neither sense, nor sound, nor suggestion—three requisites of poetry—in this so-called 'song.' Mere doggerel verses do not make poetry.

Hindi prose is still in its babyhood, learning just to toddle. It is not yet in a position to be a fit expression for literary, political or scientific thought, whatever its champions might say in its praise.

The following specimens culled from the

pages of *Deshdut*, a Hindi illustrated weekly of large circulation, will bear me out :

"Par Hindi kahte jhijhak honi chahiye, keonki us bare men ghalat-fahmi hai aur khinchtan hai. Kai davedar hain, aur sabke pas dalael aur apna paksh hai."

"Maujuda kisi bhasha ka nam Hindustani nahin hai. Isi se aur bhi rashtra bhasha ko Hindustani nam dena munasib ho sakta thha, par us se bhranti waton ke bhranti barhne ka sadhan hua."—Jnanedra Kumar Jain (a well-known Hindi writer).

The sentences seem to suffer from rickets, shaky in the joints; and the language, a queer mixture of Hindi and Persian. Is this Hindi or Hindustani ?

Another from the same paper :

"Sarkar ne bhinna bhinna jation se unke hiton ki raksha karne ka vachan dia hai. Wah unki parwah na karke aisi ekata ke lie kam nahin shuru kar sakti hai jo keval shikhar se hi sambandhet nahin hai balki uska sambandh bhut se bhi hai."—Dr. Ramamanohar Lohia, Ph.D.

The author struggles in vain to express himself in a language which does not at all respond to his needs.

In spite of the progress that Hindi has made within the last thirty years, it has not passed its pupilage; it is still a minor and cannot expect to be entrusted with the responsible duties of a "common language." As Mr. Jha puts the whole matter in a nutshell :

"Hindi has the defects of its Nativity. It belongs to the village and lacks, therefore, the polish, the grace, the urbanity of the town."

We have thus seen that owing to their inherent defects neither Hindi, nor Hindustani, nor Urdu can claim to be the national language of India.

(*Concluded*)

PASSING AWAY OF THE AGE OF LARGE SCALE OFFENSIVES IN WAR

By Prof. HARI CHARAN MUKERJI

It may seem paradoxical just now when we hear constantly of the launching of a big offensive with the advent of the spring season by Germany on the Allied lines to talk of the passing away of the age of big scale offensives. But though we are hearing so much of the contemplated drive it is not going to materialise if the course of the war up till now be any guide to what is going to happen in the future. Germany was armed to the teeth and firmly entrenched behind the Siegfried line when war was declared on her by the Allies. The preparations of the Allies too were not of a mean order for England had been carefully preparing herself for this contingency for a long time and did not declare war till they were complete and she had to put up with no small humiliation and loss of prestige for her initial unpreparedness when she had to stand by without being able to move her little finger and see Czecho-Slovakia wiped out of her existence. She calmly suffered this loss of prestige because she thought that she was not strong enough at that time to challenge Germany. But she was steadily and with feverish haste preparing herself during all this time for the final day of reckoning, and when she actually declared war, on Germany's invasion of Poland, she thought herself at last strong enough to measure strength with her rival. France is also armed to the teeth. The British Expeditionary Force has been safely sent to France and has taken up its position alongside the French army. Manufacture of arms and munitions has been going on very swiftly and with clockwork regularity and both the contending parties are claiming that they are well stocked with these. The stock of food and raw materials too necessary for successfully carrying on the war in all the belligerent cuntries is claimed to be well-nigh inexhaustible. Almost all the able-bodied young men in all the countries are under arms and have completed or are undergoing their period of training. The air force has been so much augmented and perfected that it constitutes the greatest menace to the civilian population of the enemy's country. It is claimed by both the parties that they can easily wipe out of existence the flourishing towns and cities and destroy the countryside of the opposite party within the shortest possible time. These claims are not surely mere empty vaunts considering the destructiveness of these machines and the vast number of them. But up till now these infernal machines have done nothing more than carrying on reconnaissance flights and dropping

leaflets in the enemy's country. There has been no serious attempt on the part of Germany to bomb Paris or London though she is thoroughly competent to do so. Similarly, there has been no such attempt on the part of the Allies to punish Germany and rob her of her initiative. The two armies similarly on the Western Front are sitting facing each other entrenching themselves and building stronger and stronger shelters but showing apparently no disposition to engage in desperate fighting with each other. The apparent reason seems to be that each party is afraid of taking the initiative for fear of reprisals. Each knows full well that the other is equally strong and alert and active and can effectively punish any aggression on the part of the other. The course of war is likely to run along this channel till the parties are wearied out or a revolution takes place in Germany, people being goaded to it by economic distress and the harsh military discipline to which they are subjected or what seems to be more likely peace is concluded by the intervention of the neutral powers.

But this prospect that no major operation is likely to take place and that Europe is not going to be plunged in a general conflagration does not hold out the hope that these are going to be things of the past. There has been no change in the mentality of the people. The same greed and rapaciousness, over-bearing pride and vainglory, callous disregard of other's sufferings and misery and insatiable lust for dominions are still noticeable everywhere. If Germany hesitates to invade France and England, it is not out of any humane considerations but fear of being paid back in her own coin. It is fear and not the sense of justice and equity or love which seems to be the motive behind her. For Germany was not restrained by any such noble considerations from wiping out of existence, one after another, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. Neither she would have hesitated in this instance too, if she would have discovered the military weakness of the Allies. Soviet Russia too would not have launched her attack against Finland if she would have known beforehand that this sort of heroic resistance would be offered and she would have offered long ago terms of peace to the victim of her aggression if she would not have been convinced of the potential superiority of her fighting forces and her inexhaustible resources which can stand any strain.

So on final analysis it seems likely that henceforth large scale offensives between countries equally strong and equally prepared for war will not take place but the smaller nations unable to fight with big nations will be blotted out of existence or they will have to enter into defensive alliances with their neighbours to preserve their independent existence in the face of either military or economic pressure. And this sort of consultation forced upon them, will in course of time, give rise to a sense of common danger and identity of interests and will help in the process of their final coalescence. The Balkan and the Scandinavian countries are distinctly developing tendencies in this direction. There are many controversial matters which require solution but these will be smoothed down and the sense of common danger to which they are exposed will, before long, bring about their military and perhaps in course of time political union.

But the race for armaments among the Great Powers and the unions of these smaller nationalities will go on with unabated zeal till the national debts of those countries are piled up to staggering figures, trade and industries being strangled under the burden of taxation and all other departments of the Governments starved to build up the huge fighting machine and maintain it in a state of perfect efficiency. The fate of any nation which will lag behind in this race will be at once sealed. The prospect before us, as revealed by these developments, is as depressing as possible. For though the prospect of an Armageddon seems, for the time being, to have receded in the distance, it is not because of any improvement in our mental outlook and consideration for the legitimate rights of others which only could have ensured its permanent disappearance. The danger of the loss of country's independent existence in case of unpreparedness is now far greater than before and the state of nervous and financial strain to which the nations are subjected is well-nigh unbearable. Henceforth between nations at war equally prepared and equally strong it will be a war of nerves, a war of lying propaganda and above everything else a cruel, heartless and unrelenting economic warfare in which no quarter is to be asked or shown.

PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN MALABAR AND COCHIN

By K. M. AYYATH, M.A.

The problem of agricultural indebtedness in Malabar is as much the outcome of social derangement occasioned by the general dissolution of joint families as it is the creation of economic factors engendered by the general world economic depression. As such it has also a special acuteness in Malabar. But this does not appear to have been generally realised or recognised in the endeavours made for its solution.

Even without the economic depression a problem of indebtedness, sufficiently acute to arrest the attention of all genuinely interested in the progress of Malabar, would have arisen there. The economic depression has in fact only aggravated a situation which was even without the depression sufficiently depressing and alarming.

The social structure of Malabar is based essentially on the joint family, matriarchal or patriarchal. The joint family, as is well known, is both aristocratic and communistic, aristocratic in its position in the general society and communistic in its outlook on life. Imitative and unimaginative application of the already exploded and discarded individualistic ideas of the West has resulted in its legal disruption everywhere in Malabar.

The result was disastrous. In the place of the powerful joint family units smaller and weaker family units were substituted. In comparison to similar families with longer individualistic traditions these new families were thoroughly inexperienced in the competitive world and as such in no way a match to them in the ordinary struggles of life. They could not also all on a sudden escape from their own old communistic and aristocratic traditions which inevitably entailed a liberalism in life and a higher standard of living. In short, reduced resources, old level of expenses and competitive inefficiency went together. But these could not go together for a long time without baneful results. Debts followed. The same result which application of individualistic ideas produced everywhere also followed. The weak was made the victim of the strong. They quickly fell an easy prey to the money lending class. United, they survived and flourished, and separated, they had to fall and perish.

But the new lenders of money in Malabar are mostly people of outside origin, fortune-seekers starting from low positions and with an avarice, heartless and unscrupulous, totally alien to indigenous traditions and perhaps thoroughly unrivalled by any type as yet known to history or fiction. This circumstance only added acuteness to their plight.

The general economic depression has only aggravated the situation still further. Prices and with them valuation of lands also went down. Inability to meet expenses of living and interest charges fixed on the old level of prices of agricultural commodities only hastened the ultimate doom and prepared the way for a doom of an unexpectedly greater magnitude.

We have now to examine the measures taken by the governments in Malabar to deal with this exceptional situation. But at present we propose to confine our attention only to those taken by the government in Cochin State.

The most outstanding measure of the Cochin government in this connection is the Debt Relief Act passed in 1939 towards the close of the Malabar year 1114.

The main features of the Act are :

(1) Non-acceptance of the principle of reduction of principal.

(2) Reduction of interest on a uniform basis to 6% in cases when money is borrowed from private individuals and 7½% when borrowed from corporations with effect from the Malabar year 1107. Exclusion of all transactions closed prior to some month from the date of its enactment from retrospective benefits. Exclusion also of debtors deriving a money income of Rs. 75 and more a month from similar benefits.

(3) Legal insistence on payment by the debtors of the whole amount after deductions possible under the Act within a year in two equal instalments. Forfeiture of all benefits of the Act in case of failure to pay the first instalment falling due after six months from the date of its enactment.

From this analysis of the main features of

the Act it will be easily evident that it is strictly limited in scope and abundantly partisan in character in favour of the creditor.

To one familiar with the ordinary usages of the indigenous credit system in Malabar, the Act of Cochin cannot in any way make an appeal as conceding anything new to the debtors. It used to be a widely common practice on the part of creditors in Malabar to relinquish their rights over unpaid interests and even over portions of the principal according as the hardships of the debtors necessitated. In respect of formal stipulations regarding rates of interest the limit for the maximum and that even when the principal was extraordinarily small and the debt unsecured was only 12 per cent. The minimum went far below even 6 per cent in accordance with the bigness of the amount and the nature of the securities given. The leniency generally shown to the debtors regarding time for making payments was also unlimited.

In the light of these facts the Cochin Act cannot be regarded as containing anything new or strikingly exceptional though it is expressly intended to meet an extremely exceptional situation. More than that, from the point of view of Malabar it has to be taken as a retrograde measure inadequate to meet the normal requirements of even ordinary times in conformity with her own cultural ideals.

A detailed examination of the main provisions of the Act will also show that it is unmistakably partisan in favour of the creditor. We shall deal with each of the main provisions of the Act separately.

As we have seen the principle of reduction of principal has altogether been totally rejected by the Act of Cochin. But it is obvious that such a reduction can be justified even in ordinary times both on economic and ethical grounds under certain circumstances. If a debtor has already paid interest for a sufficiently long time it enables the creditor to replace from the interests so received the principal originally advanced without at the same time sacrificing the interests for the period. The interest on interests paid will alone constitute the fund for the same. Hence the principle has incontrovertible economic and ethical justifications even in ordinary times.

But in extraordinary times there are also additional reasons for accepting the principle. When interest is originally fixed implicitly on the basis of the existing price level and when that price level has gone down it is obvious that the creditor when receiving the same interest is getting more in proportion to the reduction in price than he himself has originally contemplated. Thus at least to the extent such extra interests have been received by the creditor there is to that extent also indisputable justification for a reduction of the principal.

In these circumstances the government's non-acceptance of the principle of reduction of principal can only be viewed as designed to protect the interests of the creditors by sacrificing even the legitimate interests of the debtors.

Leaving the question of reduction of principal and coming to the question of reduction of interest which the Government has professedly accepted we see again an anxiety on its part to safeguard the interests of the creditors at all costs. When once the Government has altogether rejected the principle of reduction of principal the case for reduction of interest in proportion to the fall in prices from the original level is all the more overwhelming. But the Government has completely ignored this cardinal consideration and has reduced interest to a uniform level which even under ordinary circumstances under certain conditions is not considered by any means as fair in Malabar, and leaving sufficient scope for uniformity to become universality to the detriment of the debtors.

The same zeal to protect the interests of the creditors by all means also explains the provisions for all sorts of exclusions from the benefits of even such an unfairly inadequate reduction. The Government has in fact by all sorts of conceivable means tried to make in effect exclusion from the benefits of such a reduction the general rule rather than the exception.

In this connection exclusion of debtors having a money income of Rs. 75 and more a month from the benefits deserves examination in greater detail. The logic that has connected money income from non-agricultural sources and debts contracted on the security of agricultural properties and agricultural income in a scheme for providing relief to agricultural indebtedness is on the very face of it unsound. Even accepting it as sound how a debtor with such an income can in addition to his normal expenses generally fixed on the basis of that income rescue his properties particularly when the debts and interest charges involved are in comparison of enormous magnitude is incomprehensible. Such an exclusion can only be regarded as an instance of the Governmental zeal for the protection of the interests of the creditors going mad. Indisputably it is also a blow directed against the agricultural debtors whose interests it is the avowed intention of the scheme to safeguard.

Finally, we come to the condition attached

for the enjoyment by the debtors of the benefits of the Act. Perhaps this is the most amusing part of the Act of Cochin. The whole amount after a paltry reduction possible under the Act has to be paid within a year, and half of it within six months. Deprivation of the benefits is the penalty for failure to pay the first instalment.

That the debtors who were unable to pay regularly even interests for years together are not likely to be able to pay almost the whole amount, principal and unpaid interests, in one year without fresh borrowing is obvious. But borrowing even under most favourable circumstances is not a good bargaining for the debtors.

Hence under such peculiarly unfavourable circumstances borrowing from private creditors on advantageous terms is also absolutely impossible. In fact any attempt on their part to secure loans from private creditors can only end in frustration or further deterioration in their position in one form or other.

The need for special State assistance is thus clear beyond doubt. In this connection the credit facilities afforded by the State can also be examined. The only facility which the State has provided is in the form of the instituton of a Land Mortgage Bank a few years back. But the preposterous nature of the securities demanded by the Bank and the extreme difficulty and delay in securing loans from it are likely to make it more useful in practice to the wealthy and the influential, investors and creditors, than the debtors.

Judging from the attitude of the Cochin Government so far one cannot also reasonably expect it to come to the rescue of the debtors by providing other credit facilities or in other ways.

The last remnant of the debtors are also thus not likely to derive any benefits conferred by the Act.

Summing up we find that on the whole the advantages derived by the debtors from the Debt Relief Act of Cochin are only trifling and apparent and in no way appreciable and real. Far from improving their position the Act has only assisted in accentuating their doom by offering an ostensible excuse of state interference for the denial or obstruction of private credit and for still further tightening the already deadly grip of the creditors on them for their abrupt or gradual extinction.

It will be universally admitted that even in ordinary times anything like equality of strength is altogether out of question as between the creditor and the debtor. Of the two parties the creditor is always the stronger at all times. Hence when at a time of unprecedented troubles for the debtors the Government has chosen to throw an undue weight on the side of the creditors it can only mean sure disaster to the debtors.

It was maintained on behalf of the Government and in justification of its peculiar attitude at the time of the introduction of the legislation that the whole scheme rested on the well known political principle of compromise. But any compromise based on a surrender of essentials affecting a particular party to the compromise cannot be regarded or known by the word 'compromise.' It has rather to be regarded and known by the word 'sacrifice.'

Only two explanations are possible for such a governmental attitude in Cochin. Either the Government has miserably bungled. Or it has appeared on the scene only deliberately to rescue the creditors from the effects of the intense and widespread agitation started and sustained on behalf of the debtors for the introduction of suitable ameliorative legislation by providing a legislative farce for diversion.

However, the situation created by such an attitude on the part of the Government is by all means fraught with extremely tragic consequences. It is surely bound to sound the economic death-knell of the vast majority of the indigenous agricultural population in the State.

Malabar has fallen on evil days. The spread of English education with its denationalising influence has led to the creation of a disastrous indifference coupled with even active antipathy towards indigenous cultural ideals and institutions among her people. With it also the danger from the perennial influx and influence of unsympathetic cultural aliens in all spheres of life from top to bottom has steadily increased even in the States which are in no way politically associated with any different cultural area. The institution of the joint family was always an unfailing bulwark against any undue alien preponderance in any sphere of life in Malabar. But with its dissolution the floodgate for the deluge has also been everywhere opened. The ruin of the vast mass of the indigenous agricultural population in Malabar by mishandling the problem of agricultural indebtedness in any form can only hasten her submergence. It is, however, to be hoped that before it is too late the consciousness of the situation will be sufficiently awakened among the people to enable them to assert themselves effectively for averting the danger of economic extinction and cultural annihilation to indigenous Malabar and for establishing a just and equitable balance between the creditor and the debtor.

RELATIVE "PAUPERISM" AMONG THE HINDUS AND THE MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

When the Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission, visited India in connection with the enquiry about the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, and what further measures of popular and democratic self-government could be conferred upon the peoples of India, the Bengal Government submitted a lengthy Memorandum before it. In a separate note appended to this Memorandum, the late Sir Probhas Chunder Mitter—then a member of the Bengal Cabinet, has shown that of the total provincial revenues of Bengal more than eighty per cent are contributed by the Hindus. The late Sir Nawab Nawab Ali Choudhuri while contesting the other propositions of his colleague, did not challenge this estimate of Hindu contribution. Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, lately a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, is also of opinion that more than 80 per cent of the provincial revenues is contributed by the Hindus in Bengal. The present writer has shown in *The Modern Review* for September, 1934, that only 12 per cent of the income-tax assessees are Muhammadans, and that their estimated contribution in the form of income-tax is about 3 per cent only. He has also shown that of the Land revenue paid "the Muhammadans" share cannot exceed 20 per cent. [see *The Modern Review,* March, 1933]. It is a matter of common experience that in every walk of life—professions of law, medicine and engineering, trades, banking, insurance and other businesses, services including those under the State, wherever there is free and open competition, the Hindus are not only richer than the Muhammadans, but they outnumber them in this respect by at least ten to one. In the Bengal Census Report of 1921, occupations by religions are given in Table XX; and we find that the total number of "persons living principally on their income" is 37,420. The number of Hindus so living is 30,633; and the corresponding number of the Muhammadans is 4,643. The relative proportion was not 306:46; but 306/44:46/54, for the Hindus were then in 1921, 43·72 per cent of the population, and the Muhammadans 53·55 per cent, i.e., the true relative proportion was 90:10. In the Census Report of 1931 no such Table was published—the reason whereof is not known to us; and the latest statistics on the point are not available.

While it is true that the number of richer Hindus is greater—far greater—than the number of richer Muhammadans; while it is true that the Hindus pay 80 per cent of the provincial revenues; paradoxical as it may sound to Hindu ears and wound their vanity, it is equally true that the number of beggars and vagrants; and paupers and persons 'too poor to pay any taxes' is greater among the Hindus. The Hindus pay 80 per cent of the provincial revenues; but it does not necessarily follow that the rest, *i.e.,* 20 per cent is paid by the Muhammadans. Let us, however, assume that it is so. The contribution of an individual Hindu to the provincial exchequer : to that of an individual Muhammadan is in the proportion of 80/45:20/55 or 44:9 or 83:17. Roughly an individual Hindu pays five times more in taxes than an individual Muhammadan. It is a fact that the number of Hindu destitutes is proportionately far greater than that of Muhammadans—but it is not known to us whether it is due to this heavy taxation and consequent impoverishment of the Hindu, or to some other cause or causes. In Table XX of the Census Report of 1921, we find the total number of 'Beggars, Vagrants and Prostitutes' to be 438,724; out of which 216,079 are Hindus and 220,132 Muhammadans. The respective numbers of Hindu and Muhammadan prostitutes and procurers are 31,214 and 11,936. Leaving out of consideration the number of prostitutes and procurers, as prostitution may be due more to social causes, such as restrictions on widow re-marriage, etc. etc., than to economic destitution, we find the respective numbers of 'Beggars and Vagrants' to be 184,865 Hindus and 208,196 Muhammadans. At first sight it may seem that there are more beggars and vagrants amongst the Muhammadans than amongst the Hindus; but the fact is otherwise. Out of 208 lakhs of Hindus we find 184,865 beggars and vagrants; and out of 255 lakhs of Muhammadans 208,196 are of the same class. So out of every 10,000 Hindus, 89 are beggars;

out of every 10,000 Muhammadans, 81 are beggars. The relative proportion of beggars and vagrants among the Hindus exceed that among the Muhammadans by about 10 per cent. The corresponding figures for the 1931 Census are not available, as the relevant Table has been omitted in it.

In the Union Board areas of rural Bengal those who are, in the opinion of the members of the local union board, "too poor to pay half an anna a month," are altogether exempted from payment of any union rates under the law [See Sec. 38(2) of the *Bengal Village Self-Government Act V* of 1919]. Under the law the assessment of union-rates on the inhabitants is to be "according to the circumstances within the union, and property within the union, if any" [See Sec. 38(1) of the Act]. As the average area of an union board is some 10 sq. miles, this means in practice especially in the case of poorer persons, according to the circumstances and *all* the property they may have. Therefore, as exemption from payment of union-rates are granted to these persons by members of the local union-board, who have and can have all the necessary information about them, the man who with all his circumstances and properties is too poor to pay half an anna a month or six annas a year as union-rates, and consequently exempted, may be said to have reached the limit or touched the level of pauperism. We shall call all such persons 'paupers.'

Under the new Constitution, as framed by the Government of India Act, 1935, one of the main qualifications for being a voter of the Bengal Legislative Assembly in the rural areas is the payment of "union-rate under the Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919 of not less than six annas" [See Government of India Act, 1935, Sixth Schedule, Part IV, Rule 2(d)]. In the Union Board areas of rural Bengal, all those who pay union-rates are Bengal Assembly voters. There are other voting qualifications; but this is the main qualification. For our purpose of determining or estimating the number of persons, whom we may call 'paupers,' the other voting qualifications, such as the payment of any tax under the Bengal Motor Vehicles Tax Act, 1932, or of any income-tax under the Indian Income Tax Act, 1922, etc., are besides the point. A man who can keep a car in the rural areas is simply very rich, whether he pays any union-rates or not. Similar is the case of the income-tax payer, for he has a minimum income of Rs. 2,000 a year.

The respective numbers of General (almost all Hindus, after we have excluded the Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, etc.), and Muhammadan voters of the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1937 for the rural areas are :

		General	Muhammadan
Male	..	20,72,840	30,09,569
Female	..	3,53,448	3,93,257
Total	..	24,26,288	34,02,826

[The figures are taken from Report of the Reforms Office, Bengal, 1932-1937.]

Under the Hindu Law, sons only inherit their fathers to the exclusion of the daughters. Under the Muhammadan Law, on the other hand, both sons and daughters inherit, sons taking a double share. Then there are additional qualifications for women, *e.g.*, if the husband pays Re. 1 or more as union-rates, his wife becomes a voter. So to avoid complications, and to make the two figures strictly comparable with each other, we exclude the female voters from our consideration, and confine ourselves to the male voters alone. The proportion of Hindu male voters: to Muhammadan male voters is 20·7: 30·1 or 40·7:59·3 in rural Bengal. The relative proportion of Hindus : Muhammadans in the general population of rural areas in Bengal is 41·47:56·52 in 1931 or 43:57 approximately. Thus relatively more Muhammadans are voters, and above the limit of 'pauperism' than Hindus.

About 265 lakh Muhammadans reside in rural areas; and they have 30 lakh Assembly voters. For every 1,000 Muhammadan, there are 113 voters. The number of the 'General' (mostly Hindus) in the rural areas is about 197 lakhs; and they have about 21 lakhs voters. For every 1,000 Hindu (or General), there are 105 voters. Thus relatively the Muhammadans have 8 more voters per 1,000 of the population than the Hindus.

It is the father or the other head of the family who, having regard to our social customs and practices, is generally assessed to union-rates. Therefore, the respective numbers of Hindu and Muhammadan voters really represent the heads of so many Hindu and so many Muhammadan families. It is common knowledge that a Muhammadan family consists of more members than a Hindu commensal family. Taking the districts of Mymensingh and Pabna where the Muhammadans form 75 per cent of the population as types of pure Muhammadan districts, we find the average number of persons per commensal family to be 5·9. Similarly taking the districts of Midnapore and Bankura

where the Hindus form 86 per cent of the population as types of pure Hindu districts, we find the average per family to be 4·6 persons.

So out of 265/5·9=44·9 lakh Muhammadan families, 30 lakhs are assessed to union-rates; leaving about 14·9 lakh families who are too poor to pay the minimum of 6 as. as rates. Two-THIRDS of the Muhammadans are *above* the level of 'pauperism.' Out of 197/4·6=42·8 lakh Hindu families 20·7 lakh are assessed to union-rates; leaving about 22·1 lakh families who are too poor to pay the minimum. Thus MORE THAN HALF (or 51 ·6%, of the Hindus are *below* the level of 'pauperism.'

PUNJAB AND THE WAR

By AHMAD SHAFI

SOON after the War was declared by Great Britain an announcement was made by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan that the Punjab placed its entire resources at the disposal of His Britannic Majesty unconditionally and without reservation. The Muslim League and the Congress are still hoping that His Majesty's Viceroy in India will offer terms on which these two political bodies will lend their wholehearted support in the prosecution of the war. Ever since his entry into the public life of the province Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has in his own way shown to be a man of discretion, now he has begun to show that he can prosecute his cause with zeal as well. To assist him in this object his government has created an additional post of Chief Secretary and appointed a European officer of the I.C.S. to it for a period of six months in the first instance. The tenure of this appointment will depend on the duration of the war. Among the functions of this officer are included the work arising out of the affairs connected with the war. He will supply correct news about the War, control the prices of commodities and watch the press. Replying to a supplementary question asked in the Punjab Legislative Assembly early in December last by Dr. Gopi Chand regarding the functions and responsibilities of the Punjab Government towards the prosecution of the war the Premier referred him to the Government of India Act as recently amended by the Parliament.

The Punjab has once before experienced within living memory recruiting and war loan campaigns which were conducted under the regime of different administrators. This was during the last Great War. The aftermath of these campaigns brought home to us the moral that these should have been prosecuted with more discretion. It may not be considered inopportune and imprudent therefore to recall a few salient features of those campaigns so that the government that at present shapes the destinies of the Punjab and the Punjabis may take heed in time and avoid the difficulties and dangers which beset the path of its predecessors in office.

In his speech delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 13th of September, 1917, Sir Michael O'Dwyer compared the Punjabis with the British and claimed

"that when the stability of the Empire is threatened, the Punjab now as in the Mutiny, has set a noble example of loyalty and self-sacrifice to the rest of the Empire."

This noble example of loyalty and self-sacrifice was described by Sir Michael himself in the Punjab Legislative Council on the 7th of April, 1919, in the following words:

"We started the War with 1,00,000 men in the Army.

"In 1917 I was able to tell you that in the first two and a half years of War we had raised 124,000 combatants. In the next year we raised over 127,000 and a year ago the total was over a quarter of a million. We were then in the most critical stage of the war, and in response to His Majesty's August message and the Premier's appeal I asked the province to raise another 200,000 men including 180,000 fighting men within a year. Many people thought that was *an extravagant demand*. The people did not know the spirit of the Punjab. April and May 1918 were the harvest months and we did not push recruiting. But 21,000 men were enrolled.

"From June to September the recruiting campaign was carried on everywhere with great enthusiasm and in these four months 78,000 men or over 19,500 per month joined the colours. In October, owing to the influenza epidemic, the number dropped to 14,426; and in November, when we were about to make a fresh effort, our enemies collapsed and hostilities came to an end, and the number fell to 6,313; but in six months, from June to November, we had raised 99,000 men or

half the total promised, and in eight months April to November, our total was 121,000 men, including 100,000 combatants. If the need had continued, we shall have completed our quota of 200,000. As it is we can claim to have raised about 360,000 combatants during the four years of war, or more than half the total raised in the Indian Empire, excluding of course the splendid contribution from our gallant neighbours and allies in Nepal."

The way the districts were asked to emulate or excell the other districts may also be indicated in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's own words. At a durbar held by him at Gujranwala on the 29th of March, 1919, he remarked :

"As you know Gujranwala was slow in starting but under the stimulus given to your efforts by the vigorous personality of Colonel O'Brien, it made a notable advance in the last year of the war, and in the eleven months from December 1917 to October 1918 it raised 7,000 recruits for the Army.

"When the war ceased you had about 13,000 men in the army and in proportion to your male population while far below Amritsar and Gurdaspur, you were equal to your neighbours in Sialkot and a good way better than Lahore. So Gujranwala though not in the first rank has removed the *reproach* that would have attached to it had you allowed other people to fight your battles. In the matter of war charities the generosity of Gujranwala has been conspicuous and Lady O'Dwyer desires me to express her gratitude to the zealous workers who gave such liberal and unfailing support to the Red Cross and Comforts Funds."

A heap of other quotations can be added but these should suffice.

Now a word about the effects produced by these methods and this extent of recruitment even during the course of the recruiting campaigns. In his speech of the 7th of April, 1919, a part of which has already been quoted, Sir Michael addmitted that

"The active attempts to obtain recruits from an ignorant and home loving population, who had not yet learnt the elementary duty of helping to defend their country, led to some serious riots and lawless outbreaks in the Multan division and in Shahpur."

The aftermath was still more serious disturbances. Of course there were other contributory causes which led to the disturbances of 1919 but the Secretary of State for India in his budget speech while discussing the causes of unrest had to admit that

"Recruitment for the Army has gone on in parts particularly affected by these disturbances with such zeal and enthusiasm that I think there is reason to believe many a family was left without its bread-winner or bread-winners."

It is true that the constitution and complexion of the provincial government has changed since then. The province has a cabinet form of government with joint responsibility but in emergency all this can be changed at the will of the Governor-General. However that may be the present Punjab Government should bear in mind the advice of Bacon who writing about the manner in which popular discontentment develops into outbreaks of disorder says :

"As for discontentments, they are in the public body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own good : nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small ......Neither let any prince or State be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued : for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm; so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over diverse times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, 'The Cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull'."

February 21, 1940.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH RESIDENCY IN BURMA (1826-1840) : *By W. S. Desai, M.A. Published by the University of Rangoon. 1939. Pp. 491.*

The volume before us is, to use the words of the author, "the first attempt yet made to describe Anglo-Burmese relations from the close of the first Anglo-Burmese War (1824-6) up to the early years of the reign of Tharrawaddy (1837-1846)." The attempt has been a signal success. The author has made full use of the documentary evidence and has shown both industry and critical insight. The author writes in a clear lucid style and knows how to enfuse life into the dry bones of history. The title of the book does not give us a full idea of the contents of the book. It not merely traces the political relations between the British and the Burmese, but gives a fascinating account of the internal history of Burma and particularly of its court life during the period under review. The account of the 'great' controversy over the removal of shoes by the Resident when presenting himself in court is a delightful reading. For although it might appear to us as an extremely trivial item concerning etiquette the shoe question loomed large in the relations between the two Governments. Another feature of the court ceremonial which is of great interest to us is the opening of the Durbar with the chanting of the Brahmans, a reminiscence of the old ties between Burma and India. Apart from the narration of political history with numerous details of interest the book presents before us the persons of the Burmese Kings and the British Resident Burney in vivid colour and gives us greater insight into the real history of the period than most of the extant political narratives. The author has also thrown light on many other obscure personalities who were hitherto but little known, and rescued from oblivion many interesting anecdotes and episodes. The author holds out before us the picture of a typical medieval kingdom ruled with absolute authority by a King whose power knew no limits. The court life with endless jealousies and intrigues and occasional palace revolutions is described in endless details and we witness before our eyes the strength and weakness, and the charms and follies of a type of government which is slowly but steadily passing away. We congratulate the author on the very interesting and scholarly work that he has produced.

R. C. Majumdar

THE ETHICS OF POWER OR THE PROBLEM OF EVIL : *By Philip Leon. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 315. Price 10s. 6d.*

The author of this book is the Head of the Department of Classics and Philosophy at the University College, Leicester and Examiner to the University of London. In the book, the author has put forth the view that self love is the source of evil. He distinguishes between egoistic self love and egotism. He has approached the problem of morality from a new angle. In connection with his thesis he has discussed moral error, punishment, etc. The author believes in Adlerian Psychology. He has interesting suggestions to offer on the problems of conflict between the classes, sexes, nations, etc. The chapter on 'Sermon's Moral' gives an interesting analysis of Nazism. Although the exposition of the author is somewhat difficult to follow at places the book is well worth a perusal.

G. Bose

INTERPRETATION OF ZARATHUSTRA'S GATHA and PRAYERS FROM THE KHORDAH-AVESTA : *By Lady Dastur. Published by the New Book Company, Bombay. Price Rs. 2 and Re. 1-8 respectively.*

Long before Buddha and Mahavira a veritable religious reformation was inaugurated in Asia by Zarathustra, the great sage of Iran, but in spite of centuries of relationship between India and Iran very few Indians can profess to have any clear idea and appreciation of the spiritual legacies of Zoroastrianism. Most of the book on the subject are highly technical and expensive and therefore beyond the reach of common readers. So we are grateful to Lady Dastur for her simple literary rendering of some of the scriptural texts of her ancestral religion. An eminent authority like Dr. M. N. Dhalla has testified to the fidelity of her translations. We hope that these two books will further the cause of propagating the fundamental truths of the Parsi religion which is the living link between the Avesta and the Vedas, both indispensable for the understanding of the religion of the Indo-Aryans.

ELEMENTS OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY : *By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Published by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., U. S. A. Price $3.50.*

From the study of objective documents of Indian Art, Dr. Coomaraswamy occasionally digresses into the elucidation of the subjective concepts underlying the

Art of India, as we felt reading his two previous publications: *A New Approach to the Vedas* and *The Transformation of Nature in Art*. Now in this third volume published under the auspices of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, he analyses the following symbols: *The Tree of Life, The Earth Lotus, The Word-wheel, The Lotus Throne* and the *Fiery Pillar*. He has successfully traced these symbols back beyond their first representation in Buddhist iconography, through the aniconic period of the Brahmanas even into the Rig-Vedic period. Contrary to the general opinion, he asserts that there was no complete break in thought between the Rig-Veda and the Brahmanas and Upanishads. Nay more, he is of opinion that mystical theology is the same the world over, as he tried to demonstrate by instituting many surprising comparisons between the Vedic literature and the passages in the medieval Christian mystics and theologians. The plates illustrating the text are admirable from the point of view of documentation and we recommend this valuable study to all serious students of comparative Art. The Buddha in his novel treatment, emerges as an incarnation of the Vedic Agni.

KALIDAS NAG

FOREIGN CONNECTION OF BUDDHA: *By Pandit Sri Umakanta Vidyasekhara (translated from Telugu by the author and read at the Third Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Madras, December, 1924). Second Edition Revised. Vangmaya Samiti, Madras, 1937.*

In this booklet the author has tried to prove that Gautama Buddha had foreign origin and thereby he has to some extent supported the view of Dr. Spooner, but the result of his investigation seems to be very unsatisfactory. He has laid much stress on the fact that Buddha belongs to the class of sun-worshippers. We all know on the authority of the Mahavastu (II, p. 303) that the Sakyas among whom the Buddha was born are known as Adityabandhus or the people kin to the Sun. This refers to their descent from the Solar dynasty to which the Ikshvakus belonged. The Mahavastu (III, p. 247) also speaks of King Suddhodana, father of Gautama Buddha, as born of the Ikshvaku family. The same work (III, p. 246) also speaks of Buddha as a Kshatriya of the Adityagotra and of the Ikshvaku kula, *i.e.*, born of the family of the Ikshvakus who derived their descent from the Sun. The Sutta-Nipata, an important canonical work of the Hinayanists, points out that the Buddha refers to his people as Adiccas by family and Sakiyas by birth. The mere fact that Buddha belongs to the class of sun-worshippers does not prove that Gautama was not an Indian. The author has collected here some of the references from the Mahabharata, Puranas, Brahmasutras and other Brahmanical works in support of his contention which he has miserably failed to prove. The more we can avoid building up such theories, the better.

B. C. LAW

EMPIRE OF THE NABOBS: *By L. Hutchinson. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 1937. Price 7s. 6d.*

The *Nabobs* were eighteenth century Europeans, Englishmen mostly, who during their long sojourn in India, lived the life of a Mughal Amir, affected the airs and style of a Nawab, smoked the *hukkah* and kept a *harem*. Even after their return to England, these Indianised Englishmen prided in keeping up their state and semi-oriental manners. They were considered by thoughtful English statesmen as a grave menace to society and danger to the English Constitution. However, the social life of the eighteenth century Englishmen and European adventurers in India is a theme of considerable interest for us. We have hardly any record of the process of Hinduisation of the barbarian invaders of India, the Sakas, Hunas and other Central Asiatic hordes. The Indianisation of the Muslim invaders has not also received much attention of scholars owing to scanty materials scattered in medieval history and literature. But we have fortunately ample and authentic sources of information regarding the Indianisation of Europeans in the eighteenth century.

Hitherto scholars have mostly been busy with reconstruction of the political history of India before the Mutiny, neglecting generally the social and economic life of European residents in this country in the midst of Indian environments. Among the historians of our generation it was Mr. H. H. Dodwell who discovered a fresh and promising field of research in this direction. His book *Nabobs of Madras* appeared in 1926 and the same year Mr. J. M. Holtzman published its counterpart, *The Nabobs in England*. Mr. T. G. P. Spear, Ph.D. (Cantab.), Reader, Delhi University, kept up our interest in the subject by publishing his handy and well written book. *The Nabobs*, in 1932.

Mr. L. Hutchinson's book treats of the same subject, namely social life of the English in eighteenth century India. It is a very valuable contribution to the historical literature of the period. The author's literary finish to the forbidding framework of his subject is admirable. We hope this book will be found quite entertaining by general readers and a very suitable supplementary text-book on the British India for post-graduate classes.

K. R. QANUNGO

DYARCHY: *By Lionel Curtis. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1920. Cheap Re-issue. Price Rs. 5.*

This cheap re-issue of the 'papers relating to the application of the principles of Dyarchy to the Government of India,' originally published in 1920 at 31s. 6d., is timely and useful; for it brings within the easy reach of every student of Indian government a book, in which Mr. Lionel Curtis has with extreme care and industry and with undoubted authority explained the genesis of the principle of Dyarchy, at a time when dyarchy is the order of the day as an element in the Indian federation as well as in the schemes of world federation that are being worked out by thinkers in practically every country.

Dyarchy means a division of the functions of government into two sections. This division may be achieved, as it was achieved in the Government of India Scheme of 1919, by the division of the executive council of a province into two parts; or it may be achieved by the distribution of governmental functions, as under the Scheme of Indian Federation 1935, between the Central and the Provincial government. Mr. Lionel Curtis explains in this book how the need in 1919 was to formulate a scheme of "specific devolution" and how such a scheme inevitably followed the lines enshrined in the Government of India Act, 1919, for it "took advantage of an existing duality in administration and merely readjusted the boundaries so as to define more clearly the field of the strong hand from that of popular freedom, possibly to the real extension

of the latter." (The Duke Memorandum, p. 18). It is interesting to note that Mr. Curtis foresaw that as soon as full responsible government could be conceded to the Provinces, India would be ripe for a federal union such as was established in other self-governing Dominions.

The dyarchic scheme of 1919 has already lost its interest. What this book reveals is that its merits as well as demerits were frankly analysed by Sir William Duke, who first drafted the scheme, and fully discussed by scores of Indian and European officials and non-officials whose comments are published here; and that although a rather too hopeful view of the situation was ultimately taken the fundamental objections to the dyarchic scheme were forseen and examined by Mr. Curtis in his Letter to Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu. There are, however, two or three things in this book that would be of greater interest for the present generation.

Firstly, Mr. Curtis confesses that communal representation by the method of separate electorates is baneful to the development of all national life. "I believe that if this principle is perpetuated, we shall have saddled India with a new system of caste which will eat every year more deeply into her life. So long as it remains, India will never attain to the unity of nationhood. The longer it remains, the more difficult will it be to uproot, till in the end it will only be eradicated at the cost of civil war. To enable India to achieve nationhood, is the trust laid on us; and in conceding the establishment of communal representation we have, I hold, been false to that trust. The system has eaten into the life of this people so deeply that, already, it is not possible to abolish at one stroke what might have been refused a few years ago. But I feel that we shall be guilty of an unpardonable crime against India if we fail now to make provision whereby these fetters, in which we have allowed her to bind herself, can be loosed."

Secondly, Mr. Curtis says on the subject of redistribution of Indian Provinces that "No one will question now that it was a mistake on Lord Durham's part to try to force the French people of the Roman Catholic communion into an unnatural union with the British and Protestant community of Ontario. The main point of the federal structure adopted by Canada is that it enables a national union to be realised, while leaving distinct racial, linguistic and religious units, organised as self-governing provinces, to lead their own life under their own conditions. If this experience is held in mind, can we really look forward to a United States of India, under which Sind and the Canarese-speaking people are tied and bound into the same self-governing unit as the Marathas? Are not the Marathas themselves entitled to a State such as will perpetuate the traditions of that famous community? Are the Tamil and the Telugu peoples of Madras to be given no separate institutions of their own? Are the Oriyas to be left dispersed amongst three provinces, the larger section being left under the permanent domination of the people of Bihar?" Mr. Curtis's idea is that oversized provinces are a danger under popular government, for their different elements ultimately demand to be sub-divided into smaller self-governing areas and tend to fall apart as separate national units, and that provincial areas should be based on history, religion, race, but especially language, for it is only when the discussion of public affairs is conducted in vernaculars that India will have a real extension of popular and responsible government.

Mr. Curtis's view of the paternal system of district administration, under which the various functions of government are collected into the hands of the district officer, is that 'it suits the government of a dependency, with its mainspring in England.' "A responsible government which takes its impetus from an electorate of its own requires a mechanism of a different type. For responsible government involves a system under which one minister controls irrigation, another forests, a third agriculture, and a fourth education. Harmony between these departments must be secured by the joint authority of the cabinet under the leadership of the premier. It cannot be secured by the district officers, who must gradually be divested of all their functions but that of maintaining order, and who must eventually come under one minister and take their orders through him."

It will be clear that Mr. Curtis brings to his subject very great care and industry. Perhaps more important than this, because it is rather rare, is the fact that he brings to the consideration of the Indian problem a natural understanding and sympathy of outlook. Although his faith is necessarily pinned to the greatness of the British Commonwealth, still he advocates that freedom is a human ideal and that it has great potency in creating character. "Wisdom" says Mr. Curtis, "can be learnt only in the school of responsibility"; and Indian people have a right to freedom, even if the right to freedom may in the beginning mean only the right to make mistakes.

BOOL CHAND

GERMANY'S COLONIAL DEMANDS: *Edited by A. L. C. Bullock. Published by the Oxford University Press, London. 1939. Pp. 266, with 3 Maps, Statistical Tables, and Index. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

This is an informative volume representing the substance of reports by the Oxford University British Commonwealth Group on the subject of Germany's specific demand for the return of lost colonies. Professor Vincent Harlow, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in London University and Director of Studies of the Group, contributes a concluding chapter, analysing the results of the Group's study. He begins his analysis with reference to Wilson's Fifth Point relating to the Mandates system. He suggests that the Allies "would have been better advised if they had refrained from taking the mandates for themselves," and handed them over to selected neutral powers. But to Professor Harlow the Wilson principle represent an unnecessary and gratuitous justification, which only weakened the "unimpeachable" rights of the victor. The economic arguments in favour of a restoration of the Colonies to Germany is refuted by the finding that 85 per cent of the raw materials which Germany is obliged to import can be obtained only from independent States; and that in times of war German autarchy is not feasible. The Group is convinced that for the safety of Great Britain and the interest of primitive races, Germany's re-entry to the African Colonial field can not be justified. Underlying the whole analysis there is this note of a hesitating imperialism. Colonial possessions have become a "badge of rank" and in this background the study concludes with the pointless and fashionable solution which neither meets Germany's point nor satisfies the close student of the problem, that: "The abandonment by all concerned of the outworn conception of national sovereignty: the pool-

ing of resources of commercial opportunities, and moral responsibilities."

The study contains valuable appendices on the population and trade of mandated territories in 1913 and in recent years; the Allied Note of 16th June, 1919; Mandates Constitutions, etc.

POLAND AND ITS FRONTIER : *By Dr. S. P. Chatterjee. Published by the Calcutta Geographical Society, Ashutosh Building, Calcutta. Pp. 28 with 6 Maps.*

This is the first Bulletin of the Calcutta Geographical Society by its energetic Secretary. It is not only a readable and revealing pamphlet on the human, historical, economic and physiographic aspects of Poland, but in a short compass brings into prominence the significance of geographical studies on new lines.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA : *By Faqir Chand Arora. Published by the Malhotra Brothers, Lahore. 1939. Pp. XXV+478 with an Index. Price Rs. 5.*

This is another attempt at analysing, interpreting and annotating the Act of 1935 "in the light of their actual working" mainly intended for the use of students. The main text is preceded by a short but perfunctory historical Prologue and there are two concluding chapters on Provincial Autonomy in Action and an Epilogue dealing with several recent controversies. The work is in places verbose, the presentation and language leave great scope for improvement, in a few places the family likeness to certain standard works is patent. Mr. Arora has, however, compressed a lot of useful and up-to-date material which students would find handy.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

STUDIES IN INDO-MUSLIM HISTORY : A CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON ELLIOT AND DOWSON'S HISTORY OF INDIA AS TOLD BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS : *By Prof. S. H. Hodiwala. Published by the author, Convent Avenue, Santa Cruz, Bombay. 1939. Pp. XXIII+727.*

Prof. Hodiwala is to be congratulated on this work which is the product of ripe scholarship and patient industry. His notes and commentaries have elucidated many obscurities, settled unquestionably the identification of numerous toponyms and have also occasionally corrected mis-statements made in standard works.

It should be specially noted that Prof. Hodiwala's notes have not merely skimmed over the surface, but have been very penetrating and stimulative. Years of quiet devoted study have enabled him to focuss light on his notes from a variety of sources and make the present volume really entertaining. One or two illustrations taken at random would make it clear. Abbas Sarwani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Sher-Shahi* mentions that the pargana of Malkonoa was the home of highway robbers (E. & D. IV. 416). The learned author identifies it first with a place of the same name and indicates its modern name to be Rasulabad. But as the latter name is not uncommon, Prof. Hodiwala makes the identification more pointed and unassailable by pointing out on the authority of *Masir-ul-umara* and *N.W.P. Gazetteer* that the particular place was inhabited for ages by a turbulent peasantry. Again, Nizamuddin the Author of *Tab Akbari* says that the emperor sent Husain Khan and Mahapatar, a master of Hindi music, against the Raja of Orissa. In commenting upon "Mahapatar" the Professor points out that the real name of the musician was Narahari Sahai (Grierson and Blochmann) and concludes, after discussion that "it might not be the title specially bestowed upon him by Akbar, but the byname or sobriquet by which he was generally known at the court."

His notes have repudiated wellknown historical facts. The *C. H. I.* has led scholars to believe that Prince Khusrau was a "strict monogamist" but Professor Hodiwala has shown convincingly that the Prince was wedded to two other ladies. The bubble of such bombastic statements as "In the Afghan's reign, an old woman with a basket of gold could safely sleep in the open plain at night without a guard," (Sir W. Haig : *C. H. I.* IV 57) has also been pricked.

Prof. Hodiwala's annotations and commentaries are luminous and cogent and we have no doubt the present volume will be a welcome supplement to E.D.'s monumental work.

We may, however, be permitted to offer some minor criticisms. The contents of the book would better justify the sub-title given to it. A study of the Persian texts, and MSS would probably yield more errors of interpretation. Only one instance may be cited in the limited space at our disposal. The extent of Muhammad bin Qasim's liberality towards the Brahmanas has been partially obscured by Elliot's translations [I, 182-3]. The English translation at the bottom of p. 182 should be, "some of the brahmins opposed (muqawanat namudand) the conqueror's proposal in tenacity to their faith, others were willing to pay (*gujid*) land-tax and their lands were not consficated. He gave the brahmins allowances according to their ability and claims . . . . presented them robes of honour, saddled horses and such ornaments for their hands and feet as were used by the Kings of Hind (*Chachnamah*, Hyderabad ed. 209). In the fortress of Alor, Muhammad found an image of marble, not of hardstone, as Elliot translates. The words *Sang o Kham* in Hyderabad text, 226, should obviously be *Sang-i-rakham* (*Marmar, Ghiyas-ul-Lughat*, 231).

Shukr Khan was not a daughter but an adopted son (Afif, *Baud-i-Shukr Khan*, 330 and *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, Sir Jadunath's copy of Bankipore MS.), though Prof. Hodiwala is right in reading Cadaya for Adaya. Sokra or Saukra is Sikharbhumi in Manbhum Zamin-i-Bangla Zamin-i-Rijala. should, considered with reference to the context, mean that Bengal was a country where journey by foot was only possible, distant cavalry marches being difficult on account of the innumerable channels and streams; this is stated to be the reason why previous Sultans of Delhi had to beat retreat from Bengal. *Rijal* means *piyada shudan* (*Ghiyas*, 231) and Rijalah may not in this case be construed to mean *paiks* or infantry. The identification of Ganesh with Danujmarddan is not free from doubt; the account of Nur Qutb-ul-Alam's intervention quoted from *Riyaz* is equally liable to objection. Elliot's translation that Abdul Haq nicknamed Zahir Sundhar, had a golden mace is correct; the word in the B.I. text 331 is *Gurj* and not *gurjad*. His superior Malik Ghazi had a gold stick and this is not incompatible with his having a golden mace. Sayyidi Mawla (not Sidi) was the victim of indiscriminate charity which led him to afford asylum to the beggared Ghiyasi noblemen in his Khanqa. The ulemas, sadurs and akbars did not convict him; for they said that the evidence of one man was insufficient (Zia, B.I. 211). When the Sultan failed

to obtain judicial sanction for the murder of the pious Shaikh, he blurted out saying (not unlike Henry II against Thomas Becket), "O darwishes avenge me on him." In the brief notice given of the Shaikh in "Akhbarul Akhyar" no mention is made of the plot or of his complicity in it.

N. B. RAY

SO I BECAME A MINISTER: *By Mrs. Vijya Lakshmi Pandit, Kitabistan, Allahabad and London, 1939. Re. 1/8/-.*

A volume of essays, addresses and radio talks, narrating Mr. Pandit's recent experiences as well as the events of her early life. The first woman in India to obtain cabinet rank recalls the days of her girlhood and realises almost with amazement—the difference in the spirit of the times. Her words are animated by a buoyant optimism and her "first person, singular" appearing again and again in these pages makes happy and delightful reading.

THE GOSPEL OF INDIAN FREEDOM, PART I: *By Swami Satya Deva. Published by Satya Gyan Niketan; Jwalapur, U. P. March, 1938. Price Annas twelve only.*

The book is based on the enunciation of the author's gospel of Indian nationalism (through twenty-seven chapters) viewed through the perspective of history. Swami Satya Deva needs no introduction to Indian readers, and his ideas are expressed here with his usual vigour. But some of the observations and opinions may not be accepted without demur. The failure of the Marhatta confederacy to achieve India's freedom was due, not to any social inequalities but to the habit of mutual distrust which Sivaji's policy had created; no social upheaval or re-organization could have counteracted this tendency. The 'levelling down' part of the programme was done by the teachings of Tukaram and Ramdas who contributed their quota to the task of nation-building along with Sivaji. Again, it is hardly believable, and will not bear scrutiny, that some adroit Muslim agents in 1857 were responsible for the Sepoy revolt. It is refreshing to find Mahatma Gandhi referred to with respect, but the statement may be doubtful on account of the cock-sure manner in which it is made: "Our neighbour, the Amir of Afghanistan, is also making preparations for the conquest of India." (p. 40).

Swamiji would have been well advised to have revised his draft both in respect of ideas and their expression.

SONGS FROM THE SOUL: *By Anilbaran Roy. Published by John M. Watkins, London. Agents in India: Gita Prachar Karyalaya, 108/11, Monoharpooker Road, Kalighat, Calcutta. 1939. Price Re. 1-4.*

These 'songs' in prose and verse are a delightful reading. They are indeed from the soul and turned inward. *The Divine Call, The Power of Words, Yoga,* to mention only a few, are sincere prayers breathed in the silence of a hermit's cell or of a devotee's corner. Their perusal will surely profit the soul.

The prose 'songs' are followed by about two dozen pieces in verse; four of them are translations from Bengali and on all the stamp of Aurobindo's style is evident. The essays are mystic glimpses, and the worship of *Mahakali* and *Mahalakshmi* is either in the background or more explicit. *The Divine Mother,* an excerpt from Sri Aurobindo's *Mother* forms the appendix; it is the inspirer of all these attempts.

The printing is not uniformly good; it is a defect which should not have been.

GOPAL KRISHNA DEVADHAR: *Edited by the Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru, President, Servants of India Society, Poona. 1939. Paper Bound, Rs. 2 and Cloth Bound Rs. 2-8.*

Among the selfless and devoted workers of the Servants of India Society, the name of Gopal Krishna Devadhar must always evoke universal respect and admiration for the undaunted social worker who devoted his life and energies to the work of nation-building. Ever since 1905 to his death he had without cease busied himself helping the weak and the ignorant of India by creating and running co-operative societies, by organising relief whenever called for in any part of India by fire and pestilence and famine, and also by building up an institution like the Seva Sadan of Poona which has enlisted warm support from Indians and outsiders alike. But perhaps the fearlessness of Devadhar's character was never better illustrated than when he went to Malabar to relieve sufferers during the Moplah rebellion.

Devadhar's life thus ought to prove stimulating reading to workers and to those who are interested in the biography of a really good man or in social welfare work. And in the volume under review his colleagues of the Servants of India Society have offered to his memory their account and estimate of the work that he did. It is a book which forms an important chapter in Indian history during our own times, and the dignity of simplicity of narrative combined with wealth of detail has ennobled it. It should be recommended to every study-circle of our country: the example of Devadhar's life should inspire the young aspirant for welfare work.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

PATRON AND ARTIST: PRE-RENAISSANCE AND MODERN: *By A. K. Coomaraswamy and A. Graham Carey. Wheaton College Press, Norton, Massachusetts. Pp 69.*

In February 1936 the Department of Art and the Art Club of Wheaton College, Massachusetts, sponsored a conference on the subject dealt with in this volume and the two papers published here were first read in those meetings. The conference was prompted by the belief that one of the chief factors responsible for the position of aloofness so frequently accorded the arts today is the gulf between patron and artist. It began in the renaissance and has continued to widen ever since. The two lectures of Dr. Coomaraswamy and Mr. Carey are designed to combat one of the most unfortunate results of this separation of artist and patron, maker and user. With this end in view Dr. Coomaraswamy discusses the Normal View of Art and his opinions in this matter are by now wellknown. It can be summarised as follows:

"The beauty of a thing is a function and manifestation of its wellbeing; it will be beautiful in so far as it really is what it purports to be. All this is independent of values; granted that two things are perfect in their kind, each is as beautiful as the other . . . Each thing can be beautiful only in its own way, that is specially or formally beautiful; only the informal is ugly. A perfectly plain thing may be beautiful but an ugly or formless thing cannot be made beautiful by added ornaments. Whatever has been well and truly made in accordance with its reason will be beautiful ...

The conditions of this beauty that does not depend upon taste have been defined as follows: Perfection or precision; proportion or harmony of parts to one another and to the whole and illumination or clarity which includes intelligiblity. These are the grounds on which the judgment of beauty so far as it is not immediate are based."

Mr. Carey discourses on "Liberty and Discipline in the Four Artistic Essestials" which according to him are purpose, material, tools or instruments, and finally the essential image or the essential idea. These are discussed from the point of view of the relationship between artist and patron both before and after philosophical changes of the 16th century, and looked at from the points of view of discipline and liberty.

Both discourses are provocative to all those who are interested in Art as an ordinary individual or as critic or historian they are well worth a careful perusal.

A GUIDE TO SARNATH: *By B. Majumdar. With an introduction by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Delhi, Manager of Publications, Government of India. Pp. 122. Illus. 16 Plates. 1 Map.*

This guide is an English edition for non-Bengali visitors to Sarnath of the author's *Sarnath Biharan,* and is intended to help them in studying the monuments of antiquity unearthed there by the Archæological Department.

It gives a short life-sketch of the Buddha, a historical sketch of Sarnath based on the antiquarian data revealed there, and supplemented by a comparative study of sculptural art, exhibited in the museum, a good summary of the accounts of the excavation with descriptions of principal monuments, and a different interpretation of the symbolical animals curved on the lion capital. Finally, an explanation of the philosophical significance of some of the Brahmanical sculptures makes the guide a valuable addition to the Archæological literature that has grown round Sarnath. It is thus of interest not only to lay readers and visitors, but also to serious students of Indian Archæology.

NIHAR RANJAN RAY

SENSE AND THOUGHT—A STUDY IN MYSTICISM: *By Greta Hort, M.A., Ph.D. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.*

We take the following from the Publishers' summary of the contents of the book: "In special connection with the Cloud of Unknowing, the author investigates the working of the mind in various types of experiences, showing how sense and thought, conation and cognition, practice and theory, work together, as well in secular as in religious experiences". This explains the scope of the book. "The Cloud of Unknowing" referred to here "is a fourteenth-century English mystical treatise" (p. 37). The book before us contains an analysis and an exegesis of this treatise.

In conclusion the author tells us that, though a comparison between the Cloud of Unknowing and modern metaphysical systems like those of Bradley and Bosanquet has not been possible within the limits of the present work, yet enough has been said here "to show that the author of the Cloud of Unknowing stands in the same tradition as these writers, and that he discovered and tried to communicate the reality which he saw as they did."

This, however, is a matter of opinion. We only wish that the readers will agree with the writer.

A GUIDE TO ADYAR: *By Mary K. Neff and others. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is a booklet on Adyar, the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society, illustrated with maps and photographs. Adyar is the home of the Theosophical Society and represents to all theosophists not only a place but 'a Vision of Hope,' to quote from the *foreword* of the book. With its buildings, lawns and gardens, bounded on one side by the sea and on another by the river, and vast expanse of land stretching beyond, Adyar is undoubtedly a lovely place—a place for study and for meditation and communion with nature and with the author of nature. The present writer visited the place about fifteen years ago. There may have been changes and improvements since then. But the beauty of the place is unforgettable. The booklet before us gives an account and a description of the place, which is sure to attract pilgrims and visitors to it. The Adyar Library of manuscripts has already become famous and is well worth a visit from scholars.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

TEN TAMIL ETHICS: *By T. B. Krishnaswami, M.A., B.L. Published by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., Tinnevelly and Madras. Double Crown 16mo. Pp. 253.*

Among the various literatures extant in the languages of India, ancient and modern, the place due next to Sanskrit literature belongs to Tamil literature in point of volume, quality, variety and distinctiveness.

In its earliest stage, Tamil literature was distinctly self-reliant, but although afterwards owing to increasing contact with Sanskrit literature, it modified its early characteristic to some extent, it still preserved its native tendency to purity by absorbing, rather than succumbing to, the foreign influence.

The book under review brings home to the reader's mind how rich and magnificent a quarry of thought lies imbedded in the Tamil language. It is a collection of ten ethical poems of rare excellence, held as classics in Southern India, with their Englsh translation in parallel columns. In them moral precepts are found clothed in language of epigrammatic brevity and with exquisite felicity of expression. The book is a sea of noble thoughts, and dazzles by the multiplicity of its contents. One is lost, as it were, in its sublime grandeur.

The author has taken pains, in his English translation, to express the thoughts in nice and appropriate language, preserving, as far as possible, the epigrammatic character of the original. The translation will be appreciated by those not acquainted with the Tamil language, as it will open before them a vast field of thought unknown to them.

A book like this is more suitable as one's constant companion than as a study. It will be very useful to the reader to take up, say, half a dozen sentiments at a time, and ponder over them to evoke more thought, and, if possible, to obtain fresh incitement to noble action.

The book is nicely printed and bound.

NALINIMOHAN SANYAL

THE DARK VEIL: *By Harindra Nath Chattopadhyaya, Kalakshetra. Published by the Theosophical*

Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 102. Price Rs. 3-12.

Behind a dark veil, our spirit dwells. The poet catches a glimpse of her in his poetic vision, and offers her a wreath of purple music. Exquisite tenderness, haunting music and the dreamy atmosphere that breathes through their poems combine to make them a real treat for all lovers of genuine poetry. Famous alike in India and abroad, Harindranath has already made his work in Modern English Literature, and this his latest contribution will, we confidently believe, win him another laurel.

> "The spirit travels wide and far
> Her breath is molten diamond;
> The zigzag pathway meets a star
> Twinkling in silent depths beyond."

The poet follows her to dizzy heights and beckons his reader behind him. The dusty earth seems to fade far away,

> "Earth-voices dim and pale and pass
> At lonely zenith-glows of prayer;"

We are encircled in motley dreams and forget to thank the wizard songster in our bewilderment.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEA

TWENTY-TWO SHRUTIS AND TWO GRAMS OF INDIAN MUSIC : *By Manharram Hariharram Mehta, B.A. Pp. 36. Price -/8/-.*

In this paper the author discusses the ancient as well as the modern conceptions about the ranges of the tonal intervals of Indian music. In addition to other differences the successive musical tones differ in pitch *i.e.*, the number of vibrations per second. 'Shrutis' are the just noticeable differences in pitch. The author maintains that when the 'Shrutis' are juxtaposed one after another twenty-two of them would constitute an octave.

The problem of exact location of each 'Shruti' is a very complicated one. The author's investigations and his efforts to perform this task of locating 'Shrutis' seem to have been partially successful. It must be mentioned however that there are gaps and some links are still missing. These stand in the way of easy comprehension. Perhaps the small compass of the book is responsible for this.

The preception of the smallest noticeable difference in the character (vibration-quality) of tones involves the investigation of the discrimination limens which is certainly a difficult problem. The nature (and number) of the complicating factors involved in the location of 'Shurtis' cannot be foretold until further research work has been carried out in this field of investigation. An exhaustive laboratory study is necessary to realise the specific difficulties and to solve from the psychological standpoint this old and complicated problem.

M. GANGULY

GANDHISM: AN ANALYSIS: *By P. Spratt. The Huxley Press, 114, Armenian Street, G. T. Madras, 1939, Pp. xii+516. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author has tried to describe the life and actions of Mahatma Gandhi from his own point of view, which he calls "qualified Marxism." He has been very fair, but not particularly successful in connection with his task. His prejudices have often led him into a wrong view of facts and of things; wrong, in the sense, that they do not square with facts.

In connection with the last phase of the Non-co-operation movement, the author is of opinion that Gandhiji showed a large amount of vacillation, because "the obstacles were too great, the Government too strong" (p. 336). This is wrong, as Gandhiji has never been afraid of the government's strength as such, but of our own weaknesses. The difference is fundamental, and should have served as the key to a proper understanding of what has been called Gandhism. Gandhiji once frote :

"The outward freedom that we shall attain will only be in exact proportion to the inward freedom to which we may have grown at a given moment. And if this is the correct view of freedom, our chief energy must be concentrated upon achieving reform from within." (*Young India*, 1.11.28).

This basic fact of Gandhism has not been appreciated at its proper value by the author of the book, and naturally finds no place anywhere in it.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

ELEMENTARY BANKING. By *Joti Swarup, M.A., Published by the Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd. Pp 243. Price Rs. 2/8/-.*

The author of this book Prof. Joti Swarup gives a lucid exposition of the principles and policies underlying Indian Banking and Currency. With the expansion of banking business in India, the need for dissemination of correct knowledge on banking laws and regulations is being keenly felt. Mr. Swarup in this book deals with the subject in a comprehensive manner and will remove the longfelt want. Though the book is intended for inter-commerce students, we do hope it will prove equally useful to advanced students of commerce as well. The chapter dealing with the Reforms in Banking Law in India will be helpful to enlighten public opinion in the discussion on the Draft Bank Bill, now in circulation before the country.

THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY (*Protection*) *Supplement 1939. By M. P. Gandhi.*

The supplement discusses the Government resolution on the recommendation of the Tariff Board and contains a number of useful statistical tables regarding the Sugar Industry. The summary of the recommendation of the Tariff Board, and the resolution of the Government of India published as appendices add to the importance of the supplement.

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY (*1939*) *Annual. By M. P. Gandhi.*

Mr. Gandhi is rendering a good service to the Indian Cotton Textile Industry by bringing out this Annual. The book has now come to be regraded as a standard reference book. The author's study of the industry in historical retrospect and the problems facing the industry at the present time, is thorough, and interesting. Statistical tables showing the industry in production, consumption and imports of the cotton goods from abroad, makes the Annual an indispensable reference book.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

DR. SIR CHIMANLAL H. SETALVAD : *By J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, J.P. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a short life-sketch of the eminent liberal leader, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. This book was originally intended to be an Introduction to Mr. A. N.

Joshi's more comprehensive biography (in Gujarati) of Sir Chimanlal which is now in the course of preparation. But when this introduction had been written out, Mr. Joshi thought, and we agree with him that "it formed, as it were, a comprehensive biography in miniature of Sir Chimanlal in English" and decided to print it separately.

Sir Chimanlal is not only a most distinguished liberal in Indian Politics but a great lawyer and educationist as well. He has for a long time played a conspicuous part in the contemporary history of his own Presidency and also served the country at large to the best of his capabilities and convictions.

This book, though short, gives the reader a good account of the life and many-sided activities of Sir Chimanlal.

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

HINDI

TATTVASARATIKA. *By Brahmachari Sitalprasad. Published by Mulchand Kisandas Kapadia, Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Surat.*

The volume aims at elucidating the *Tattvasara*, a Jain Prakrit work by Devasenacharya (10th century) on self-meditation. The commentary incidentally quotes and explains pertinent extracts from various other works. It is accompanied by the text and word-for-word Hindi translation of the work. It will be of much help to the study of Jain theology.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDUTVA: *By Ramdas Gaur. Published by Shivprasad Gupta, Seva-Upavan, Benares. Pp. 858. Price Rs. 10.*

This is an encyclopaedia on Hinduism and it has fulfilled a long-felt desideratum of scholars as well as of libraries. It gives a bird's eye view of the *Vedas*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas*, and of *Tantra*, *Dharmashastra*, *Darshana* and *Sampradaya* aspects of the many-faceted faith of the Hindus. Whatever constitutes, or is considered, essence of this faith has been brought within the compass of this compilation. Every chapter,—and there are eighty of them!—bears evidence of the indefatigable labours of the author. The elaborate index is very helpful indeed. The get-up of the book is excellent. The *Hindutva* is indispensable for the earnest students of Hinduism.

BOLTI PRATIMA: *By Shri Ram Sharma. Obtainable from Shankar Sadan, Agra. Pp. 236. Price Re. 1-12.*

This is a collection of fifteen sketches and stories, most of which are fresh-hot from the author's own oven of experiences of the abyssmal pain and poverty of the people of India. They stir the reader with the purifying pathos and passion of a tragedy. The insight of the author into the complex motives and manners of the sons of the soil is illuminating and he has listened in with an attuned ear to "the sad music of humanity." The first and foremost story—the "Living Image"—reveals the epic courage of the human spirit in the face of one thousand and one ills to which the flesh is heir. It is terribly realistic, as are also the other stories, but their realism is that of a red-hot, radiant patriot, for whom the earth is the highest heaven. Some of the stories bear the impress of Russian influence, for example, "Idannaman". The style has the ruggedness of the mountains; its descriptive vividness is something seldom met with. In short "Bolti Pratima" is a book to make one a rebel against all that is unclean and unjust in our collective life.

GURDIAL MALLIK

GUJARATI

"DHUMKETU" PATHSAMGRAH: *Edited by Madhusudan Chimanlal Modi, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard. 1938. Pp. 208. Price As. 8.*

Mr. Gaurishankar Joshi who writes under the title of *Dhumketu* (a comet) has written so voluminously and so well, that it has now been found possible to make selections out of his books and present them in the shape of a text book for students. This is no small honour for a living author who, in addition is young. The eighteen selections range over various interesting subjects, historical, biographical, humorous and literary. Notes at the end help the student. Mr. Madhusudan, himself an accomplished student of Apabrahmsha, has done his part well.

VAIDAK SAMBANDHI VICHARO, PART II: *Published by the Sasta Sahitya Vardhak Karyalaya. Printed at its own press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. 1938. Pp. 428. Price Re. 1-7.*

This collection of homely remedies and household drugs culled from the writings of eminent doctors and physicians, should be found in the house of every Gujarati so well has the collection been made.

LOK MATA: *By Kalelkar. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, 2nd edition. Pp. 124. 1938. Price annas four.*

We worship rivers as we worship our mother (Mata). It is for this reason that Kaka Kalelkar has given this name to a book which describes, in his inimitable way, realistically and romantically, some of the largest and most sacred rivers of India. Twenty-seven rivers are, so to speak, chronicled here.

JHA MALE BANDHAN: *By Maneklal Joshi. Printed at the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Pp. 159. 1938. Price Re. 1-4.*

P. Romanoff's two novels in Russian depicting the present revolution have been translated in this book. They very well depict the changes in the thought and action of the young men and women in that country and which change, many Indian youths are desirous of bringing about in their own country.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

IS IT INDIAN? OR INDIA AND MADRAS PRESIDENCY AT A GLANCE: *Published by The Madras Industries Association, The Central Industrial Museum, 166, Mount Road, Madras. Price Re. 1.*

MYSORE DASARA EXHIBITION. *Official Handbook and Guide, 1939.*

HAND-MADE PAPER OF NEPAL

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN

Keeper, Nepal Museum

"Civilization depends upon the discoveries and inventions man has been able to make, together with the incalculable effects these have had upon his daily conduct, thoughts, and feelings.

"As knowledge and ingenuity increased he departed further and further from his original wild animal



Frames with pulp on them are now being dried round a fire place. A man is holding a piece of finished paper

life. The manner in which he began to learn is a matter of conjecture, since the manufacture of tools and weapons, the inventions of language and artificial ways of producing fire, far antedate any written accounts of advances in man's education. The same may be said of the much more recent spinning, weaving, farming and paper-making. As we have seen, it required hundreds of thousands of years to reach the degree of civilization represented by these achievements. Their



Fig. 2.
Copper pan, used for boiling the pulp, in case of small scale production. Locally made.

importance, however, cannot be over-estimated, since they formed the absolutely essential basis of all later developments. We may feel a certain pride in contemporary inventions, but let us remember that we owe to savage hunters and illiterate neolithic farmers the accumulation of knowledge and skill without which none of our modern experimentation would be possible.



Fig. 1.
Copper pan, used for boiling the pulp, in case of large scale manufacture. Locally made

"The art of making paper from fibrous matter appears to have been practised by the Chinese at a very distant period. Different writers have traced it



Fig. 4.
Wooden hammer for beating the pulp

back to the 2nd century B. C. Paper first became available for the rest of the world in the middle of the 8th century." (*Enc. Brit.*).

Paper-making is a fairly wide-extended cottage industry in Nepal. Districts Nos. 1, 2 and 3 in the East; 'Bāglung' and 'Pokhrā' in



A Newar is stripping off the paper from the frame

the West, are noted for the manufacture of paper. This particular handicraft is never concentrated with any special caste. Tāmāng, Chattri, Brāhman, Newar, etc., of the said localities,

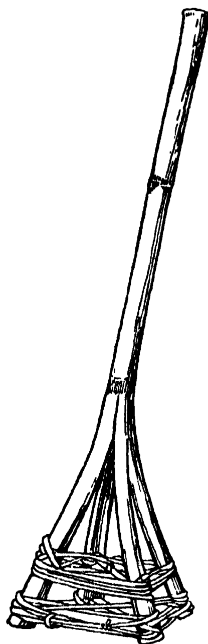


Fig. 5.
Churner made of bamboo for mixing the pulp

earn their livelihood by this, whoever is in the know of this art.

This industry has a great market at home and the Nepal Government is one of the best patrons of it. Tibetans import this paper for copying and printing books as this is remark-



Fig. 6.
Mortar made from wood. A log of wood is first bisected and scooped out leaving about 3″ at the bottom. Bisected planks are then joined together tying round with strings

able for its durability and undoubtedly the best of its sort available elsewhere.

His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, the Prime Minister

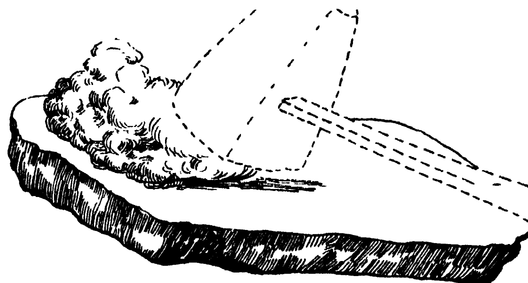


Fig. 3.
Pulp is being beaten on a stone slab by a wooden hammer

and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, who is a keen supporter of cottage industries of his Kingdom, is enthusiastically trying to improve this paper industry of the land.

Raw materials and implements used in the manufacture of paper in Nepal are all indigeneous and very simple.



A group of paper makers of Nepal

Following is a brief description of the actual process of making the paper, supported by illustrations :

Implements

Objects	Nepali equivalent	Made of	Illustration
Pan	ग्यांगि, खर्कलो	copper	Nos. 1 and 2
Stone-slab	ढुंगा	stone	No. 3
Hammer	मुग्रो	wood	No. 4
Churner	मन्दानि	bamboo	No. 5
Mortar	ट्वलं	wood	No. 6
Ladle	ताप्के	wood	No. 7
Frame	ज्वालितान	wood	No. 8

Thinly-woven cloth, rope, oven, and firewood. Also a thickly-woven basket either of fine reeds or wicker.

Raw Materials

(1) Green bark of "Kāgaj Pāt" (also known as "Svet Varowā," Newari: Bhonlu). This tree is eight or ten feet high—grows abundantly at an altitude of six to seven thousand feet above the sea-level. Its sweet-scented small white flowers bloom in the spring. It bears no fruit. Girth of the tree at the bottom is approximately between 10 and 14 inches, and becomes bushy as it grows old.

This bark is reduced to pulp.

(2) Wood of 'Bānj'; or 'Kharsu'; or 'Phlānd'; or 'Banset.' Alkali is made out of the ash of these woods. Of these "Bānj" is supposed to be the best for the purpose.

Process

First Stage : Ash of any of the four varieties of wood (Bānj, Kharsu, Phlānd, Banset) is first pressed into a basket and placed over an earthen jar. Then hot water is percolated through the ash—the basket serving the purpose of a sieve. A dark-brown solution is collected in the jar. This is a sort of carbonated-alkali.

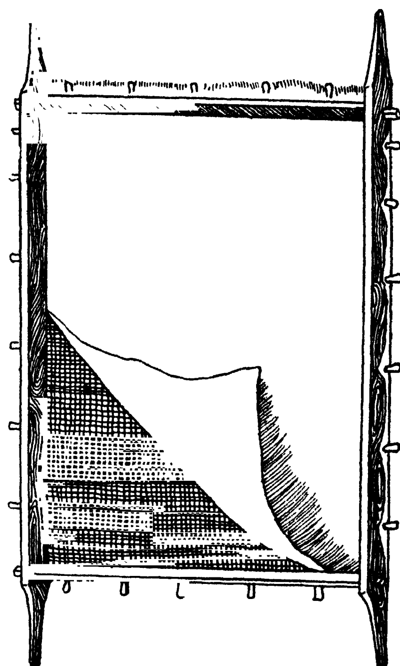
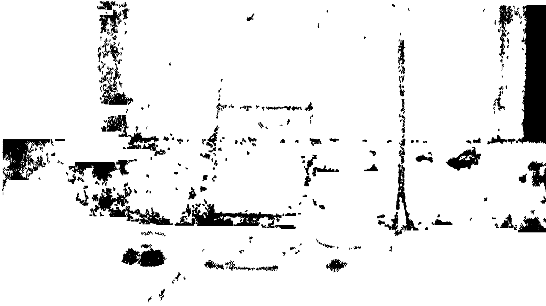


Fig. 8.
A rectangular wooden frame mounted at the bottom with a piece of thinly woven gauze like cloth. Cloth is pinned round the frame with bamboo pins. Note the paper on the frame ready to be stripped off

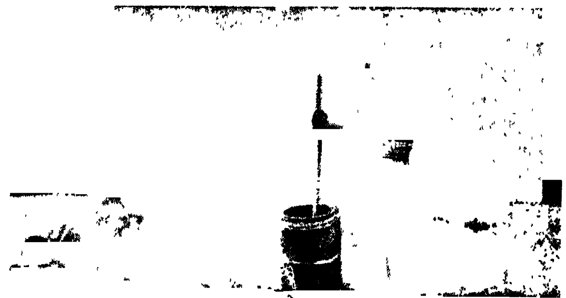
Second Stage : Green bark of the "Kāgaj Pāt" tree is stripped off and soaked into cold water for about twelve hours. This bark is then boiled in the carbonated-alkali. After the bark is completely digested in the alkali, the fibres are separated and beaten to pulp, on a piece of stone by a wooden-hammer.

Third Stage : The pulp is then mixed with water and churned within a wooden-mortar by a bamboo churner. Now the pulp is ready for making paper.

Fourth Stage : A rectangular wooden-frame mounted with thinly-woven cloth (net-like) is now dipped into water. A ladle full of the pulp solution is poured within the hollow of the frame and well-mixed in the water. The



Implements for making paper



A Tamang churning the pulp with cold water in a wooden mortar with a bamboo churner



A Tamang (one of the hilly tribes of Nepal) holding the green barks of the "Kagaj-pat" tree



A Tamang beating the pulp on a stone-slab by a wooden hammer



Frame is being raised out of the water in order to allow the pulp rest on the cloth in the frame



Pulp is being spread over the frame

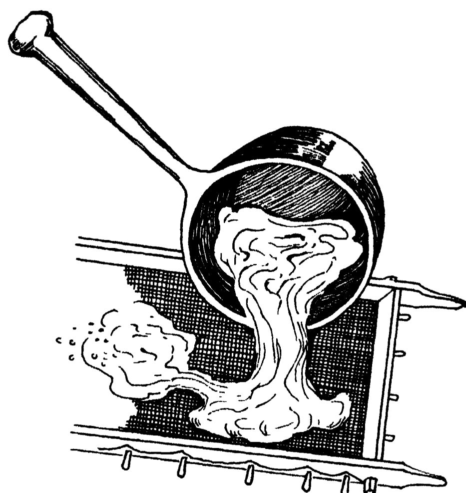


Fig. 7.
A wooden ladle which serves the purpose of a measure. By this measure, thickness and thinness of the paper are being controlled

frame is then slowly raised out of the water. The pulp remains evenly stuck on the cloth.

It is important to note here that usually a site near a streamlet is selected for the manufacture.

Fifth Stage : Such frames are now dried round a fire-place. These may be sun-dried also. To expedite the matter, fire is used for drying.

Final Stage : When it is completely dried the pulp becomes hard and turns into paper and takes the shape of the frame. The paper is now easily stripped off the frame and becomes ready for the market.

When still in solution any dye could be used to make coloured papers. Vegetable dyes (such as :—Tarmaric * to make yellow; Manjistha to make red; etc., etc.) are the best and the cheapest.

Centuries old documents, manuscripts, water-colours written and painted on these papers have been discovered in Nepal.

This is in short the story of paper-making in Nepal.

Kathmandu, Nepal,
March 1, 1940.

* हरिद्रा

THAT THEY MAY WALK AGAIN

By FRANK R. MILLER

THAT the lame may be made to walk and the sick be made well has long been a paramount aim of the American medical profession and other individuals and groups with humanitarian views. Science has made astounding progress in the past decades and has performed miraculous deeds in curing the sick and healing the lame. But it is not within the realm of the scientists alone to waft the breath of hope to the physically unfortunate. The medical profession cannot extend its services without financial remuneration. There are thousands who lack the means to secure the needed medical and surgical attention. The State of Iowa had been one of the leaders among the forty-eight States of the United States—each State is similar to an Indian province—in efforts to furnish care for the indigent cripples and the sick.

Realizing the extensive need for medical attention, on the one hand, and the lack of money on the part of many citizens of the state, on the other, the Iowa General Assembly undertook in 1915 to do something about the matter. In that year the Perkins Law was passed.

The Perkins Law provided that any child under sixteen years in the State who was afflicted with some deformity or sickness that could probably be remedied, and whose parents, or other persons charged with the burden of his support, were unable to furnish him with surgical or medical treatment, might be sent to the hospital at the State University of Iowa at Iowa City with the expenses paid by the State.

Two years' experience demonstrated the great need for this service throughout the State. Those children needing the service and without the means to pay for it were found in greater numbers than had been expected. Consequently in 1917 the General Assembly made an appropriation for a special children's hospital without

a single dissenting vote. Two more years' experience showed that it was desirable to extend the same service to adults in the State. As a result, in 1919 by the Haskell-Klaus Act persons over 16 years of age were admitted to the General Hospital under the same conditions as children were provided for.

Many states have studied the unique Iowa system for committing patients to the University Hospitals. The law provided that indigent persons shall be committed to the hospital by



Observations are made on the social development of infants

judges of the courts. The court appoints a physician to examine the prospective patient and file a written report with the court recommending that the person be placed in the hospital for care. The county board of supervisors investigates the financial status of the patient and makes its report to the court. The law provides that unless the patient shows a reasonable probability of being benefited he shall not be committed. If the case is an emergency the court may, in its discretion, authorize commitment without the preliminary investigations if it appears that delay would be dangerous.

The legislature makes an appropriation every two years for the maintenance of the General and Children's Hospitals. The money is paid over each month in sums amounting to the total of bills presented for the care of patients who have been committed. The charges are based upon the actual cost of the services. The entire amount is paid by the State treasury, no part of it being charged back to the country from which the patient comes. Whenever the committing court shall order it, the travelling costs for the patients, and an escort when one is needed, shall be paid by the hospital.

There are three classes of patients admitted to the hospital: State, ward pay, and private.

There are a limited number of private patients who pay regular fees for services rendered to them. They make up approximately five per cent of the total patient days.

Ward patients make up about eight per cent of the patient days. These persons pay very reasonable rates for services offered them. The care is provided in public wards to persons of moderate means. They pay a daily rate for care together with a reasonable amount for special services, as for X-ray, laboratory examinations, and the like. They pay nothing for physician's services. These persons to be admitted, must present a certificate from their home physician that they are unable to pay for physician's services and the rates that private patients pay for hospitalization.

Of the total number cared for in the hospitals, eighty-seven per cent are State patients.

Often times more seek admission than can be taken care of. In order to prevent long waiting lists and make prompt medical attention possible, the law was modified in 1934. It is



The children continue their school work in a special school in the children's hospital

provided that if the State hospital cannot accept a patient within thirty days from the time he applies, then the court shall direct the county board of supervisors to provide for the patient in his home community at the expense of the county. Likewise if emergency patients cannot be admitted at once, the county board of supervisors must furnish care at the expense of the county. Thus each indigent patient in Iowa may obtain reasonably prompt attention.

In order to give equal service over the State, each county is allotted a certain number of patients in proportion to its population. In

the year of 1937-38, ninety-one counties used their entire quota, and of the remaining eight counties, not one used less than ninety-two and three-tenths per cent of its quota.

The hospitals maintain a library for the benefit of the patients. There is a trained librarian in charge of the books. The collection is made up largely from donations made by interested persons and organizations. There are choice collections of particular interest to children. Each day the librarian wheels a cart especially constructed to carry about one hundred and fifty books through the wards. Convenient racks have been constructed in some instances for those who are unable to hold a book. The books are chosen with a view to their therapeutic value, the purpose being to arouse interest and not depress.

In addition to direct services to individual patients, an extensive program of research is carried on constantly. Study is not confined to sick children. The aim is to increase scientific knowledge of healthy children also, with the view of preventing sickness and maintaining health. Many of the children at the hospital are taught crafts of various kinds. An attempt is made to help them and adjust themselves to a life of usefulness and happiness although they are permanently deformed.

The College of Dentistry at the University co-operates with the hospitals and maintains a dental clinic at the Children's Hospital. That early care will do much to maintain healthy teeth is recognized and every effort is put forth to extend knowledge of the care of children's teeth. Healthy teeth are vital to the general health of the child.

The Bureau of Dental Hygiene is a part of the College of Dentistry. This Bureau was organized in 1927 with the aim

"to bring about the universal observance of the fundamental principles of preventive dentistry to the end that we might have healthier, happier, and more efficient men and women."

Proper food, regular visits to the dentist, and adequate home care of the teeth are emphasized. The Bureau operates in co-operation with the public schools of the State as a part of their general health program. The plan reaches at least 300,000 children in Iowa each year.

The Iowa Child Welfare Research Station is also at the University.

"The investigation of the best scientific methods of conserving and developing the normal child, the dissemination of the information acquired by such investigations, and the training of students for work in such field," are its aims.

Extensive research is carried on in nutrition, physical growth, child psychology, preschool education, character education and parent education.

The Social Service Department supervises the patients of both the General and the Children's Hospitals after they have returned to their homes. It co-operates with local health and social agencies. It attempts to encourage the assistance of local agencies in securing proper home environment for the patients. Each individual case is watched carefully. If adequate care is given in the home and proper surroundings are maintained then the case is dropped.



The children receiving orthopedic treatment are taught crafts of various kinds while in the children's hospital

The hospital has its own ambulance system consisting of about twenty machines which travel over the State constantly, averaging about eight thousand miles per month per machine. Most of the new patients as well as return patients are brought to the hospital in this manner. Each ambulance is able to carry one patient on a cot and four patients sitting up at one time.

The total cost of the ambulance system is about one and one-half cents per mile per patient. This system was introduced in 1932 and has saved the hospital large sums in the cost of transportation. Each month about twenty-four hundred patients are transported. If an ambulance leaves the hospital at ten o'clock in the morning, it is able to deliver an out-going patient to the farthest point in the State by the early evening of the same day.

There were 7,069 indigent patients cared for in the hospital in 1928-29. This number more than doubled to 14,503 patients in 1934-35. This great increase occurred in spite of

the fact that the hospital appropriation was decreased ten per cent in 1934-35. During the years 1937-38 there were 12,222 patients cared for. This decrease was caused by increased operating costs. There are approximately 800 bed patients per day in the two hospitals. About 22,000 patients are treated during the year. Approximately 150 patients pass through the out-patient department per day.

The College of Medicine of the State University of Iowa and the State Hospital work hand in hand. One of the highest ranking medical colleges in the United States is located here. The hospital constitutes an excellent laboratory, so to speak, in which to train medical students. The advantages are reciprocal.

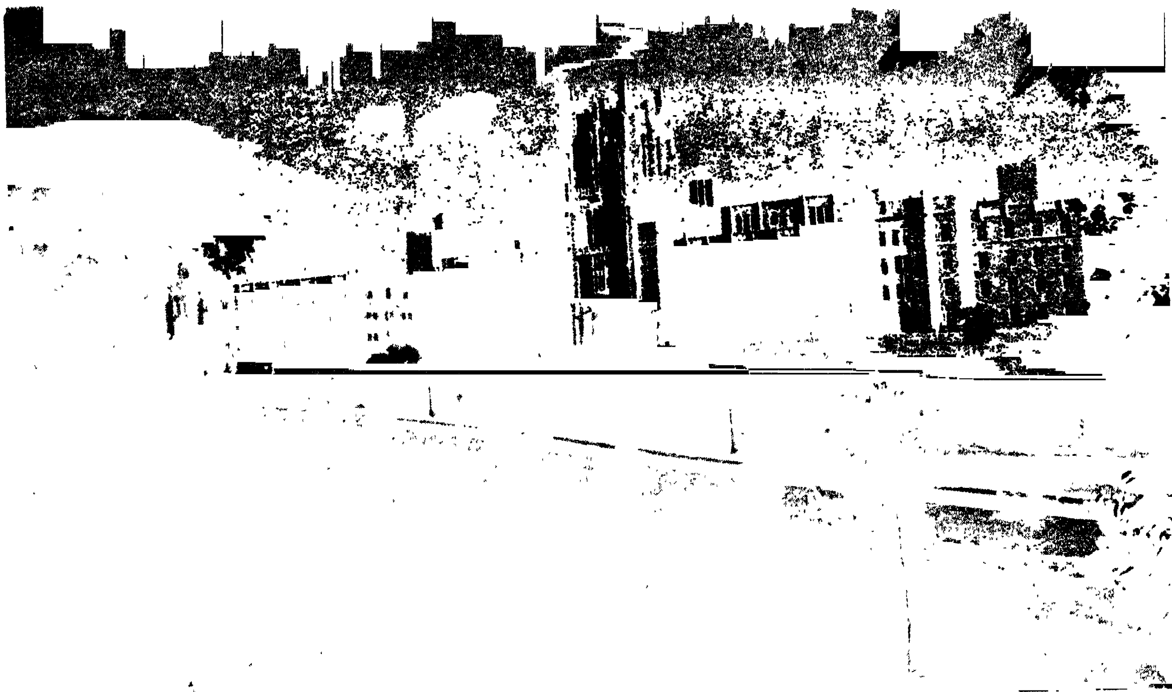
Children come with every describable deformity or infirmity. But with the best modern equipment and care few go away without material aid. Some are not cured, but most are given relief or permanent help of some kind.

Thus one state is attempting to meet the problems of caring for its indigent sick and infirm. Its success has attracted much attention in the United States and other nations.



Sub-Lieut. K. K. Mukherjee

Mr. K. K. Mukherjee has recently been granted King's Commission and posted at Aden. This is the first time that an Indian has been appointed as such. Sub-Lieut. Mukherjee is the eldest son of Mr. A. C. Mukherjee, Superintendent, Military Finance Department, Government of India.



General Hospital. University of Iowa



George Bernard Shaw (*centre*). (*On his left*) Miss Patch, Mr. Shaw's secretary, and Gabriel Pascal, producer of the films. (*On his right*) Robert Morley and **Wendy Hiller (star of *Pygmalion*, a play by G. B. S.)**



Dwijendranath Tagore, poet and philosopher, the centenary of whose bir
was celebrated last month in Bengal, and his brother, Rabindranath Tagore

MY LAST TALK IN CHINA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

This meeting reminds me of the day I came to China, when I had my first reception in this garden. I had come a comparative stranger and I hardly knew any of those who had come to welcome me. I kept wondering whether China was at all like the pictures I had in my mind and whether I should ever be able to enter the heart of the country. My mind was full of anxiety that day, thinking all the time that your expectation would probably be exaggerated in regard to one who for you belonged to a region of mystery, who had a reputation founded upon rumour. So, in order to let you know I had my limitations, I immediately confessed to you that I was nothing more than a mere poet.

I have come to the end of my stay in China and if you are still ready to receive me and to shower upon me such kind words as you have spoken, I can accept them: for I have been put upon my trial and I have come through. To-day I have come ever greedy of your love and sympathy and praise. You may lavish your friendship now, so that when I am away I shall remember this evening of my stay, which, like some extravagant sunset, has generously spent its full store of colours.

Meanwhile I can say one thing. On the first day I also had my expectations. I had in mind my own vision of China, formed when I was young, the romantic China, as well as the China of which I had caught glimpses when I was in Japan.

My host there had a great collection of Chinese paintings, marvels of beauty, and he would display them casually to me one by one, surprising me into making chance acquaintanceship with great masterpieces. Thus I built my China on a basis of the great works of your great artists of the older days. I used to say to myself: These people are a great people. They have created a world of beauty. And I remember feeling angry at others who had scant respect for you, who would come to exploit and molest you, and who ignored the debt they owed you for their civilization.

Of course you know, such a vision, created from the best product of your history, and your past, does not represent the complete life of your people. Yet I firmly believe that it is from the ideal that we get the best aspect of the real, and these two should be seen together.

One thing I have felt, and it has often been spoken of by foreigners I have met in your land. You are very human. I too have felt the touch of the human in you, and owing to that fact, I have come, or at least I hope I have come, close to your heart. I myself am filled, not with a feeling of mere admiration or wonder, but with a feeling of genuine friendliness, with a warm touch of personality which is not an easy thing to obtain.

Some people say that you have the gift of accepting things as they are, that you can take your joy in a naked presentation of reality, which you value, not because it has any association with something outside itself, but simply because it is before you, attracting your attention. May be it is because of this gift that you have been willing to accept me as I am, not as a poet, not, as some foolish people think, as a philosopher or, as still more foolish people think, as a prophet, but as very much of an individual.

Some of my younger new friends have become quite familiar with me, taking me to be of their own age, and show but scant respect for my age, or for my reputation. There are so many who would deprive me of the contact of reality by trying to turn me into an idol. I feel certain that God himself is hurt because men keep their daily love for their fellow beings in their homes, and only their weekly worship for Him in the Church. I am glad that my young friends never made these mistakes but treated me as their fellow human being.

This day when I first came here, your welcome was offered to me on credit. I hope I have been able to pay the price to your satisfaction. I have done what was possible, I have made friends. I did not try to understand too much, but to accept you as you were, and now on leaving I shall bear away the memory of this friendship. But I must not delude myself with exaggerated expectations. My evil fate follows me from my own country to this distant land. It has not been all sunshine of sympathy for me. From the corners of the horizon have come the occasional growlings of angry clouds.

Some of your patriots were afraid that, carrying from India spiritual contagion, I might weaken your vigorous faith in money and materialism. I assure those who thus feel nervous that I am entirely inoffensive; I am powerless to impair their career of progress, to hold them back from rushing to the market place to sell the soul in which they do not believe. I can even assure them that I have not convinced a single sceptic that he has a soul, or that moral beauty has greater value than material power. I am certain that they will forgive me when they know the result.

I have heard it said,—some among your own people say it,—that you are pragmatic and materialistic; that you cling to this life and this world; that you do not send out your dreams into the air, searching the distant heavens for a far-away life beyond. If it be true, we must accept this fact and not try to fight against it. We must realize that this gift has been given to you, and that out of it you can make your own contribution.

Materialism is exclusive, and those who are materialistic claim their individual rights of enjoyment, of storing and possessing. You are not individualists in China. Your society is itself the creation of your communal soul. It is not the outcome of a materialistic, of an egoistic mind,—a medley of unrestricted competition, which refuses to recognize its obligations to others.

It is true that you love this world and the material things about you with an intensity of attachment, but not by enclosing your possessions within walls of exclusiveness. You share your wealth, you make of your distant relatives your guests, and you are not inordinately rich.

I have travelled through your country and I have seen with what immense care you have made the earth fruitful, with what a wondrous perfection you have endowed the things of every day use. How could this have been posible through a greedy attachment to material things ?

If you had acknowledged greed as your patron, then, at a touch, mere utility would have withered away all the beauty and the grace of your environment. Have you not seen this ? In Shanghai, Tientsin,—huge demons of ugliness that stalk all over the world,—in New York, London, Calcutta, Singapore and Hongkong, all big with ugliness ? Everything that they touch becomes dead, denuded of grace as if God's blessing had been withdrawn. Of this your Peking shows no sign, but rather reveals a marvellous beauty of human association. Even the most ordinary shops here have their simple decoration. This shows that you have loved your life. Love gives beauty to everything it touches. Not greed and utility: they produce offices, but not dwelling houses.

To be able to love material things, to clothe them with tender grace, and yet not be attached to them, this is a great service. Providence expects that we should make this world our own, and not live in it as though it were a rented tenement. We can only make it our own by some service, and that service is to lend it love and beauty from our soul. From your own experience you can see the difference between the beautiful, the tender, the hospitable; and the mechanically neat and monotonously useful.

Gross utility kills beauty. We have now all over the world a huge production of things, huge organisations, huge administrations of empire, obstructing the path of life. Civilization is waiting for a great consummation, for an expression of its soul in beauty. This must be your contribution to the world.

What is it that you have done by making things beautiful ? You have made, for me who come from a distant country, even your things hospitable by touching them with beauty. I acknowledge them as my own, instead of finding in the too obvious fact of your things an obstacle in my way, because my soul delights in their beauty. With their mere piles of things, life in other countries has become like some royal grave of ancient Egypt. Those things darkly shout "Keep away." When I find in your country this attractiveness in the things of everyday use, they offer no repulse, but send out their invitation: "Come and accept us".

Are you going to forget the obligations of your great gift, to let this genius for turning everything to beauty go to waste, to kill it by letting in a flood of maleficence ?

Deformity has already made its bed in your markets, it is fast encroaching upon the region of your heart, and of your admiration. Supposing you accept it as your permanent guest, supposing you succeed in doing this violence to yourselves; then indeed, in a generation or two, you will kill this great gift. What will remain ? What will you offer humanity in return for your privilege to exist ?

But you have not the temperament that will enable you to maintain ugliness. It is impossible for me to believe that.

You may say: "We want progress." Well, you did make wonderful progress in your past

age, you devised great inventions, inventions that were borrowed and copied by other peoples. You did not lie idle and supine. And yet all that progress never encumbered your life with non-essentials.

Why should there remain forever this gulf between progress and perfection? If you can bridge this gulf with your gift of beauty, you will do a great service to humanity.

It is your mission to prove that love for the earth, and for the things of the earth, is possible without materialism,—love without the strain of greed. The man of greed is tied to his possessions with the rope of passion. That you are not so tied is shown by the trouble you take to bring things to their perfection.

You have instinctively grasped the secret of the rhythm of things,—not the secret of power which is in science, but the secret of expression. This is a great fact, for God alone knows this secret. Look at the miracle of expression in all the things of creation, the flowers, the stars, the blade of grass. You cannot analyse this elusive beauty in your laboratory and pocket it. How fortunate you are!—you who have this instinct. It cannot easily be taught, but you can allow us to share it with you.

Things that possess this quality of perfection belong to all humanity. Being beautiful they cannot be secured within closed doors,—that is a desecration which providence does not permit. If you have been successful in making beauty, that in itself is hospitality, and I, a stranger, can find my home here in the heart of beauty.

Cherish the ideal of perfection, and to that relate all your work, all your movements. Then, though you love the material things of earth, they will not hurt you and you shall bring heaven to earth and soul into things.

[This was the Poet's last talk in China in 1924.]

LALA HAR DAYAL

A Noble Patriot and Truth Lover

By C. F. ANDREWS

THOUGH Lala Har Dayal was never actually my own pupil he always regarded me as one of his Teachers: for I came to St. Stephen's College, Delhi, just after he had left his old and dearly loved College in Delhi in order to take his final M.A. course in Lahore. When I came to Delhi early in 1904, he used to come over from Lahore and visit me: for Principal S. K. Rudra was very dear to him indeed, and his home was in Delhi. Thus I used to see him from time to time before he left India and went with a Government Scholarship to Oxford. He was very poor and without such help he could never have gone to England at all.

I am not quite certain in what year I met him in Oxford while he was studying Sanskrit. But that meeting will always remain fresh in my memory. He had reduced his wants to a minimum and was living in very bare and small lodgings. He was an ascetic by nature even in his studies. There is a portrait hung up in St. Stephen's College Hall which was taken at Cambridge when the old members of St. Stephen's College met Principal S. K. Rudra and gave a dinner in his honour. In the photograph Har Dayal looks very thin and his face is already lined with suffering. It is amusing to me to see myself there without a beard looking not much older than Har Dayal himself. How we all loved Principal S. K. Rudra! Lala Har Dayal was his own favourite pupil.

In this article, I am only writing reminiscences—not a biography. Lala Har Dayal wrote to me many times while he was in Scandinavia and told me how much he had changed in his own mentality about the use of violence to attain political ends. I think that it was the study of Buddhism that converted him and also some of his experiences with men of violence that had destroyed his belief in it. I never had any doubt about the sincerity of his conversion because Har Dayal was the soul of truth and always strictly followed his own conscience.

Then, one day, I met him again in London. He had brought a Professor of Pali with him to see me with whom he was collaborating in bringing out some Pali texts. After that he met me many times over and we had many talks together about Buddhism. He had become a convinced Buddhist in his general outlook, so he told me.

I was much impressed by the change that had come over him, and his longing for inward peace. When I had returned to India I did everything I could to get the ban against him removed. His daughter and her husband came to see me and it was a great joy to me when I heard that the efforts of his friends were successful and the ban was lifted. Then came the strangely sudden and unexpected news that he had died in America. He was one of India's noblest children and in happier times would have done wonders with his gigantic intellectual powers. For his mind was one of the greatest I have ever known and his character also was true and pure. I have written these notes during a time of ill-health as a tribute to his memory.

THE LATE MR. D. G. VAIDYA

By B. S. TURKHUD, J.P.,

Bombay

If a man's greatness is not to be measured by riches or public notoriety alone, one may unhesitatingly say that a great and good man has passed away after a long and agonising illness patiently borne. Mr. Vaidya, the talented Editor of the *Subodh Patrika,* which was the organ of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, breathed his last in February, 1940, leaving behind him a very large circle of friends and admirers to mourn his loss. A pious lite, which never swerved from the strict path of duty unmindful of favours or frowns, has unfortunately come to an end. I knew Mr. Vaidya for over three decades, and had several opportunities to watch his manifold activities throughout, owing to my fairly intimate contact with him, during all these years. Until the time he joined the majority he was the Honorary Secretary of the Samaj with which I myself have been closely associated with. His sterling honesty, straight and upright principles which moulded his life, and his unblemished character, never failed to impress those who had the privilege to come in contact with.

It will be no exaggeration to say, that his life was thoroughly in keeping with the lofty principles he preached with great fervour and sincerity from the Samaj pulpit from time to time and was singularly free, from any personal, political or party prejudices. He was essentially a self-made man, and by dint of indefatiguable industry and dogged tenacity, had carved out for himself, a sphere of duty, within which he lived, moved and had his being.

He began his life humbly in the office of the Bombay University and was singularly lucky to come in touch with great men such as Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Justice Ranade, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and others, every one of whom left an indelible stamp upon his character. He had sat at the feet of all these great and good men, imbibed their teachings and honestly strove to live up to them. A devout member of the Prarthana Samaj, who had implicit faith in its cult, he came to be connected with its numerous social activities and did his bit with an enthusiasm and singleness of purpose, which won for him the approbation of all. He put his heart and soul in the matter of the social uplift of the Hindu community and proved to be the prop and pillar of the Samaj.

The *Subodh Patrika* which was the official organ of the Bombay Prathana Samaj and was conducted under the auspices of the great and good men above referred to with a dignity and loftiness all its own, found in him an able Editor who knew his job well. He conducted the paper for many years until he was stricken with illness, always keeping before him the best traditions of high class journalism and contributed in no small measure towards making it a success that it was. The mantle of Editorship, fell on worthy shoulders and Mr. Vaidya carried out the task, in a very creditable manner. His writings were characterised by sobriety of thought, purity and dignity of language, and balanced judgment. He was never scurrilous and studiously avoided hitting under the belt of his opponents whom he treated with respect. He was always prepared to make a great allowance for differences of opinion, and urged his own point of view, with a sauvity of manner worthy of all praise. The Prarthana Samaj has in his death, suffered a loss which I am afraid it will take long to make up.

Mr. Vaidya though not a highly educated man, was an extensive reader, a profound thinker and a versatile writer. His writings bore the impress of deep study and clear think-

ing. He never minced matters and did not hesitate to call spade a spade, but he did all this in a very innocuous manner so as to offend none. He was essentially a man of devotion and piety of soul. He devoutly wished that the teachings of the great saints of Maharashtra should be carried from house to house so that they might mould the character and conduct of all people. It was with this desire that he with great industry and patience collected and compiled the priceless sermons of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and broadcast them before the general public. But for him, they would not have seen the light of day and would have been assigned to unmerited oblivion. The present generation owes him a deep debt of gratitude for this piece of splendid service. He had also a great hand in bringing out the religious lectures of Mr. Justice Ranade published by his talented wife Mrs. Ramabai Ranade. The volume containing the sermons of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar has been so popular that it has by now run into several editions and the book recording the sermons of Mr. Justice Ranade having gone out of print was in the course of being reprinted and Mr. Vaidya was actually going through the proofs of the same, when he was laid low with this serious illness.

Mr. Vaidya has to his credit several books published. The history of the Prarthana Samaj has been a work of great labour and love. The life of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar written a few years back marked him out as a great biographer. It was a laborious task but Mr. Vaidya executed it in a very satisfactory manner. One of the books recently published by Mr. B. B. Keskar under the title, *Sansar and Dharma Sadhan*, records in a permanent form the very valuable sermons delivered by Mr. Vaidya.

His sermons from the Samaj pulpit were saturated with piety and devotion. They appeared to proceed from his very soul and seldom failed to lift up the audience from the daily mundane affairs of the world into higher regions for the time being. They went straight to the heart of his listeners, roused their devotion and compelled their tears. They were enlivening to a degree and at once put his audience in a prayerful mood of mind. He himself was a living example of all that he preached and therefore his words carried conviction with them and commanded respect. His was a saintly character and his death is sure to cast a shadow of gloom, in many a household, where he was known. The loss of the Prarthana Samaj of course cannot be over-estimated. The sermons of Mr. Vaidya always reminded me of Prof. Heramba Chandra Maitra, Principal, City College, Calcutta, which moved and melted the hearts of the listeners, with their sincerity. I still very vividly remember the 'Thanksgiving' service which Mr. Vaidya conducted at my place, very recently, on the recovery of one of my sons from a serious illness. It was perhaps the last family service he conducted so far as I remember. His words touched us deeply and brought tears to the eyes of one and all of us. May his soul rest in peace.

ERRATA

The Modern Review for March, 1940:

Page	267,	col. 2,	line 17	*for*	Balliol College	*read*	Brasenose College
„	327,	„ 2,	„ 34	„	collosal	„	colossal
„	329,	„ 2,	„ 7	„	Gosham	„	Gotham
„	331,	„ 2,	„ 15	„	budhu	„	badhu
„	331,	„ 2,	f. note 19	„	Hindu ancestry feeling, etc.	„	Hindu ancestry and feeling, etc.
„	332,	„ 1,	line 12	„	panp	„	panj

THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS AND THE WAR

The Case of Czechoslovakia

By A. C. N. NAMBIAR

The present war is very closely connected with the question of Czechoslovakia, though it does not form its dominant problem. To put it in another and more appropriate way, the issue of Czechoslovakia is intimately linked with the war now on. The brutal destruction of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, greatly raised a mask off the face of Nazi Germany and precipitated an aggressive German course against Poland, and with it and the perspectives it held, the war. A Nazi policy long pursued in relation to Czechoslovakia is of basic significance to estimate well German aims and plans. All the more so, since this policy was long covered and confused by a propaganda at once artful in ways and audacious in methods. There is no overlooking an impression this propaganda caused in wide and varied circles and with unfortunate results to the concept of self-determination of peoples and peace.

An extremely interesting book throwing much light on the complicated relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia has just been published. It is entitled *Benes Of Czechoslovakia* by Godfrey Lias (Allen and Unwin: London. 8*sh.* 6*d.*). The volume purports to be a biography of Benes. But it is something beyond it and essentially so. It is in fact a history of Czechoslovakia: the rise of the State; its development; and the present collapse. This is not surprising, as the histosy of Czechoslovakia is greatly bound up with the life of Benes.

At an early age, while parctically still a student, Eduard Benes came to be drawn closely to the Czech revivalist movement. Masaryk, the head of the movement, perceived the intellectual aud moral merits of young Benes. A relationship that rose between the two, widely separated though in ages, became very intimate and grew firm. Hardly thirty, Benes came to play an important part in international affairs. It was a part difficult and delicate. He fulfilled the task with brilliance and ability, revealing great courage, tact, power of decision and endurance. Godfrey Lias in his book gives a clear and connected account of this. For the first time in the pages of this volume the general public is also informed of the spirited role of Mme. Benes, especially during an early stage of the Czech freedom movement. Both Masaryk and Benes were greatly helped in their work by their wives, women of progressive outlook and ability, and it is no sercret that this contributed in no small measure to the Czechoslovak State retaining and developing an attitude that extended good scope for participation of women in the life of the State. How keenly Masaryk felt on the question is narrated clearly by that talented and sensitive Czech writer Karel Capek, who unfortunately did not long survive a shock that Munich brought to him, in his inspiring book *President Masaryk Tells His Story*.

The heroic efforts of Benes during the war period in close association with Masaryk ended in the evolution of Czechoslovakia as an independent State. The role of Masaryk and Benes in this period is of immense interest to students of history and politics. Comprehensive account of it is furnished by two books possessing more than transitional value: *My War Memories* by Benes and *The Making Of A State* by Masaryk.

With the rise of Czechoslovakia as a separate sovereign State, Benes, just passed thirty, became its Foreign Minister. The work that confronted him was not an easy one. The problems that had to be tackled were many, several irksome, some dangerous. Benes faced the duty with great care and vigour and executed it with an amazing skill, all things considered.

Czechoslovakia developed into a State of stability. It preserved a sound economy. Culturally it made rapid strides. It avoided shocks of the nature that overpowered many and particularly several of the neighbouring States. In short, Czechoslovakia, on the whole, well justified its existence and gave a good account of itself in wide and different spheres. This means saying much, especially in Central and South-eastern Europe in the post-war era.

The coming of the Nazi regime into power in Germany was to cause a change. It was not an easy period. The impress of the world economic depression had come to Czechoslovakia rather late. This as well came to be

taken up as a means to extend a propaganda drive against Prague in the Sudeten regions and over the Sudeten regions by the Nazi Government, while Berlin at the same time kept up a deliberate policy suited to increase the economic hardships of the Sudeten areas. A period of much difficulty stood before the still young Czechoslovak Republic that was well getting along a path of advancement and consolidation. Benes realised quickly and clearly enough the implications that the emergence of the Nazi regime involved for Czechoslovakia. He set about the task of meeting a danger that presented itself and appeared as likely to assume a serious character. It was a task, tough and intricate. Benes hoped and toiled. But circumstances were to prove too much for him. Some of his calculations went wrong, especially with events assuming turns not well anticipated by him. From certain external quarters, as also to an extent at stages from inside the country, he received disappointments, following a lack of comprehension of wider Nazi aims and effect of some social currents keenly at play. I was in Czechoslovakia practically throughout the whole period from the emergence of the Nazi regime to the dismemberment and consequent destruction of Czechoslovakia. European history in this period was being staged greatly in this vigorous republic that stood faced with a life and death problem. In May 1938 the situation reached a grave stage. After a spirited action of Czechoslovakia in May that drew the admiration of the world and stopped then a German offensive reported as designed, Czechoslovakia, there are some generally able critics who view, might have done well in putting into action immediately a reform scheme for the Sudeten German minority issue, such as drawn to be initiated a little later. But it is doubtful whether this by itself would have held up Germany's aggressive aim. As it happened the campaign for advancing this aim gained in intensity stressing a keenness with which it was held. And then came Munich. After that, before another six months had hardly passed, the German advance on Prague. The end of a chapter. The present is a hard phase for the Czechs. But they have hopes of a more cheerful chapter being opened. And once again the hopes of Czechs and of Slovaks also for this task being furthered are directed much upon Benes.

After Munich one heard various criticisms against Benes. Also from certain quarters which so far had either withheld or did not advance charges against him. The popular refrain behind these criticisms was: "If only Benes had devoted greater care to effect an understanding with Germany in time things might have been different". There were references to a "realism" of Beck. A few months only were necessary to show how mistaken was the calculation behind criticisms of the nature against Benes. It was not understanding that Nazi Germany wanted, but non-understanding strengthened and sharpened, as a means for the break up of Czechoslovakia. Benes himself puts the case clearly when he writes in his new book on Democracy on the inevitability of a clash introduced by the rise of the dictatorial system. Even by the beginning of January last year, I could see in Prague, a new and strong swing in favour of Benes. German demands on Czechoslovakia kept increasing. German aims commenced to gain in clarity. Then came the march on Prague and Hitler in Hradschin the ancient and historic home of the Bohemian kings and latterly the residence of the Presidents of Czechoslovakia. It is not as though Benes has made no faults or failures. It would be strange if he did not, considering a period, a complicated surrounding, and his long political career. But they were not that mattered basically. Benes was defeated by Hitler not as a result of his faults or failures. Other circumstances weighed in the breaking of Benes politically and smashing up the State that he had helped to liberate. Godfrey Lias draws the position clearly when he states:

> "Actually, the fuller appreciation of the circumstances of his defeat which has now come to his countrymen and to the world outside has served to restore both his authority as a statesman and his reputation as a political thinker."

Benes is not an old man. He is still considerably younger than Masaryk was when the latter entered on his crusade for Czechoslovak independence. Benes, one is told, remains optimistic and retains full confidence about the future of his people, who also, it would appear, expect much from him. The book of Godfrey Lias on Benes, on the whole, appreciatively written, yet with no abandon of critical attitude, is one well worth reading: an informative volume, touching various issues of contemporary importance, pleasantly written containing also certain historic references of an amusing nature.

I had occasion, above, at one place to refer to a new book—*Democracy Today And*

Tomorrow (Macmillan: London. 8*sh.* 6*d.*).—by Benes. Based greatly on a series of lectures delivered a few months back at the Chicago University, the volume constitutes an analytical study of the growth of political concepts in modern times. It deals with: the passing away of an earlier authoritarian conception or order; with the French and American revolutions and also in a way the Industrial Revolution in Britain standing as landmarks in the process; the growth of democratic idea; the weakening of democratic system in the post-war period; the expectation and disappointment over the League of Nations; the rise of anti-democratic forces; and a picture of a course ahead. Careful study of a big range of sociological literature and close impressions of practical experiences covering a long period about political affairs, are revealed in accounts dealing with these issues. Benes has interesting things to say about the weakening of the democratic idea. He furnishes, a considerate, yet quite critical survey, of the League of Nations. And he supplies a very lucid exposition of the anti-democratic forces, particularly as represented by Fascism and Nazism. Hitler and Rosenberg are quoted to show the keen halt of opposition of Nazism to the humanist rational outlook given a great push by the French Revolution and reservation to the idea of self-determination of peoples. In the concluding chapter, Benes emphasizes his trust in democracy and declares that for democracy to assert efficiently it has also to take note of changes and make necessary adjustments. In this connection he states with some elaboration as demanding greatest care the extension of attention for seeing satisfactorily to: a certain augmentation of power and several new functions of the State; all the weaknesses and deficiencies of the present democratic party and voting system; the social problems; excluding remnants of an earlier order and replacing them by democratic solutions; the problem of nationalism; and a new system of real and effective collective security. Towards the end Benes also gives a list of qualifications that politicians in leading positions should have. *Democracy Today and Tomorrow* by Benes is a thoughtful and thought-provoking study. It indirectly also states the case of Czechoslovakia and signals a new and better future for it and the Czechoslovak people.

Paris, 20th February, 1940.

ASOKA THE APOSTLE OF VIOLENT NON-VIOLENCE

By P. S. TELANG, M.A.

Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya reigned from 272 B.C. to 232 B.C. in peace. His reign is unique in the history of the world. Except the Kalinga Campaign in 261 B.C., he did not wage a war but maintained an empire much bigger than our present Indian Empire, directly under his control. The territory which was directly administered by him from Pataliputra comprised of provinces ranging from the Oxus river in the North to the Tamrapark river in the South and from Baluchistan in the West to Bengal in the East. Besides this portion he had a queer notion of conquest which was unfamiliar to his predecessors. He believed in the conquest of men's minds through persuasion; therefore he sent many missionaries to different countries which were bordering India. He gave up the traditional notion of conquest by means of war but took up a more glorious work of converting the people to his way of thinking by means of non-violence, persuasion and service. He wanted to achieve all his ambitions through non-violence by appealing to the heart and brain of his subjects and neighbours. He always wanted to convince all about the righteousness of his aims. Though he wanted to achieve all his objects by means of non-violence, he maintained his own military strength which alone could be understood by the people in those turbulent days and which was the surest remedy for all the political troubles. Thus it will be seen that Asoka's creed of non-violence was based on the strength of taking to violence. if non-violence did not appeal to the people. This hidden strength of Asoka's was responsible for the effective operation of his creed of non-violence. Because, his subjects as well as his neighbouring contemporary kings knew that his non-violence was backed by his strength and will to commit violence, they readily submitted to him and did not give him a chance to take to violence. In one of his Edicts he makes

it quite clear to his frontier subjects that their illegal behaviour will only be tolerated so far as it can be borne patiently. There is a threat to take to violence in these Edicts. There it is this creed of violent non-violence which is responsible for his peaceful reign of 40 years over such a large Empire directly under his control. During his long rule he was not required to use his force to maintain order in the Empire nor was he required to use it in order to extend his sphere of influence because his strength to commit violence was felt everywhere. Non-violence can only succeed if it is backed by the strength to commit violence. Only a strong Emperor like Asoka could avoid violence and still maintain such a large Empire because people felt that he would use force if he was so required. The same principle of non-violence failed after his death when tackled by his successors. The result was the disruption and collapse of the Maurya Empire.

Asoka is great in another respect. He had a very clear notion of his own duties. He considered that the King should dictate a moral code of behaviour to his subjects so that there should be a moral uplift of his subjects. He issued many Edicts in order to achieve the material as well as spiritual and moral happiness of his subjects. Even today very few States consider it to be their duty to achieve spiritual and moral achievement of their citizens. All the stress is laid on the material side of the question. It is a wrong notion to believe that he persecuted Brahminism and favoured Buddhism. Because in one of the Edicts he asks his subjects and people belonging to different sects and religions not to use abusive language against any religion then known in the country. He has mentioned that the Shramanas, Nirgranthas and Brahmanas should respect one another when they meet together. This clearly shows that he had no intention to persecute the Brahmins. He stopped the killing of animals for sacrificial purposes. This need not make us believe that he wanted to wound the feelings of the Brahmins. He stopped the killing of birds, animal-hunting expeditions and ordered the release of his prisoners basing all his actions on the broad principle of non-violence which ruled every action of his life. Apart from this all his subjects were allowed to follow any religion they liked but he wanted them to follow a particular code of social and personal morality inculcated by him through his Edicts. All the virtues whereby a man is morally elevated were included in his code of morality. He appointed the Dharma Mahamatras to see that this code was rigidly followed by his subjects. Moreover, he sent missionaries outside India to convert people to Buddhism and he considered this to be the surest means of conquest. The missionaries converted the people of Siam, Burma, Ceylon, Indo-China, Kambodia, China, Japan and the Spice Islands. This portion formed part of the greater India in those days, and Asoka took pride in calling and considering himself to be the Emperor of all these people won over to his religion by means of peaceful persuasion. The missionaries were allowed to preach even in the kingdoms of the Greek contemporaries because they regarded Asoka as their overlord.

He did not try to convert all the Indians to his faith but left them to their own faith, provided they followed the code of social behaviour prescribed and issued by the State. He made his commandments permanently available to the people for their guidance by inscribing them on rocks and pillars in the script and language universally known in the country. He tried to serve his subjects to the best of his ability, looking to their worldly as well as spiritual comforts.

Asoka stands unique in the history of the world and Mr. H. G. Wells is right when he says that he excels all in some way or other if compared to the notable Kings who graced the Earth at different times.



RUSSIAN THEORY AND PRACTICE

By P. SPRATT

THE attack upon Finland is but the latest of a long series of unprincipled and inhumane acts whereby the Russian Government has disconcerted its admirers abroad. The shocking brutality of the collectivisation of agriculture, the "artificial famine," the forced labour, the purges and trials, the continuance, in spite of the new liberal constitution, of rule by the G. P. U. and the firing-squad, and the Pact which allowed the Nazis to start the present war, have caused a cumulative disillusion among socialists, communists and other supporters of the Soviet. The attack upon Finland, however, is the most dramatic of these events. It is impossible to conceal or misrepresent, or so far as we can tell, to excuse. It will confer no benefit upon the Finnish masses, whose standard of life is higher than that of the Russians. It is not a defensive measure against external danger: it was decided upon just because there was no danger of interference. The Soviet has no case: otherwise why refuse to put it before the League of Nations? But I need not elaborate. The invasion is indefensible, and no socialist can think of it without regret and shame. Stalin has liquidated the Comintern.

It has brought one supporter at least to the breaking point. With steadily mounting doubt one followed the tragic events of the last decade. One tried to find excuses, to put the responsibility upon others, imperialists, fascists, Trotskyists, to weigh against these evils the gains which the socialist regime was achieving. It has proved impossible to continue. The high ideals of the founders of the Soviet system, the hopes of its admirers abroad, have been betrayed. Russia is on the wrong track, and there is no sense in trying to deny it any longer.

To write in this way is not easy for one who was until recently a professed communist, and still clings to the belief that a socialist reorganisation in many ways similar to that effected in Russia is desirable elsewhere. It is done not in the spirit of an attack upon Russia, but with the aim of explaining its defection, and in the hope that a discussion of one of the Communists' errors of theory may help the search for a better way.

It is commonly said that the cardinal error of the Communists is their failure to realise that the means influence the end. Their ultimate aim is admitted to be excellent: they render it impossible of achievement by adopting any means, however bad in themselves, in the attempt to attain it. While this is true, it is too abstract to be very helpful. In the world as we have it, we cannot adhere exclusively to ideal means. Very few have honestly found the full Gandhian doctrine acceptable. Where then are we to stop? This approach to the question reveals no clear reason of principle why, having abandoned complete non-violence, we should halt at any point before we reach the Soviet policy of complete ruthlessness.

It may be that the Communists' error is another form of the neglect of the means in favour of the end. At least it is an error of theory. For Stalin's changes of policy notwithstanding, I do not wish to argue that his theory and practice have been in any ultimate sense inconsistent. His professions of an enlightened foreign policy and of a preference for bourgeois democracy as opposed to fascism were probably only propaganda. I do not question that he and his circle are still Communists, loyally doing their best for the cause. I doubt only whether the course they have chosen is likely to lead to a desirable state of things, and whether if it does so the achievement will have been worth the suffering inflicted by the way.

The Communists profess a philosophical doctrine, Dialectical Materialism. This system is, I believe, mistaken on a number of issues, but most of these are irrelevant to this subject. For though the whole of the Marxian dialectic is elaborated with a political purpose in view, it has no very close logical connection with politics. It would be perfectly consistent to accept dialectical materialism and deny political communism, and equally so to deny the former and accept latter. Nevertheless the philosophical theory supplies a background to the policy, and an appropriate one. Political suggestions—rather than implications—can be found at many points in it, and these are almost consistently illiberal and violent. This is especially true of the dialectical doctrine which has been most discussed in recent years, the

Unity of Theory and Practice, the relation of which to practical affairs is of course relatively close.

This doctrine, it is interesting to notice, is almost the only dialectical principle professed by modern Communists which has not a direct Hegelian ancestry. That it is in the true Hegelian spirit however is obvious. It derives from some of Marx's ideas, but so far as I know was never stated by him, nor by Lenin. In their time the totalitarian implications of Marxism were largely obscured. The Unity of Theory and Practice however brings out this side of the system very clearly, and it is no accident that as a leading principle of the Communist philosophy it is a product of the Stalin period.

The Unity of Theory and Practice is a protest aganist the traditional dissociation of the two. Dialectical Materialism is strictly monistic. The whole universe is a single process, and no part can be understood in isolation. In particular, thought is part of the cosmic process. But it is not regarded as an epiphenomenon, as in "mechanical" materialism. It is linked with the whole process of nature through cause and effect. Thoughts are as much acts as any other acts, and as causally efficacious as any other kinds of events.

The cosmos is an organism. But it is divisible into a number of smaller organisms. It seems indeed that anything which can be regarded as a separate subject of discourse is an organic whole. In particular the human race is an entity of this kind. The whole of the current phase of the historical process, further, is dominated by the struggle between nascent socialism and lying capitalism. The one supreme duty is to hasten this process; and it is part of the doctrine that neutrality is impossible. Thus there are no independent ethical principles, or if there are, they are subordinate to this. Lenin laid it down that the ultimate principle of Communist morality was the success of the revolution.

Similarly philosophical thought is part of the social struggle. Lenin maintained that there was and could be no impartial philosophy: all thinking is more or less disguised politics. This principle is put into effect. Deborin, an important Soviet philosopher, was accused of insufficient zeal in the "philosophical struggle" against Trotsky, and in working out the philosophical implications of the Five Years Plan, and for these or similar errors he was sacked from his post.

Thus in the unity of theory and practice there is no doubt which comes first. This is clearly avowed: practice is of course primary. The whole cosmic process is a practical one. In this at least the doctrine goes back to Marx.

The dangerous implications and effects of the theory need little elaboration. Traditionally thought ranks above action. This may in origin be, as Communists say, the idea of an idle privileged class, but it seems a sound idea. The effect of ranking practice above theory must be to depreciate the life of the mind, which is the best part of life. It discourages theoretical excursions which have no obvious practical bearing, and ties thought down too closely to earth. This has probably had a stunting effect upon Soviet philosophy and science, and some record a similar impression about art and literature. One seems to detect in Stalin especially an underlying contempt for theory. He gives the impression of a confirmed cynic: contrast Lenin, or still better, Marx. Civilisation is a thing of the mind. Thought ought to rank above action: the tendency to give it less importance than action is an influence hostile to civilisation.

There is one sphere in which theory and practice are conspicuously disunited: ethics. Human practice never does live up to its theory, and it is not too much to say that it ought not to be able to do so. If our standards are low enough for us to conform to, they are too low to be our standards. Communist ethical theory is extremely confused, but it is safe to say that one cardinal error it commits is to disavow "ideal" or absolute principles. This probably has practical effects. The Bolshevik indifference to life and suffering may be the modern outcrop of an ancient Russian trait, but it is probably accentuated by this theoretical mistake.

Probabilities obviously give a kind of situation in which theory cannot coincide with practice. We may judge, for example of future events, that they may take either of several courses, to which we may attach probabilities, but must exclude certainty. Action however often requires us to plump for one of these and neglect the rest. Those who let practice dominate theory tend in such situations to deny alternative possibilities. This dogmatic tendency in Communist thinking has often been remarked. Doubt, suspension of judgment, are almost unknown. I believe that the most important source of this dogmatism is the Unity of Theory and Practice. Thought is action, and as a general must not hesitate in the field, so a philosopher must not hesitate in the study.

(See an amusing controversy between Bertrand Russell and Prof. H. Levy in the *New Statesman* early in 1938.)

The principle is thus dangerous to truth. The domination of practice leads naturally to a neglect of truth in favour of effectiveness. It is a very human error, but a theory which encourages it should all the more be eschewed. All who are familiar with the literature on Russia know the systematic exaggeration of the Soviet's achievements and the disingenuous denial and explaining away of its faults. Its foreign policy seems to be conducted in the same spirit. It is the case with most countries in some degree, but one expects better things of the pioneers of the new order.

The insistence that thought is a kind of action, and so is involved in the causal nexus of events, leads to judging thought by the same standards as overt action. Ideas, theories, are judged according to their practical effects rather than according to their truth. Hence the results already pointed out, the depreciation of pure theory, the negect of truth, the magnification of propaganda. But still worse is the further result, the doctrine to which the Japanese term now universally applies—"dangerous thoughts." Together with the principle that neutrality in the class-struggle is impossible, the judgment of ideas by their practical effects leads at once to the political regimentation of thought. It tends now to be forgotten that the Bolsheviks' treatment of their intellectuals was only less deplorable than the Nazis'.

It is perfectly true that there are necessary limits to freedom. But these limits are exclusively practical. No society can tolerate freedom of action. But this only implies that thought must be regarded as divorced from action. We must be able to discuss all ideas freely. The Unity of Theory and Practice prevents freedom of discussion and of thought.

The absence of an adequate ethical theory, together with the exaltation of practice over theory, and against a background of a monistic naturalism, leads to a peculiar ruthlessness. No distinction seems to be drawn between "is" and "ought." Thought was evolved as an instrument of biological purposes : therefore we must use it in the same spirit. Philosophy is covertly partisan : therefore we must make our philosophy openly partisan. (Communist philosophy is habitually called "militant.") Nature is a ruthless struggle for life : therefore we must struggle ruthlessly. All transitions in nature are painful : therefore in the transition to socialism we must disregard pain. International affairs follow the law of the jungle : therefore in our international dealings we must follow the law of the jungle. This is of course caricature, but it has truth.

Here however is to be seen an over valuation of theory, not perhaps in relation to practice, but in relation to common sense. In human, *i.e.*, practical affairs, theory must not be pushed too far, or we become inhuman. Mercy must season justice. The class-war in particular is a theory which easily leads its devotees beyond bounds. The liquidation of the kulaks was the product of the over valuation of theory, just as the invasion of Finland was the result of its under valuation as against practical considerations.

Finally, as the case of Finland suggests, the primacy of practice leads to a deliberate opportunism and lack of principle. Practice comes first, and theory, justification, follows. Not merely is it that anything the Soviet Government does has to be accepted and somehow fitted in with the theory; the Soviet Government regards itself as permitted to do anything. I hope this will not be regarded as bitter. Such a line of thought, I believe, actually occurs. It is of course much helped by the neglect or denial of ethics, but this principle also plays its part. Theory is really the servant of practice. The survival and strengthening of the Soviet Union is the supreme law. The Soviet Government may do what it pleases : its leader is, as it were by definition, infallible.

All these errors may be traced to the Principle of the Unity of Theory and Practice, the principle of fanaticism, of intolerance, of mendacity, of the regimentation of thought, in short of Totalitarianism; a principle which in some of its manifestations comes dangerously near fascist irrationalism.

It will be seen that the Unity of Theory and Practice is a more comprehensive error than that the End justifies the Means. Those who follow the latter principle remain aware of what they are doing; they recognise it as evil while they hope that good may come of it. Those who unite theory and practice forget this. In a totalitarian exaltation mere good and evil fade from their consciousness. They are fulfilling the cosmic purpose, the will of the Demiurge, the will, that is, of the *vozhd*, and are lost to ordinary human feeling thought and standards.

This seems to be the root of the evil : this concentration of the mind upon one aim, the monism of the Marxist theory. Some, like the Catholics, attribute the error to Marxist mate-

rialism. This is not I think the important point, if only because Marxism is not really materialism. A strictly materialist dialectic is nonsense. Marxism can hardly even be regarded as a doctrine of emergence, which can perhaps be consistently materialist. It is really more like pantheism. And its error is the error of all pantheism, that its God is immanent instead of transcendent. It is the error, according to some authorities, of all German philosophy, that of Nazism included, the philosophy of a ruthless activistic monism.

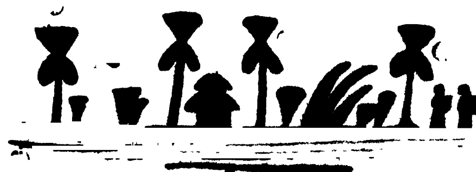
It is not however necessary to enter the realm of theology. The suggestion of pluralism is the lead to follow, and all we need do is to see where the argument for the Unity of Theory and Practice goes wrong. It is commonly set forth as applying to "human thought," thought in the broad, long-term, historical sense. Here the argument is strong. Human thought in this sense has in fact developed in close dependence upon practice. It may not unplausibly be regarded as evolved for some evolutionary purpose. It may be denied the qualities of detachment, impartiality, etc., which Marxists are anxious to deny in thought. When however the principle is applied, as by Profs. John Macmurray and J. B. S. Haldane, to the thought of the individual, the argument at once becomes mere sophistry.

It is an error closely parallel to that committed in the Marxist treatment of ethics. Ethics is discussed, *e.g.*, by Engels and Kautsky, solely as an objective phenomenon, a part of anthropology. It is a fact of great significance that ethics is never discussed by the Marxist authorities in its aspect as an individual concern, a guide to me in what I ought to do now, as valid or invalid, in short as normative. (For here theory asserts its supremacy over practice). In the same sort of way thought is regarded in the long-term, objective sense, as part of the cosmic process; not as something going on in my head, having truth or falsity, and hence a value of its own. Thus no Marxist author has ever made any sense of epistemology : they all assume what they have to prove. Marxism has no theory of truth, as it has in effect no ethics. In both spheres it is satisfied by an untenable relativism.

The only defensible form of the Unity of Theory and Practice then deals with "human thought," thought in the abstract, as an anthropological phenomenon. But in the practical applications of the principle, it is individuals who are concerned. It is not merely "counter-revolutionary ideas" which are "crushed," but men and women who are made to suffer. In short what is needed is a human instead of a cosmic outlook, and this implies a pluralistic instead of a monistic ethics. We have to deal not with cosmic or historical processes, with nations or classes, but with persons; we have to aim not at one end, which remains remote and abstract, and to which people are but means; but at many ends, some of which are realisable now, in all the people surrounding us.

In political terms the mistake—it was above all Lenin's—was the abandonment of the liberal tradition. With the monistic habit of Marxism Lenin thought that all one need "take over" from capitalism was its productive technique, its practice (in the special Marxist sense), and that everything else would follow. He went out of his way to deride and condemn the "rotting corpse" of liberalism. Yet this was as valuable an achievement of capitalism as its productive technique. More valuable in fact. A free but non-socialist society can be tolerable, but a socialist and unfree society is intolerable. To make socialism worth having, the two must go together : the productive methods, and the individual liberty and democracy, which are what is meant by liberalism.

Lenin's mistake was due to his long and embittered controversy with the Social-Democrats. They adhered to liberalism and forgot socialism : he made the opposite selection. We now see that their error was less serious than his. Their indifference to theory, which so annoyed him, contained a deeper wisdom than his own fanatical cultivation of it. For that fanaticism was really only a determination to make theory subserve his purpose, and thus contained the seed of the Unity of Theory and Practice and the whole of Stalin's totalitarianism.



THE PLIGHT OF THE BENGALEES IN ASSAM

By A DOMICILED BENGALEE

The economic and civil problem of the Bengalee settlers in Assam is becoming more complex as days roll on. This community which represents more than 40 per cent of the entire population of the Assam Valley, unfortunately do not enjoy all the privileges like the Assamese. Even the minor communities like the Anglo-Indians have fair representation in Government services but the Bengalees who made valuable contributions towards the material improvement of the province and pay the major portion of the revenue, have less than 1 per cent representation reserved for them in Government services.

A memorandum, on behalf of the Bengalee Domiciled and Settlers' Association demanding equal privileges with the Assamese has been put forward before the Assam Provincial Congress Committee more than seven months ago when there was Congress Ministry. Sj. G. N. Bardoloi, Ex-Premier, assured the deputation of the Bengalees headed by Sj. Satyendra Mohan Lahiri who interviewed him, of safeguarding the interests of the Bengalees. The Bengalee members of the Assam Legislatures have been siding with the Congress Party and did all they could do to save the ministry in its critical hour. Sacrificing their personal interests, they voted for the Assam Agricultural Income-tax Bill sponsored by the ministry with the hope that it would serve the interests of the province as a whole.

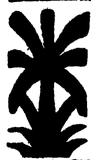
Unfortunately, the Assam Provincial Congress Committee has failed to arrive at a definite conclusion with regard to the Domiciled Bengalee question. When in its sitting, the domiciled question is opened; it is postponed for the next meeting. The scene is carried on for these months and now with the resignation of the Congress Ministry, the question has altogether been dropped.

The cry of "Assam for the Assamese," is no longer confined to Government services but is extended to semi-Government services and in all spheres of business concerns. Hardly a Bengalee employee is found in Local Board or other semi-Government institutions. A Bengalee doctor is hardly welcome in an Assamese home and an Assamese is reluctant to make purchases from a Bengalee shop. Of all these professions, the Bengalee lawyers are mostly affected. Such are the odds against the Bengalees in Assam. With the conquest of Assam by the British, the Bengalees no doubt came to Assam as employees of the British Government. But these Bengalees did not sit idle. Many philanthropic institutions and research bodies were due to their activities. They also worked hard for the spread of education.

The crusade is not merely raged against the Bengalees but against Bengali literature. In a province, where Assamese is the mother-tongue of 25 per cent of its inhabitants, a group of Assamese leaders under the banner of "Sangrakshini Sava" are organising meetings even in remote villages to boycott Bengali magazines and newspapers and to put indirect pressure upon the Bengalees to abandon their mother-tongue. The Local Boards refuse to sanction any grant to any Primary School or M. E. School in villages of which Bengali is the medium but the grant is made as soon as Assamese medium is adopted. The sons and daughters of these people have to abandon their mother-tongue most reluctantly. Unhappily the Government overlooks this and the Bengalee leaders do not espous their cause.

Turning to the much talked of "Line System" we find that the immigrants cleared the jungles, made those places habitable and increased the revenue of the province. The income of the Assam Government is less than that of the Calcutta Corporation and it is unjustifiable for the Government to withhold the immigrants from possessing any land when there are extensive uninhabitable lands covered with jungles. Such is the picture of the Bengalees in Assam. The condition of the Bengalees of this province is worse than that of Bihar.





INDIAN PERIODICALS



National Planning

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the subject of national planning is engaging the serious attention of all those, who are interested in the prosperity of the motherland, and who believe that in the search for happiness lies the main spring of all human endeavour. In the course of an article in *Science & Culture* Dr. J. C. Ghosh remarks :

We know our problem. It is the planning for a better life for the masses of India. It is planning for a state of society where they will look happy and cheerful. It is not planning for the accumulation of more wealth in the hands of those who are alrealy rich or in the hands of those who are enterprising. How is the problem to be solved? That is a big question. That it cannot be solved by the existing methods of free competition in the production of goods and services is certain. These methods have been tried under a peaceful administration for about a century and miserably failed. It has been appropriately said that "the most interesting thing about India is that her soil is rich but that her people are poor." The soil of India is rich; the methods of cultivation not too bad; and better methods which are not difficult to evolve by the application of modern scientific knowledge to agriculture can very soon make this country self-sufficient as regards foodstuffs, even according to the improved standards that have just been laid down. But will that solve the question of poverty? No, *this problem of poverty will not be solved until there is a fundamental change in the distribution of occupation among the workers of India.*

The National Planning Committee calculated that the average income of a villager is Rs. 35/- a year.

In the Indo-Gangetic plain, this low income is due to the fact that there is too much pressure on the land. About 70% of the people are directly dependent on land and about 20% more are indirectly dependent on land as landlords, moneylenders, etc. The result is that an average family of five has to live on the produce of 2 to 3 acres of land; and no matter how well he cultivates this bit of soil, the family income of a peasant cannot exceed Rs. 35/- per capita a year. Given good health and facilities for credit and marketing, a peasant family of five can easily cultivate 10 acres of land without bringing down the yield per acre, and the family income can therefore be increased three times. But even if all cultivable waste lands are utilized—which should be immediately done, the holding per family will not increase to a significant extent.

We must recognise therefore, that so far as Northern India is concerned, the basic industry of India is agriculture not by option but by compulsion.

Holdings are too small for a peasant family to live on its produce at a level above the barest margin of subsistence, even if the land were used to the fullest advantage. But vicissitudes of season, lack of credit and marketing facilities, rack renting, and ignorance make the situation infinitely worse. Yet the cry—'Back to land' is often raised. This is a ploitical stunt of the most sinister type and should be immediately discarded for the cry.—'Advance towards Industries.'

It is now universally recognised in India that the principal objective of planning the national economy should be to attain as far as possible national self-sufficiency.

So far as foodstuffs are concerned, this ideal is attainable. Granted this, if we are to aim at a similar balance as prevails in France, it would be necessary to transfer within a definite time period a vast number of people to industrial occupations so that instead of the present 90 per cent, only 50 per cent of he people become dependent on land. Is it possible to do that? Does India possess the resources in raw materials, in power, in technical ability which can bring about this transformation? The answer is that according to competent authorities, India is not only rich in argicultural resources, but also in all those resources in power and raw materials which are essential for building up modern industries.

The University of Nalanda

Nalanda grew to be the largest university town of ancient India and perhaps of the East. Two Chinese pilgrims of outstanding scholarship, Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing have written about Nalanda from their inside knowledge as students in residence. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji observes in *The Aryan Path* :

Hiuen Tsang was a resident student of Nalanda for about five years from A.D. 635, while I-tsing stayed at Nalanda for as many as ten years after A.D. 675.

In its palmy days, which were witnessed by both these Chinese pilgrims, the University comprised a population of 10,000, of whom, according to Hiuen Tsang, students numbered 8,500 and teachers as many as 1,510.

This vast university population was quite cosmopolitan in composition. The reputation of Nalanda was not confined within the borders of India. It extended to distant countries of Eastern Asia.

The proportion of the number of teachers to the taught showed the amount of individual attention which a teacher could give to his students. A group

of every six students would be in the charge of a teacher. This principle of individual teaching is essential for efficiency and success in education. The Hindu system based its education on intimate individual contacts between the teacher and the taught.

Nalanda was also unique in another respect. It functioned as a centre of advanced study and research, a sort of post-graduate university.

Every applicant for admission had first of all to satisfy a Board of Scholars, specially appointed "to guard the gates" of the University, of his ability to handle the difficult metaphysical problems which were put to him. According to Hieun Tsang, of every hundred applicants for admission about eighty would be rejected as failures.

The method of work for a university of this character was also somewhat unusual. The university was made up of Schools of Discussion. Studies were prosecuted through debates among specialists and scholars as exponents of their own schools of thought.

There were in operation at Nalanda every day a hundred circles debating on as many different topics. This shows that the range of Nalanda studies must have been extraordinarily wide. As the Chinese pilgrim tells us, it included all the then known subjects of all the Indian systems, Brahmanical as well as Buddhist. Among the philosophies taught, Hiuen Tsang mentions *Hetu-vidya* (Logic), the *Sankhya*, the *Sabda-vidya* (Linguistics), the *Chikitsa-vidya* (Ayurvedic science), the *Atharva Veda* and other Vedas, and Yoga. The university specialised as a school of grammar and in Panini; it specialised more in the study of Yoga, on which the then Chancellor of the University, Silabhadra, was the highest living authority.

Nalanda became the common meeting-ground of the warring sets and creeds of the times with all their "possible and impossible doctrines", as stated by I-tsing. Nalanda was thus a vast experiment in freedom in education.

It stood for freedom as its ideal, Freedom of Thought, Opinion and Belief for Science that would not constrain conscience, for Toleration as the foundation of culture.

Nalanda was, of course, not built in a day. It was the growth of centuries. Like all things great, it grew from small beginnings, from a gift of ground made to the Buddha by a body of merchants in the fifth century B.C.

It had to depend upon a recurring income, which came from lavish grants of land. In the time of Hiuen Tsang, the University had come to have in its possession about 100 villages. I-tsing, who followed after about thirty years, in 675 A.D., found this property increased to 200 villages.

The university's daily consumption must have amounted, on the lowest computation, to about 200 maunds of rice and to similar quantities of butter and of milk.

The generosity of the external equipment of Nalanda was quite in keeping with the inner equipment of its personnel.

Nalanda had achieved an all-Asia reputation for the galaxy of scholars it had brought together.

The Chinese pilgrims are full of reverence for all its 1,500 teachers, some of whom, like Silabhadra, Gunamati and Sthiramati, are mentioned as masters of the highest knowledge.

Nalanda built up a worthy library situated in a special area aptly called *Dharmaganja*. It consisted of three huge buildings, one of which was of nine stories. Many manuscripts of that collection are still to be found in the libraries of Nepal and of Tibet, which maintained a close and constant cultural connection with Nalanda.

For centuries the stream of scholars flowed to countries like Tibet and China, where they introduced India's learning and literature by translating their Sanskrit texts into Tibetan and Chinese. We have a vivid account of the formidable difficulties which travelling presented in those ancient days.

It was due to the silent and strenuous work of these devoted Indian scholars, carried on for generations and through centuries against all odds in a rare spirit of self-sacrifice, idealism and defiance of difficulties that a Greater India, a vast Empire of Indian Thought, was rapidly built up beyond the geographical boundaries of India. Truly Nalanda is a romance in the annals of mankind.

Village Sanitation in India

Sanitation is a problem in which sustained and intensive propaganda has to be carried on if we have to make our villages fit for human habitation. In his article on the subject in *Rural India* E. R. Mahajani lays stress on this point :

The Indian villagers are ignorant of the importance of the public sanitation, and we cannot therefore expect them to improve the insanitary conditions of their villages without any outside aid. The only outside aid that they can expect is from the Government, but it is not possible for the latter to try to improve the present conditions unless they get a hearty co-operation from the villagers. This sort of co-operation, however, can be brought about if those of the medical profession and the intelligentsia (who are interested in the development of the Indian villages) mix with the villagers, impress upon them that their interests are identical with those of the villagers, and then teach them the value of personal as well as communal cleanliness. It would be the duty of the State in such respects however to back up such workers financially.

The things to attend to in the villages are cleaning of tanks and wells, keeping them clean, getting rid of dung heaps, etc.

If the workers will begin to work themselves, working like paid sweepers, from day to day, and always letting the villagers know that they are expected to join them so as ultimately to do the whole work themselves, it is almost certain that the villagers will sooner or later co-operate with them.

Lanes or streets are to be cleaned of all rubbish.

The latter should then be classified. There are portions which can be turned into manure, portions which can be simply buried, and portions which can be directly turned into wealth. Every bone picked up is

a valuable raw material from which useful articles can be made or which can be crushed into rich manure. Rags and waste paper can be turned into paper, and excreta picked up can be turned into golden manure for the village fields.

The way to treat the excreta is to mix them, liquid as well as solid, with superficial earth, dug no deeper than one foot at the most. The earth is thereby charged with minute life, which together with light and air which easily penetrate it, turn the excreta into good soft, smelling soil within a week. Any villager can test this for himself. At present this rich manure, valued at lakhs of rupees, runs to waste every day, fouls the air and brings disease into the bargain.

The hygienic and sanitary habits of our people can be cultivaetd only by a well-direct-ed effort.

A mere spasmodic attempt to clean the village, or give some such demonstration by our people would really prove to be vain, although it should be tried in the beginning. As a matter of fact, we have to educate our people by intensive and sustained propaganda.

The Importance of Good Vision

Vision is probably the most priceless possession we have; yet few give it any concern until driven by pain in the eyes, headache, or loss of the acuteness of vision. Observes Dr. William A. Boyce in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

There is really no great mystery about the eyes. We really see with the brain; the eye is only the camera that makes the picture for us. The reason we have two eyes is that we take a stereoscopic picture having depth (the one-eyed individual cannot judge distance adequately). The muscles that rotate the eyes only bring the camera into position for focus upon the object we wish to see. These muscles have the most perfect synchronization in all nature, and are controlled by centres in the brain so that when we wish to look to the right the external muscle of the right eye and the internal muscle of the left eye pull the eyes to the right. At the same time the external muscle of the left eye and the internal muscle of the right eye relax.

Defects of vision are caused by either refractive errors (need of glasses) or by certain diseases within or without the eyes.

The most frequent diseases within the eyes are glaucoma (increased tension in the eyes); cataract (opacity of the crystalline lens); disease of the retina from poison in the system (such as, abscessed teeth, tonsils, Bright's disease, diabetes); diseases of the optic nerve and brain; external diseases, such as those that cause cloudiness of the cornea.

Refractive errors, or need of glasses, simply indicate that the lens mechanism in your cameras is out of focus or not adequate. This will be corrected by proper increase or decrease of this lens power by the proper lenses placed before the eyes in the form of glasses.

Glaucoma means that a microscopic safety valve in the eye has become obstructed, and the aqueous humor, a normal secretion in the eye, cannot pass out

and be absorbed by the blood; it is, therefore, retained, and the pressure within the eyeball rises, like putting too much air in a motor car tyre. As a consequence of this increased pressure, the retina and the optic nerve are damaged, and areas atrophy, or die, which eventually results in blindness. In the beginning of glaucoma you may have the same symptoms as if you needed glasses. Glaucoma can be detected and relieved by your eye physician.

A cataract is an opacity of the crystalline lens that is suspended in the eye just back of the pupil.

The lens becomes opaque, like ground glasses, and mechanically obstructs vision. A cataract can and does come frequently from some other disease in the body, such as diabetes; but the most frequent cause is senility. It should be diagnosed early, and, if due to a disease, the process can be stopped in some instances by treatment of the disease causing it. If its process cannot be stopped, it can be removed by an operation, and you should be able to see as well as ever. Beginning cataract may lead you to think you need glasses. Your eye physician will tell you if you are developing cataract, and will suggest the proper care of your eyes until the cataract is in proper condition to be removed. Up to the present time, medical science has not found a way to remove cataract other than by surgery. Do not be deceived into taking the expensive light and electrical treatments offered by those who do not know.

The main thing I wish to impress upon you is the importance of good vision. Do not neglect your eyes.

Pundit Bhatkhande

There are many admirers of Pundit Bhatkhande who regret that he did not become an artist and a practical exponent of Indian music. He had the gift of a very good voice, a deep love of music and infinite perseverance, hence there can be little doubt that he might have become a great vocalist had he wanted. But the service he has done to music and musicians would have been beyond the scope of any vocalist; it required the combination of a scholar, an artist, an educationist and an unselfish diplomat of high ability. Devraj Bhaskara writes in *Uttaramandrā* :

Pundit Bhatkhande was born in Walkeshwar, Bombay in 1860. This was a period of Indian history when many of our great men were born.

"My parents were very much against my learning music" Punditji often said. "I used to slip out every other night for attending musical performances and came back before dawn unnoticed." Yet the art of music is accepted by the Hindus as a celestial art. This hatred was very probably due to the constant association of music with courtesans. In India music was formerly associated with temples which people respected.

The intellectual classes discouraged Punditji on the ground that Indian music had stagnated for centuries and hence could not be brought back to life. The patrons thought that he was spoiling their pleasure by introducing a complicated type of music which created new standards of beauty and sweetness apart from the personal and physical charms of courtesans The musicians looked at him with distrust because they suspected that he was publishing their trade-secrets and exposing their ignorance before the nobility and other patrons.

The most real danger which threatened his cause then as it threatens it even today, came from the reformers. Pundit Bhatkhande was himself a reformer but he did not believe in improving an art without learning its basic principles and understanding its full scope. He therefore devoted about thirty years of his life in collecting and compiling musical compositions. He was collecting both songs and ancient manuscripts on music.

What is known as Pundit Bhatkhande's System of Teaching, is based on the introduction of music through scales.

It is like introducing a language to a child through the alphabet. This would obviously be very harmful if the child does not hear the dialect and knows every word by its spelling. But it is always assumed that the child should be acquainted with the music as much as possible. Pundit Bhatkhande never thought or expected that the knowledge of the scales gives a knowledge of the Ragas. He wanted the student to get the art direct from the musician, only he considered that knowledge of the notes and scales was a necessary equipment.

Though Pundit Bhatkhande is well known as a grammarian and a revivalist of classical music, few know him as a great composer. The greatest triumph for his compositons is that they have merged unnoticed into the classical stock. India does not have a separate class of composers because every good musician has to compose his music as he performs. Pundit Bhatkande's Gao Bageswari, Lakshans of Hanskankini, Durga, some beautiful compositions in Jaijawanti Tilak Kamode, Purva-Kalyan, Barwa, Khambabati, etc. have been readily learnt by many of our good professionals most of whom do not even know that they are Pundit Bhatkhande's compositions. Yet no one knew till the other day that Pundit Bhatkhande's own compositions are never inferior to the best cocpositions that our older musicians have left for us.

None but a real composer could have taken the infinite trouble in collecting famous old compositions, which Pundit Bhatkhande had taken. Those who have come in close contact with Indian professional musicians know what it is to collect a few good compositions from them. Punditji had to try various methods: flattery, rewards, pressure through employers and patrons, or even stealing songs from an attached room with the help of a phonograph. Thus it is today that we have a vast collection of famous compositions published in his famous Kramic series.

Sulapani, the Bengali Artist of the Twelfth Century

Of the poet and the artist at the court of Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, Umapati Dhara has been remembered by the lovers of Sanskrit literature; but poor Sulapani has been lost in oblivion. In *The Scholar Annual*,

1939, Dines Chandra Sarkar writes about the forgotten artist :

Excepting the tradition regarding Dhiman and Bitpalo (Vitapala), we know little about the artists who were responsible for the beautiful icons representing the so-called East Indian School of Mediæval Art. A passage in the *History of Buddhism* by the Tibetan historian, Lama Taranatha, contains a reference to the Eastern School of Artists headed by Bitpalo, son of Dhiman, who flourished in the country of Varendra (*i.e.* North Bengal) during the reigns of the Pala kings, Dharmapala (circa 769-815 A.D.) and Devapala (circa 815-54 A.D.). Another tradition regarding the two artists is found in the Tibetan work, Pag-sam-zora-jang; it resembles the account given by Taranatha. An inscription of Vijayasena (first half of the twelfth century) of the Sena dynasty that succeeded the Palas in Bengal refers to another Bengali artist, named Sulapani, who has unfortunately been neglected by all writers on the history of mediæval Indian art.

The last two verses of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena say : "This *Prasasti*, a soft string made without knots, of the serene pearls, *viz.*, the kings of the Sena family, is the work of the poet Umapati Dhara, whose knowledge has become accurate by a critical study of words and meanings of words. The Ranaka Sulapani, who is the son of Brihaspati, grandson of Manodasa and great-grandson of Dharma, and who is the chudamani (crest-jewel) of the *silpigoshthi* (host of artists, or guild of artists) of Varendra (North Bengal) has engraved this *Prasasti*."

Of the performances of Dhiman and Bitpalo we know nothing. Sulapani is, however, a little fortunate in this respect. Only one of his minor performances has come down to us. It is the engraving of the Deopara inscription already referred to. This inscription consists of 32 lines of uniform length. The stone measures 3′ 2″ by 1′ 9¾″, while the inscribed surface measures 2′ 7¾″ by 1′ 5½″. The smoothness of the surface and the excellent forms of the letters show even today after the lapse of 800 years that the engraver performed his task in such a manner as would befit his reputation. Sulapani's work has been done most beautifully and with great care. Where there is a blank space after the last letter of a line, a vertical line has been put in for the sake of uniformity of length of the line. Those who are familar with the numerous mistakes of the engravers in mediæval inscriptions would be glad to learn that in the lengthy record of 36 verses there are only one or two instances of carelessness on the part of the engraver.

Such was Sulapani, the great Bengali artist of the twelfth century A.D.

The Religious Principles Behind Hindu Politcal Theory

The State, from the point of view of Hinduism, exists to help the individual to know his inner self and to identify himself with it in the Ultimate. Its *raison d'etre* is, in short, the perfection of the individual. M. Ramakrishnaiyya observes in *The Vedanta Kesari* :

It seems to be common to all religions to think of society arising out of chaos or 'Pralaya.' This con-

ception of the state of chaos was later passed on to political theory and we see in Hobbes a typical description of it. The politics of Hinduism, likewise, follows the method of dichotomy, and divides time into two epochs one in which the State exists and the other in which it did not. According to the doctrine of 'Matsya-nyaya' or the logic of Fish, the Hindu political thinkers described 'the state of nature' in which men behaved towards each other like fishes, the stronger ones devouring the weaker. The State is organized as an escape from this miserable condition; "Out of terror all creatures run about when the world suffers anarchy; hence, the Lord created the king for the protection of all" (Manu). The State has thus been created for a definite purpose to achieve which the king was made. But the king was made *for the protection of all.* His power from the outset is conditional. Another point of importance is that the protection is for all, strong and weak alike; thus the equality of rights of all persons is guaranteed.

The Hindu Kingship is a public office.

The State exists for the sake of the individual and, the king rules for making the 'good life' possible.

The individual is clearly the end and the society is only a means.

The relations between the two can best be brought about by a reference to the synthesis and graduation of (*i*) the fourfold object of life (Purushartha), desire and enjoyment (Kama), interest (Artha), ethical living (Dharma) and spiritual freedom (Moksha), (*ii*) the fourfold Order of Society (Varna), the man of learning (Brahmin), of power (Kshatriya), of skilled productivity (Vaisya), and of service (Sudra); and (*iii*) the fourfold succession of the stages of life (Asrama), student (Brahmachari), householder (Grihasta), forest recluse (Vanaprastha) and the free super-social man (Sannyasin).

The four ends of life points to the different sides of human nature, the instinctive and the emotional, the economic, the intellectual and the ethical, and the spiritual. Hinduism puts a high premium on the last and makes the rest means to its achievement. Society, therefore, exists for the Hindu in so far as it aids him to reach 'Moksha.' The necessity of such a high ideal in practical life will be evident to us if only we turn to the damages caused to the spirit of man and his civilization by an excessive attention to mundane and material things.

Swinburne's Child-Poetry

Every poet is by nature childlike and loves children, but only a few poets can come up to Swinburne. Rossetti, Ruskin and Burne Jones always found him a handsome child even in old age, and this made Rossetti ask him to sit for a picture of Galahad. His voice and disposition remained childlike in sweetness and trustfulness to his last days. Ashutosh Banerji writes in *The Twentieth Century* :

It was on Easter Monday, 10th of April, 1909, that Swinburne died.

His anniversary will be celebrated this year in every English-speaking country, in spite of the most unpoetic atmosphere of the world today.

Swinburne is rarely read today, and he was not understood as he should be, when he died. The famous Danish critic, George Brandes, wrote at his death : "I do not think that English public venerated him as he deserved, and it is a disgrace to the Scandinavian North that he did not receive the Nobel Prize." Yet what can be the cause of his neglect today ? There was some reason for his being disliked by the Victorians, whose sense of security and comfort he ruffled so carelessly. But why does he irritate the present generation ? Is it because the people have taken a fancy to condemn the Victorians as a body, and unfortunately he was one of them ? There is a real affinity between him and his age, in spite of the furore he created. But there is also a special trait in him which is worthy of study today. In an age of uncertainty and artificiality, he is, above all, simple and primitive.

Even those who have loved his simplicity have not seen him at his best. They know him usually as a love-poet; he is more glorious as a poet of childhood.

The sweetness and freshness of Swinburne's child-poems are reminiscent of Blake, but he is neither mystical nor in any way intellectual.

At times Swinburne forgets his subject. Bubbling with great joy of living, he picks up words richer than gold, and like a child at play on the shore scatters them all around him in a golden shower.

Out of the dark sweet sleep
Where no dreams laugh or weep
  Borne through bright gates of birth
Into the dim sweet light,
  Where day still dreams of night
While heaven takes form on earth,
  White rose of spirit and flesh, red lily of love
What notes of song have we
Fit for the birds and thee
  Fair nestling couched beneath the mother dove ?

The word 'music' stands at the very centre of this soul-awakening poem. Such poems as these have led critics to say that he has made thought musically sensuous.

Besides hundreds of cradle songs and birthday poems, mention may be made of *Etude Realiste, Baby-bird, Babyhood, First Footsteps, Comparisons, A Child's Thanks, A Child's Laughter, A Child's Pity, A Child's Battles, Not A Child* and *A Child's Future.* Those who already love good poetry will be filled with delight at reading them, but even those who look askance at poetry will find nothing to make them ill at ease.

But to free us from the inhibitions of modern psychology there is no greater force than Swinburne. His simple and primitive power sweeps at one stroke the complex fads which curb our delight in the divine beauty of childhood. In every age and in every civilization men grow callous and sophisticated at times. But though they dethrone old superstitions, they set up new ones again. For the heart always yearns for romance and tries to feed itself on such superstitions. At such a critical period men are rescued by poets, who infuse an extra zest in life and bring a deeper insight into it. They arrive at truth intuitively which is no less important than scientific truth.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Soviet-Nazi Pact Hatched in 1937

Russia has, since she entered the League of Nations, pursued a double policy, according to Paul Dubochet, the Geneva correspondent of the Paris newspaper *Le Petit Parisien.* One facet of Soviet policy was reserved for the League and the democratic Powers; Litvinov was its exponent. The other purpose was, according to Dubochet's information which emanated from the Kremlin, to find a way toward closer co-operation with Germany.

This latter aim was pursued with strictest secrecy, by Stalin himself. In this work he was aided by Tukhatchevsky.

After negotiations between the German and the Russian general staffs, in which the Russian commercial representatives in Berlin played the role of middlemen, a pact was agreed upon in principle during the early months of 1937. This pact contained the following provisions :

1. The Soviet Union detaches herself from the Western powers, and resigns from the League of Nations.
2. The Soviet Union renounces all alliances with France.
3. In case of war between Germany and her neighbors, the Soviet Union will remain neutral.
4. Germany is to conclude a long-term non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union.
5. Germany takes it upon herself to bring about amicable relations between Japan and the Soviet Union.
6. 7. and 8. contains stipulations regarding the economic relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. Finally, the pact obliges the two partners not to meddle in each other's internal affairs.

The only stipulation which has not been observed, is Russia's departure from the League of Nations, because the leaders of the Soviet Union found out that the Geneva institution furnished a marvelous vehicle for propaganda. (Instead, the U.S.S.R. was expelled.) All other stipulations of the pact seem to have been faithfully observed.

Stalin accepted the pact without any reservations. Hitler, however, wanted the Russian dictators removed from their position. He, therefore, proposed to Marshal Tukhatchevsky the overthrew of the Soviet regime and substitution of a military regime. Hitler was told that such a revolution would lead to anarchy, and would also encourage separatist elements in the various Soviet Republics. The Fuhrer, who was interested in a strong and unified Russia, promised to send military help from Germany. On the strength of this promise, Tukhatchevsky agreed to Hitler's demands. In order to win the Russian masses, the Marshal planned to put Voroshilov, a generally respected soldier, at the head of the movement. The latter, at first, acted as if he were willing to go along with Tukhatchevsky. However, later he handed the conspirators over to Stalin. This was the signal for the blood purge of June 1937.

Dubochet closes his report as follows :

This information, which emanates from well-informed sources, brings into the open the causes of the terrible massacre in the Red Army. They also explain why Voroshilov occupies such a favored position. It also lays open the Kremlin's deceitfulness. Russia acted as if she intended to adhere to the Peace Front, while, for the last two years, she was already bound to Germany.—*The Living Age.*

The Marxist Historical Mythology

Writing in *The Month,* R. A. L. Smith examines the central tenets and writings of the Marxist historians in the light of modern critical studies, and observes :

The Marxist "interpretation of history" is set forth most succinctly in the first two sentences of the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848. "The history of all hitherto existing society," this document declares, "is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes." Marx amplified this thesis in his preface to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" where he affirmed that "the mode of production of the material means of life determines, in general, the social, political and intellectual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of human beings that determines their existence but, conversely, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness."

There you have the full doctrine of historical materialism. It is the offspring of a marriage of the French revolutionary tradition and German Idealist philosophy. Hegel, to whose thought Marx is deeply indebted, saw history in terms of the evolution of "the eternal universal Spirit, the internal conflict of whose elements is made concrete in the wars of national States, each being the embodiment of a developing idea which it requires a supersensible intuition to perceive." Marx swivelled Hegel round and stood him on his feet (or his head—it is still disputed by exegetes!) imbuing his austere philosophy with a revolutionary apocalyptic in which the class-struggle is the dominant theme.

Professor Postan, who holds the chair of Economic History at Cambridge University, says of the Marxist heresy: "The trouble is that the little truth it contains is magnified, is repeated thousandfold till it

blots all the other things out of view." He goes on to state that "it is one thing to recognize the part which class struggle plays in the life of humanity and quite another to give to the class-struggle all the parts and every part of the drama of hisory. As long as you do this you merely turn your simple truth into a monomania." Professor Postan cites instances (a) of forms of co-operation between classes, and (b) of conflicts other than "class" ones, which lead him to the conclusion that "very little is left of your universal, inescapable and all-pervading class war."

All that is of permanent value in the Marxist thesis has been recognized long ago.

Harrington, in his "Oceana," anticipates Marx by two centuries in deducing the political revolution of seventeenth-century England from the economic changes in society. Disraeli, in his novel "Sibyl" (1845), speaks of "Two Nations, the Rich and the Poor," and makes many illuminating comments on the class structure of this country. Thorold Rogers, in the latter half of the last century, wrote those masterly volumes (including "The Economic Interpretation of History") which corrected and balanced the simplified distortion of Marx. Pope Leo XIII, acutely conscious of "the enormous fortunes of some few individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses" ("Rerum Novarum," 1891), selected all that was of value in nineteenth-century economic analysis, deftly steering through the muddy waters of Marxist mythology.

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Theory of Impressionism

Anthony Bertram, in the course of a lecture delivered to the Royal Society of Arts, London, and published in the *Journal* of the Society, discusses the theory of impressionism in art.

Since the later years of the Renaissance, with such local exceptions as the French courtly art of the eighteenth century or the politically imposed classical art of the First Republic and First Empire, and with such personal exceptions as Blake or Bosch, European art had been chiefly concerned with externals, with expressing the appearance of people and things—a materialist art. Through all Dutch and Flemish seventeenth century painting, English eighteenth century *genre* and landscape and French nineteenth century realism (Courbet, the Barbizon school, etc.) it had arrived at a very competent technique for this limited purpose. There only remained the final attitude of complete and semi-scientific subservience to externals and the evolution of a technique which should, as far possible, eliminate the variable quantity, artist, and identify, *if that were possible,* subject with object.

In other words, Impressionism was to aim at a complete objectivity (the literary parallel is in the theories of Flaubert) and leave the artist no creative function : he was to become merely a selector and recorder. The Impressionists sought to transfer to the canvas the image received on the retina of the eye : to make no comment on it, to draw no conclusions from it.

They conceived their business as visual artists to begin and end with pure *seeing*. The greatest weakness of their theory was that pure seeing is a most unnatural and most uncommon activity, even if, which I doubt, it is ever wholly possible. Our perceptive faculties are meshed and we cannot throw our memories and intelligences into neutral. The moment an image strikes our eyes we automatically make certain deductions from it, as, for example, that certain areas of differing colour are the result of three-dimensional form.

This example, is, indeed, of first-class importance. Earlier eyes had considered these differing areas as light and shade, an attitude which involved an intellectual grasp of their causes, namely three-dimensional form. But pure seeing is not concerned with causes : pure seeing does not recognize the dimension of depth, which can only be apprehended by bringing our memories and intelligences to our aid, which, of course, is what in fact we invariably do according to our capacities.

This appreshension of three-dimensional form, then, cannot be a purely visual experience, and its expression therefore required other means than pure recording. Western European painting since Giotto had been largely occupied in finding these means, because the painters increasingly tried to render material *reality,* which is, of course, at least three-dimensional. The paradox of the Impressionists is that in trying to go one better than their predecessors, they in fact lost contact with reality, as it is normally apprehended by the complex of our perceptive faculties, and they unnaturally isolated the faculty of sight.

But the result of this concentration on the visual faculty was that they learnt to see the superficial more accurately than any of their predecessors. Having discarded the artificial concepts of light and shade, they discovered that what had been called shade and usually rendered by some arbitary dark colour, brown or grey, was in fact light, and was as variable in colour as what had always been called light. Everything seen is, of course, only in fact seen in terms of vibrations of light on the retina. The concept of the difference between light and shade—a true concept when our perception is whole, but a false one when our perception is only visual—gave place to a mere difference between frequencies of light-vibrations. The result of this new attitude towards the visual experience was that in practice their pictures, while gaining increasingly in luminosity, lost equally in "drawing," that is to say in the rendering of three-dimensional form. Nor was this all. They also lost "drawing" in the narrower sense of rendering two-dimensional form, as the Italian primitives, the Greek vase painters, the Egyptians, the Persians had understood it, as the Victorian young ladies, before they advanced to "shading," understood it—in short, by the definition of *line*. Line is admittedly a quite artificial definition: it does not exist in visual experience: but it most certainly corresponds to a very real idea—the idea of the separate identity of objects. But the Impressionists were bound to discard it by their whole technical approach to nature. Nor did they need it, for they did not accept the idea of separate indentities. The image received on the retina is one thing; forms and colours are not sharply differentiated but flow into one another: a human being, a tree, a river are not separate things but organic parts of that one thing (I use "organic" metaphorically, of course). But not only did they sacrifice line to obtain this unity of visual experience: they also deliberately refused to state the precise shapes and relationships of parts as they may be perceived by an analytic examination with

all our faculties, as, for example, they are perceived and stated by Holbein or the Flemish Primitives.

Their approach and technique were, on the contrary, synthetic. The field was stated, not the individual blades of grass: the embroidered dress, not the individual threads; the crowd, not the individual human beings of which it is composed, still less their buttons and hairs and tie-pins. Compare in this connection Monet's *Les Boulevards* with such a work as Holbein's *The Ambassadors* or Jan Van Eyck's *John Arnolfini and his Wife*. Monet's treatment is summary, compendious: he conveys the final impression of the scene and minimises the entities of which it is composed. He gives only the answer to the sum: Holbein and Van Eyck state the entities and add them together, thus displaying the whole sum.

Of course, this idea of summary treatment was not new but merely carried further.

Such painters as Velazquez, Hals and Rembrandt had already broken up the precise analytic statements of earlier painters, had rendered what they saw rather than what they knew to be there. Flemish Primitives, for example, "drew" the full outlines of each fold of a ruff: Hals, with squiggles and dabs and smears of paint, rendered the whole ruff.

Experience of Refugees on the Nazi-Soviet Border

Since the twenty-second of October the Soviet Government ceased to admit refugees. From that day on, the refugees from Poland must endure inhuman suffering both on the German as well as the Soviet side of the frontier.

The situation changed on the 22nd of October, because on that day elections were held for soviets in the occupied Polish territory, and up to the day of election large masses of refuges from Poland were admitted to vote for the amalgamation of western White Russia with the Soviet Union.

Warsaw and Poland are becoming ever more insufferable. It is known that the Soviet border is closed. But the hopelessness of the situation drives people to the border anyway. Until they reach it they must pass through the purgatory of the Hitlerist bands. Later their experiences on the Soviet side are in some respects even more crushing. The only consolation of the refugees is that the Russians are by nature kinder and the sympathy of the Russian soldiers for the vistims of Hitler often cancels the strictness of the orders of their superiors. Thus many succeed in passing the military cordon. But the highway between Warsaw and the border is daily jammed not only with wagons going to the border but also with hundreds of wagons returning to Warsaw.

F. Frank relates in *Jewish Frontier* the experience of a young man, who was one of those who fled from Warsaw to Bialistok after admission to Soviet occupied territory was already being denied.

At a certain point on the road—thus the young man related to me—we were stopped by a German military patrol. Although we expected that to happen sooner or later, this direct contact with one of the

robber bands which terrorise the highways about Warsaw was a moment which deeply shook us all. We were ordered to get off the wagons and there began a long and painful inquisition which was enough to turn one's hair white. The leaders of the highway patrols who check on travellers are masters of refined torture. In their work they are aided by knowledge of human psychology. They speak to a victim penetrating him to the narrow. After a while the victim is made to feel that in another moment he would be ready to admit everything as requested.

The women were taken aside into an automobile where a shameful search was carried out. The search was conducted by men, ordinary soldiers and bestialized Nazis. The women were commanded to undress and when they did not carry out the command in a hurry, were "assisted" by the soldiers who tore their garments off them. The search was so thorough that electric flashlights were used.

At the same time the men were also being questioned. They were ordered to line up and one of them placed in front. A Nazi with the face of an executioner slowly eyed one victim after another until his gaze returned and rested on his first victim.

"If," he began speaking slowly, "I will find money or other possessions in your pockets, or hidden elsewhere, I will make short work of you—a bullet in the head and . . . . . . here."

He pointed to a hole in the ground near the road, indicating that this would be the victim's grave.

"I therefore command," he thundered, "to give up everything before the search."

The men remained standing rigid with fear There was silence on the road and one could distinctly hear the heavy breathing of all.

Everyone was pale with fear. They looked like men in the agony of death. The man questioned first looked like a corpse. It was evident that he strained every effort to control himself. But the inquisitor did everything to break his victim. With pretended mildness he placed his hand on his shoulder, pierced him with a harsh stare and patting his back spoke both confidentially and threateningly.

"You . . . . don't be so afraid Why are you so scared, Do you have a clear conscience?" And then, as if answering his own question, he spoke addressing nobody in particular. But his words had only one aim —to frighten his victim still further. "Well, this man has a troubled conscience. Yes, he has some guilt on his mind." We could see the victim cracking momentarily. The tension reached the breaking point. Everybody's knees began to buckle and it seemed as if the entire row of men would drop.

Fortunately the inquisitor decided to leave his prey. He searched the man thoroughly and found nothing. But he had achieved his aim. The others were crushed.

Endlessly the search continued. One after another had his shoes removed, the seams of his clothes ripped and was subjected to the refinements of inquisitorial torture. Later the wagons were investigated and everything was taken away. The people were so shaken by their previous experience that they no longer cared about their possessions. Everyone was obsessed by only one wish—to be out of the hands of the Nazi bandits.

After spending the night in the house of a peasant, we continued on our way early in the morning But even avoiding the road and going over fields did not help. We were again confronted by two Nazi soldiers and the robbery was repeated.

Finally, after being "totally" robbed, the refugees remained alone and continued on their way. Close to the border they were "searched" again but hardly anything was taken away this time, for they had practically nothing left A peasant showed them the way and they crossed the border without baggage, without money and without food. This occurred about three in the morning after wandering through forests and fields from seven o'clock on the previous morning without food. They heaved a sigh of relief. At last they were free and out of danger. At last they could begin a new life. The unfortunates did not know that what they had heard in Warsaw about the hospitality of the Soviet government toward refugees of the Hitler regime was already a matter of the past and that, the elections being over, a new policy was in force which would cause them enough suffering.

Education for the Blind and the Deaf in China

Even under the stress of war, China has not forgotten her deaf and blind children, writes the *China Information Bulletin*.

Education for the blind and the deaf in China was started about 60 years ago when an American woman social worker founded a school for the deaf in Chefoo, Shantung, in 1885. The school, called the Chefoo School for the Deaf, is believed to be in existence although its present condition cannot be ascertained. Another similar school which has become internationally known is Dr Fryer's Institution for the Chinese Blind and Deaf, founded about 30 years ago. Although its buildings and grounds were shelled and looted by the Japanese during the early part of the hostilities, it is able to continue its work in Shanghai Miss Helen Keller referred to it as the Chinese blind's "brightest lamp."

The Municipal School for the Blind and the Deaf, with its student body of over 80, is carrying on its work in Kiangtsin, Szechwan, after a hegira of some 1,200 miles from Nanking. When Chungking received its first bombing on January 15, 1939, the students of this school were conducting a publicity campaign on the streets here After the all clear signal was sounded, they helped other organs in relief work. Recently the school sent several students to the Wuchang Art College, now operating in Free China, in order to train them in commercial art

Among the schools which have been blown to pieces by Japanese bombs are the Provincial School for the Blind and the Deaf in Hunan and one in Shanghai. The school at Nantungchow had to be suspended because their compound was used by the invading army as a barrack Before the war similar schools could be found in Wuhsien (Kiangsu), Hangchow, Wuchang and Peiping.

Attempts are being made by the Chinese authorities to give the necessary wartime education to those who have lost one or more of their abilities. No other refugees suffer as much as these stricken souls. Not infrequently they have been accused of being secret agents of Japan due to their incapability to talk.

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SUNSET IN THE FOREST
By Paritosh Sen

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NOTES

Lord Zetland's Broadcast of Third April

It seems to be the privilege of men belonging to a ruling nation to go on repeating old and specious so-called arguments, ignoring the fact that they have been repeatedly refuted. As all means of publicity by inland telegrams, cablegrams across the seas, wireless, telephones, the post office, etc., are under their control, it is mostly their side of the case which the world public come to know. What we say gets no hearing for the most part So Indian publicists have to go on commenting on what they have already criticized many a time and oft.

LONDON, April 3

"I am convinced that no lasting settlement in India will prove possible without real reconciliation between Moslems and Hindus and let me add that whatever the difficulties standing in the way we shall continue to labour wholeheartedly and to the best of our ability for such a reconciliation"—thus observed Lord Zetland in a broadcast referring to India's war effort and finally to the political relations between Britain and India.

British politicians love to magnify some political differences between some Muslim and some Hindu leaders as a sort of perpetual and chronic racial and communal conflict. It is no such thing. Whatever conflict there is, is largely due to British policy.

As for the "wholeheartedness" of the British endeavour to effect a "reconciliation" between Hindus and Moslems, the less said the better. The Communal Decision, particularly that part of it which relates to Bengal, and many inequitable preferences given to some communities over others, prove irrefutably that this profession of wholeheartedness is sheer hypocrisy.

Sri C. Rajagopalachariar's comments on this part of Lord Zetland's broadcast are reproduced below.

MADRAS, April 4.

"It is misleading to talk of 'reconciliation' between Muslims and Hindus," says Mr C Rajagopalachariar commenting on Lord Zetland's broadcast. In his opinion the British analysis of the Indian situation is calculated to transform a difference in political objectives into enmity and hatred, and to give the impression that what delays British eagerness to fulfil pledges and apply declared noble principles is a dangerous internal state in India.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar proceeding says "a difference as to what political or constitutional arrangement will benefit a particular community in India is not to be treated as amounting to enmity or civil war demanding efforts at reconciliation on the part of the British. Political differences do demand solution, and the differences at present existing between the programme of the Muslim League and the ideas of others—Hindus or Muslims— have to be solved by discussions among duly authorized representatives leading to a final and binding solution. The oft-repeated request that Congress and League should heal their differences is a camouflage so long as there is no willingness to set up a duly authorized body representative of the people to come to final decisions.

"If it were a question of enmity and ill-will we should seek to bring about reconciliation among warring individuals and leaders. But as this is not the case and as I say emphatically it is only a difference of political objective and method, the only way to solve it is by authorized representatives meeting, discussing and agreeing or agreeing to differ and referring to arbitration. This is the reason behind our demand

for constituent assembly. If Britain is not inclined to allow these political differences to be solved she will not set up such an assembly, but continue to ask unauthorized leaders and unofficial bodies to become friends. If, on the contrary, the British mean business and desire that we should soon have a constitution by agreement and a status equal to any other free state, and such as what would be appropriate to India's civilization and world-position, they should ask their Government to take steps to stop the present drift and direct the convening of such a representative assembly as we have suggested. This is the only way for a lasting settlement consistent with the principle of peace and self-determination. So long as Britain is not willing to do this she cannot be said to be 'labouring wholeheartedly' for a solution. What India thinks is that the vested interests of Britishers is preventing a wholehearted effort in this direction. Lord Zetland's statement has not served to dispel these doubts."—*A. P.*

Respecting the latter Lord Zetland said, "The goal to which we set ourselves is to aid the people of India to acquire a measure of political unity, which will enable her to take her place as a great self-governing Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations."

It is to be noted that, according to Lord Zetland, the British intention is to aid the people of India to acquire, *not complete political unity*, but only " a measure of political unity. "

According to British politicians, that India has any unity at all is a British achievement. Assuming without admitting that it is so, that unity appears to have alarmed British imperialists. They are afraid that this unity bodes no good to the British **Empire**. So their endeavour has been to weaken, if not to destroy, this unity. We have to read between the lines of some paragraphs of the *Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform,* on which the Government of India Act of 1935 was based, for clear indications of this endeavour. In paragraph 26, vol. i, of that Parliamentary report, it is said :—

"We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India. but in transferring so many of the powers of government to the Provinces, and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, **we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity."**

It is no doubt said in the next sentence,

"Provincial Autonomy is, in fact, an inconceivable policy unless it is accompanied by such an adaptation of the structure of the Central Legislature as will bind these autonomous units together."

But the arrangements made for binding these units together are to facilitate their control for imperial purposes, not for promoting or keeping intact the political unity of Indians. And the members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee themselves doubted whether what they wanted to do would give to Indians and India a sense of political unity, as the following sentences from paragraph 41 (vol. i) of their Report shows :—

"41. We cannot leave this subject without asking the vital question which Parliament will have to answer : whether a Central Government of India constituted as we propose would fulfil the condition we have already laid down—whether it would provide a Central authority strong enough to maintain the unity of India and to protect all classes of her citizens. That question cannot be answered apart from a consideration of the strength or weakness of the Central Government as it now exists. As our enquiries have proceeded, we have been increasingly impressed, not by the strength of the Central Government as at present constituted, but by its weakness . . . . Indeed, the main problem which, in this sphere, Parliament has got to consider is how to strengthen an already weakening Central Executive. We believe that the Central Government which we recommend will be stronger than the existing Government and we see no other way in which it could be strengthened."

The anxiety of the Committee was to strengthen the Central Executive Government sufficiently to enable it to hold the different parts of India together—a thing very different from promoting and keeping intact Indian national unity.

The provinces have been spoken of as autonomous. Many Congress ministers, when in power, complained that they did not possess sufficient power to do good to the people entrusted to their charge and that provincial autonomy was, in part, a misnomer.

Continuing Lord Zetland said:

"Under the Government of India Act the government of the Provinces of British India was transferred to Indian Ministries responsible to Indian Parliaments and the Act also contained provisions for bringing both Provinces and States into a single great Indian Federation. But here difficulties have arisen. There are three main political forces, whose co-operation is essential to the establishment of Federation, namely, the Indian National Congress, the Princes and the All-India Moslem League. All these three bodies have for different reasons raised objections to the Federal provisions of the Act with the result that, on the one hand, the Congress is now demanding not the status of a Dominion, but complete independence and a political constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly; on the other hand the Moslem community refuse to contemplate any such solution and demand a separate Moslem State.

There are at least two untrue statements in this paragraph.

Ever since the Congress passed its Independence resolution at its Lahore session some eleven years ago, *it* has never asked for anything less than independence. Gandhiji once no doubt wrote that he would be satisfied with the substance of independence and he thought Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety would give India that substance. But

that was his personal opinion, and he has written in *Harijan* that he no longer holds that opinion. When Lord Zetland says that "the Congress is *now* demanding....complete independence", it is implied that the Congress used to demand something less, which is not true.

He says, "the Muslim *community*......demand a separate Moslem State." This is false. It is only Mr. Jinnah and his followers in the Moslem League—not *all* Moslem Leaguers—who want a separate Moslem State. And the Muslim League itself represents a minority of Muslims. The vast majority of vocal and politically-minded Moslems, whether leaders or those belonging to the rank and file, have condemned the Pakistan scheme.

In fact, even so far as Mr. Jinnah is concerned, it is the secret support of the British bureaucracy and imperialists which encourages Mr. Jinnah to persist in his error.

As regards German propaganda,

> Lord Zetland added, "It is, of course, natural that German propagandist should attempt to make capital out of these political difficulties; but one would have thought that even Dr. Goebbels and his friends, devoid of all sense of humour though they be, would have realized the laughing-stock which they make of themselves, when they parade themselves before the world as champions of freedom, where India is concerned. The true nature of their sympathy for Indians was made manifest only the other day, when having released with great blowing of trumpets a number of Indian seamen they "then proceeded with the utmost brutality to bomb the steamship "Domala," in which these unfortunate people were sailing for home."
>
> Lord Zetland quoted for the benefit of Nazi propagandists the official organ of the Indian National Congress which said "India does not disdain world's sympathy, but let it not come from the Nazis."
>
> Lord Zetland concluded "The truth is that India stands united in her hatred of the Nazi regime and is contributing magnificently towards Allied victory."

It is undoubtedly true that it is ridiculous for the Nazis "to parade themselves before the world as champions of freedom, where India is concerned," or, for that matter, where any other country is concerned. But is it very convincing when British imperialists parade themselves before the world as champions of freedom where India is concerned ? They are no doubt sincere champions of freedom where their own nation is concerned and some of their European friends are concerned. But when they cross the Suez Canal, it is another matter.

India Debate in the Lords

In the House of Lords, on the 18th April last, Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, introduced a motion asking Parliament to approve, in accordance with the provisions of Section 93 (3) (B) of the Indian Constitution Act, the continuance in force of the Proclamations empowering Provincial Governors in British India to assume powers of the Government for a further period not exceeding twelve months.

In his speech on the motion his lordship did not say anything which he had not said before or which has not been criticized in this country more than once. So we do not propose to examine his speech in detail.

Repeated Offer of Dominion Status

Lord Zetland repeated the offer of Dominion Status. Why repeat the offer ? There was no offer of the Government of India Act of 1935—no Indian party or organization was asked whether it would be acceptable to them. It was simply imposed on all Indians. Why not, in the same way, impose Dominion Status on India ? That would at least prove that the British Government were serious and sincere in their talk of Dominion Status.

And then, what kind of Dominion Status ? Of course, there is the academic reply that after the enactment of the Westminster Statute there is only one kind of Dominion Status, namely, that which conforms to that statute. But what guarantee is there that in conferring Dominion Status on India Parliament will not make it a lower status than what the existing dominions enjoy ? We ask this question, because in explaining why the British Government "cannot dissociate" themselves "from the shaping of the future constitution of the country", his lordship said among other things :

> "There is the question of defence of the country which for the time being, at any rate, and possibly for many years to come an independent India wholly dissociated from Great Britain would admittedly not be in a position to secure."

None of the existing Dominions, not even Great Britain herself, is capable of self-defence without extraneous help. Yet the army of every Dominion is under its sole control and even small independent countries are sole masters of their own armies. Therefore, the question of defence need not be raised whether Dominion Status or Independence be contemplated as India's goal. That it has been raised shows that Lord Zetland was thinking of a kind of Dominion Status in which control over the Indian army was to be reserved for the Foreign Executive.

Door Always Open

Lord Zetland said that the door was not closed, it was always open.

Yes, we are always at liberty to walk into the Imperialists' parlour.

Not Dictation, but Consultation and Negotiation

In saying that the British Government could not think of dictating to or imposing a constitution upon Indians, Lord Zetland made particular mention of the 80 millions of Muslims. Of course, nothing could be imposed upon them, though everything could be imposed upon thrice as many Hindus. Why? Let the Hindus find the answer for themselves.

It is very good of the British Government to say that they do not want to dictate, but only to negotiate and consult. But who will determine the final result of the negotiations and consultations? Of course, the British Government. And the outcome may be another Communal Decision!

The Round Table Conferences resulted in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's inability to accept the recommendations of even what that Committee called the "Moderates," namely, the Aga Khan and his colleague. Let the Committee speak. We quote from paragraph 42, Vol. I, of their Report:

> "Indeed, we recognize that even moderate opinion in India has advocated and hoped for a simpler and more sweeping transfer of power than we have felt able to recommend."

Similar most probably would be the result of the consultations and negotiations which Lord Zetland had in view when he spoke. And it is, of course, understood that the parties and men with whom the negotiations and consultations are to be held, would be chosen by the British Government. That would facilitate the announcement after endless talks that as the parties had not been able to agree among themselves, the Prime Minister felt reluctantly compelled to make known his Decision!

Lord Zetland " Appreciates " Grounds for Pakistan Proposal!

Referring to the Pakistan scheme, Lord Zetland observed:

> "I am bound to say that while I fully appreciate the grounds on which this proposal is based, I cannot but regard it as constituting something not far short of a counsel of despair,......"

Many thanks for even this faint disapproval. In the House of Commons Mr. Wedgwood Benn's disapproval was slightly more outspoken. Said he:

> What is the Muslim scheme put forward by Mr. Jinnah? At the moment when Europe is considering Federation, when America and the whole new world have been drawing closer together, when we find our Commonwealth more tenacious and united than ever, to come forward with a proposal to divide India into Sovereign States by race and religion, is perfectly hopeless. And it is as well that it should be said plainly in this House that it will not find any support in this country."

But we are sure Mr. Jinnah will find Lord Zetland's 'appreciation' quite heartening. As we have said before, it is secret British imperialist support which encourages Mr. Jinnah to persist in his erratic course. To Lord Zetland must be given the distinction that he has been able to appreciate what even no Muslim leader outside the few die-hards of the Muslim League have been able to approve of.

Sir Stanley Reed's Absurdity in the Commons

In the course of the India debate in the House of Commons Sir Stanley Reed stated:

> "I feel the Act of 1935 was a great Act and the greatest devolution of authority from the mother country to a Dominion that has ever been made in our history. But the fact remains that so far from inducing unity in India, which was in view when Parliament passed the Act, it has left communities more widely asunder."

It is absolutely false to say that the Government of India Act of 1935 was "the greatest devolution of authority from the mother country to a Dominion that has ever been made in our history", that is, British history. The people of every Dominion now have greater authority in the affairs of their country than the people of India, which is *not* a Dominion, have in theirs; and the original devolution of power in each Dominion was greater than it has been in India. It is the height of absurdity to speak of Britain as the mother country of India. Sir Stanley Reed may think that a so-called daughter can be much older than her so-called mother, and can belong to a different race, but sane men do not.

As to the devolution of authority in India we repeat the following sentence from paragraph 42, Vol. I, of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on which the Government of India Act of 1935 was based:

> "Indeed, we recognize that even moderate opinion in India has advocated and hoped for a simpler and

more sweeping transfer of power than we have felt able to recommend."

According to Sir Stanley Reed there was devolution of less authority in the Dominions than in India. Is it implied in his observation that the Act, far from inducing unity in India has left communities more widely asunder, that if there had been devolution of less power in India there would have been greater unity? Indian Nationalists think that the Act has induced greater disunity in the country than what existed ever before, because of the Communal Decision which is its foundation. Indian Nationalists also think that when passing the Act Parliament had *not* in view the inducing of unity but rather its opposite.

Sri C. Rajagopalachariar on the India Debate

BOMBAY, April 21.

The declaration that the Indian problem is capable of solution provided British statesmen approach it without any mental reservations, was made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari addressing the progressive group here today. A garden party was arranged for the occasion and prominent citizens, Europeans and Indians, attended it.

Mr. Rajagopalachari in the course of his speech, asserted that the picture of India which was made out in the latest Parliamentary debate was not a correct picture and he expressed the doubt if the debate was not meant for countries other than India.

"Britain tries to paint a different picture of India than what she is," he said. He added "they wish to paint it as if we are here two warring groups and the moment Britain satisfies one party, there will be a great disturbance in India for which England will have to answer to God."

"The idea is sought to be given to people elsewhere that we are a different and difficult kind of people and that as a result of Congress mismanagement the country is divided into two warring groups. They used words to picture India as though she is on the brink of a great internal revolution which would result in the death of a million people if the British Government were to grant the Congress demand."—*A. P.*

Rajaji on Britain's United Front

In the course of the same speech Rajaji observed:

The tenor of the debate in the Houses of Parliament appeared to him said Mr. Rajagopalachari, that the Secretary of State, the Opposition party leaders and others had already decided to present a united front on the Indian issue. The Dominion Status that was offered had the distinction in that England will be in charge of the defence of India and External Relations and will be responsible for the protection and safeguarding the rights of the minorities. And above all England asked: "How can we disengage of the responsibilities of the Princes." The above were only samples to which many more could be added. The Muslims were there and so were the scheduled castes and even the resolution of the Liberal Federation was quoted in the Parliamentary debates. The Liberal Federation represented no constituency but it was composed of well-known individuals. So the Dominion Status, with all the reservations hedged in, was nothing more than but definitely something less than another variety of the Government of India Act.

So far as India's demand of self-rule is concerned, we have always thought that the opposing British Parliamentary parties, even when they do oppose each other, are like Rām and Rāvan in our theatricals, who fight before the audience but are 'hail-fellow-well-met' in the green-room.

Rajaji on the Offer of Dominion Status

On the offer of Dominion Status and the kind of Dominion Status alleged to have been offered, Rajaji had much to say:

Referring to the latest Parliamentary debate, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that he had nothing but admiration for the ability displayed by the British statesmen. They had cleverly managed things as to make others believe that England had been truthful towards India. It was stated that England had offered Dominion Status. Dominion Status meant that the community in India as in other parts of the Empire would be equal and subordinate to none, either in internal or external affairs. This Dominion Status had been offered to India which India rejected.

This was the statement that the British Government wanted the rest of the world to believe. He asked whether Dominion Status as interpreted by Lord Balfour and described as the Westminster Variety was offered to India. A reference to this was made by Lord Linlithgow in the Orient Club speech in Bombay. But was it an offer, he asked.

Mr. Rajagopalachari compared the offer to a cartoon he saw in a newspaper. The cartoon portrayed the Viceroy riding the donkey of India with a stick in which a turnip was strung which dangled before the beast. The poor animal walked on but the turnip also moved on. The turnip was Dominion Status.

Explaining the Congress resolution Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the Congress had expressed itself against Dominion Status or any other status within the Empire. But it was wrong to suggest that the British Government had made an offer of Dominion Status which the Congress rejected.

Rabindranath Tagore on "The Situation"

'Paristhiti' or 'The Situation' is a poem contributed by Rabindranath Tagore to the current Baisākh number of the Bengali magazine *Prabāsi*,—published on the 13th April last. It is a satire in the form of a nursery rhyme on the party dissensions, conflicts and recriminations and the mutual journalistic vilifications prevalent in the country,

particularly in Bengal. It was composed on the 9th March this year. It is a humorous but nonetheless strong condemnation of the tendencies and activities which promote disunion.

Rabindranath Tagore on Many Students and Their Mis-leaders

On the 3rd March last at Bankura Rabindranath Tagore addressed a large gathering of students. They listened with respectful silence to his severe indictment of the misleaders of our student community and the turbulence and indiscipline which a large section of misguided students has been manifesting under such harmful leadership. There is activity among these students, but not of the beneficial fruitful variety.

The current Baisākh number of *Prabāsī* contains a condensed report of the Poet's speech corrected and partly re-written by himself.

Rabindranath Tagore on Bengali New Year's Day

SANTINIKETAN, April 14.

"Though for the present the forces of evil might seem to triumph, the time is not far away when righteousness will reclaim itself," said Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, conducting the New Year's Service at the Mandir this morning.

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"In wishing you good health and long life I pray that you may be spared to humanity for many more years to come, so that you may spread over widening areas of the world, the benign influence of your love of peace and fellowship and also propagate your noble ideas in the fields of education and culture. May you hold up a beaconlight to this benighted and suffering world for ever and ever."

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Rejoicing hail your eighty years of life,
In youth and strength of spirit blessed still.
As the Lord Buddha chanted, so we pray,
'Measureless may your life be,' for your heart
Holds all humanity in large embrace.
Sprung from the same deep root in ancient times
China and India stand : Now late in time
You come to show to each its brother's glory,
Each unto each his greatness, wisdom, wealth.
No task is this for common souls ; your place
Is with the prophets and the Lords of men
Whose visiting shines amid our desert world
As pure gems in the Ganges' numberless sands.—*U.P.*

All-India Library Conference at Patna

The All-India Library Conference was held this year at Patna last month. An exhibition of manuscripts and rare books was opened there in the University Library.

The Exhibition contained collections from a number of local institutions. The Patna School of Arts exhibited the pictures representing the glory of Bihar.

The Jain Oriental Library of Arrah exhibited Jain Ramayana about 300 years old and writings on palm leaves and dice, etc., among other things. Among the collection of the Maheshwar Public Library, were mathematical magics, a book printed in 1691, newspaper cuttings arranged alphabetically, a diminutive Gita of 1,000 pages.

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Some of the important resolutions passed at the Conference are :

Resolved that Universities, where part-time or Honorary Librarians are in charge of University Libraries, be requested through the Inter-University Board to abolish that system and to have whole-time and paid Librarians.

Resolved that the central and provincial Governments and Indian States be requested to create a Department of Libraries for the establishment, maintenance, and extension of Library service, and to extend facilities to the public for the use of departmental libraries, under their control, as far as practicable.

Resolved that a sub-committee be appointed to explore the possibilities of establishing free public libraries in at least all provincial capitals. The sub-committee is authorised to frame a model Indian Libraries Act to further the cause of free public library movement.

The Indian Librarian Association was authorised to take necessary steps in this direction.

This Conference while appreciating the efforts of Dr. Mahmud and the Government of Bihar towards Mass Literacy urges upon it to help the Bihar Library Association and the Library movement in the province to encourage the establishment of more libraries for the new literates.

The U. P. Government subscribes for and supplies to its free libraries hundreds of copies of leading vernacular periodicals. Bihar and other Governments which have established or may establish free libraries should follow the example of the U. P. Government.

"Premeditated Incendiarism and Plunder" In Nizam's Territory

BOMBAY, April 20.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is here in connection with the session of the National Planning Committee has issued the following statement :

"The *Holi* day on March 23 last saw a strange and tragic happening at Bidar in Hyderabad State to which little attention has been paid in the press. Some newspapers have had reports, but the *Associated Press* has not troubled itself in the matter, and this silence about a major important occurrence is deserving of enquiry.

DELIBERATE MISCHIEF

"On that day following a petty altercation between some boys a large mob directed by well-known persons collected at the heart of the Bazar and deliberately set fire to 117 houses and shops which were burnt down with a loss of over fifty lakhs of rupees. Bidar is not an out of the way place. It is the headquarters of the district. For over three hours, the mob looted and burnt, and none tried to check them. Policeman, it is said, looked on. After the work of destruction was completed, the curfew order was promulgated which in effect prevented owners of shops and houses from going to the burning heap and attempting to rescue what they could. Those fires burnt on for many days.

"It is clear that this burning was a calculated and premeditated affair. It could not have taken place otherwise in such organised and deliberate way as is indicated.

DEPLORABLE ATTITUDE

"The attitude of the Hyderabad Government was significant. They seemed, however, to attach no great importance to this ghastly deed. They tried, however, to prevent news from going abroad. No help was given by them to the sufferers and a reasonable demand for an impartial enquiry and compensation was turned down. A very high official who was passing near Bidar did not care to go to the spot where fires still smouldered although requested to do so. Meanwhile, 2,000 merchants and others, deprived of what they possessed, left Bidar and have taken to villages. What the Hyderabad State will do further in the matter I don't know. But this tragedy has thrown a lurid light on the conditions that prevail in this premier state of India

particularly in Bengal. It was composed on the 9th March this year. It is a humorous but nonetheless strong condemnation of the tendencies and activities which promote disunion.

Rabindranath Tagore on Many Students and Their Mis-leaders

On the 3rd March last at Bankura Rabindranath Tagore addressed a large gathering of students. They listened with respectful silence to his severe indictment of the misleaders of our student community and the turbulence and indiscipline which a large section of misguided students has been manifesting under such harmful leadership. There is activity among these students, but not of the beneficial fruitful variety.

The current Baisākh number of *Prabāsī* contains a condensed report of the Poet's speech corrected and partly re-written by himself.

Rabindranath Tagore on Bengali New Year's Day

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which is premier not only in size, but in backwardness and medievalism. Do mobs take the place of Government in this State? And do they have passive or a active support of the representatives of the authority? This is a negation of Government, and of all decency. One's sympathy goes to the unfortunate people of the State who have to endure this."—*U. P.*

What remedy do the Congress High Command suggest for this state of things? Have they taken any steps? If the people think of resorting to some sort of direct action, will they be dissuaded by the Congress High Command on grounds similar to those on which the Hyderabad State Congress was directed to call off satyāgraha?

Why Gandhiji Delays Civil Disobedience

BOMBAY, April 20.

The Civil Disobedience movement is being delayed for want of preparation, says Mahatma Gandhi in today's *Harijan* replying to a correspondent who asks whether "it is right to delay the struggle till our best workers are picked off one by one and thus lose the fight without striking a blow."

Agreeing with the correspondent that there are instances justifying Civil Disobedience, Mahatma Gandhi says: "But Civil Disobedience is not being delayed for want of justification. It is being delayed for want of preparation. I should be a stupid general if I began the fight in spite of my knowledge that my resources are poor.

"If the leaders are picked off by the Government without just cause, it would mean an invitation to the Congress to fight. I would not answer the invitation if I were not ready. The leaders being picked off can do the country no harm. For we know that disciplined jail going is itself a part of the struggle.

"Moreover, the imprisonment of leaders will test our strength as an organisation. A non-violent organisation implies the equal education and, therefore, equal fitness of all units. That we have not arrived at that stage shows our ignorance of the working of non-violence."—*A. P.*

The Value of Jute to Bengal

On Saturday the 20th of April last Pandit Jiwanlal, secretary, East India Jute Association, delivered an important address on the value of jute to Bengal at the Calcutta Corporation Commercial Museum. In the course of his speech he observed:

"If Bengali young men are to divert their attention to the jute trade they will find that it can prove to be of as much benefit to them as it has been to other sections of the Indian community in Bengal. There are thousands of educated young men going about in quest of employment. It is highly deplorable that the educated section of the Bengali community have not yet been able to fully recognise the value of the jute trade in the industry of this province. People from foreign countries set up firms and trading offices, thus making large fortunes out of this trade, while the sons of Bengal are unable to get anything out of this trade and industry of this commodity which has come to be known as the golden fibre of Bengal. The more interest the people take in this question the more benefit they will derive from this industry."

Continuing Pandit Jiwanlal asserted that after the declaration of war no commodity produced by India had received greater attention or assumed more importance than jute. The question arose, the speaker added, whether such a precious industry was being looked after to the extent that it deserved by the Government of the country and whether it brought in to the people and the peasantry the amount of money which its monopoly should enable them to command from foreign purchasers of this commodity. The jute cultivators of Bengal had suffered during the past not because a minimum price for their jute could not be fixed by Government but because they have had no organisation to keep their production under proper control. There were certain other things which were required to enable the grower to get a fair price for his produce.

Sj. Jnananjan Neogy, Officer-in-charge, Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation thanked the speaker as well as the President for the trouble they have taken to come to the meeting and the interest they have evinced in the subject. The function terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.—*U. P.*

As president of the meeting, Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee thanked the speaker for telling Bengalis, particularly Bengali young men, some truths which were unpleasant to hear but would do them good if listened to in the way they should be. He suggested that from the primary schools up to the University Post-graduate department in Arts detailed knowledge should be made available to the pupils and students about the cultivation of jute, the placing of the raw jute in the market, trade in raw jute, manufacture of jute goods, and the sale of such goods. No student in Bengal should be given a University degree in economics unless he possesses adequate knowledge of the jute business.

Co-operative Societies in Bengal

Sj. Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, whose knowledge of the Co-operative Movement in Bengal is second to that of no other publicist in the Province, has uttered a grave note of warning in the Press in view of the reactionary and harmful character of the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill. Says he, in part:

Co-operative societies are understood to be autonomous bodies managed by their members. It was the original intention of the promoters of the co-operative movement in India that the control that Government exercised over it in the beginning would be gradually reduced. Although close upon four decades have elapsed since the movement was started by Government in this country, instead of any relaxation, there has been gradual increase, of this control.

The Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill which is now on the legislative anvil embodies provisions which seek further to tighten the control that Government exercises over the movement. The Bill not only runs counter to the enlightened and liberal policy laid down by the sponsors of the movement as the guiding condition of future progress and development but, in fact, it seeks to convert co-operative societies in the Province into so many departmentally managed concerns and non-official co-operative workers into servile tools of the co-operative department.

He advises the taking of action along well-considered lines in view of the circumstances detailed below.

In view of the deplorable condition of co-operative societies in Bengal; of the sorry plight in which depositors of these societies have been placed, most of the societies being unable to repay their deposits; of the charges that have from time to time been made against the irresponsible and arbitrary way in which co-operative societies are being managed and controlled by the department; of the abuses that have cropped up round the department and the societies—charges that the department has so far been unable to meet,—and the fact that the passing of the proposed co-operative bill along with a continuance of the present policy would, for all practical purposes, be tantamount to sounding the death-knell of the co-operative movement in this province, it is felt that the time has come when non-officials interested in the proper development of the movement should put their heads together with the object of devising measures for promoting a genuine co-operative movement and securing its advance along right lines and for averting the calamity that threatens a large number of members and depositors as a result of the policy followed by the department.

" Last Article " by Dinabandhu Andrews

In reproducing the concluding paragraphs of Mr. C. F. Andrews' article on " Poland and the War " *in the last December number of The Modern Review, Hindusthan Standard* observes : " Perhaps this was his last article." We do not know exactly what his last article was, but *The Modern Review* has published the following articles from his pen *this year* :

January : The World Outlook Today : America.
February : The World Outlook Today : India.
Raja Rammohun Roy.
March : Dadabhai Naoroji.
April : Sir R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu.
Lala Har Dayal.

Bengal Landholders' Plan of Action

In the course of his presidential address at the eleventh Annual General meeting of the Sundarban Landholders' Association, held on the 18th April last, Dr. S. C. Law dwelt at length on the present plight of the landlords and said in conclusion :

" For all the noisy clamour that one hears against the zamindars, we are not yet without substantial influence and power in the province. It is up to us to use it to the best advantage of society and also of ourselves on a farsighted interpretation of our interests. If we take up this programme with seriousness and earnestness we shall certainly capture a large number of seats in the legislature and the local bodies. That will rehabilitate our position. Our forefathers created their position not by seeking self-aggrandizement but by seeking to serve society and the people. We must revive that ideal of public service and vigorous participation in public life."

Dr. Law is right in thinking that the best way to become influential is to serve society by vigorous participation in public life for the good of the people.

Inter-University Board on Archives and History of Medicine

The Inter-University Board of India has, it is understood, requested the different Indian Universities to offer a few stipends to advanced students of history in order to enable them to avail themselves of the facilities afforded by the Imperial Record Department for training in the principles and methods of Archives administration as well as the scientific use of records in original investigations.

The Board has also sought the opinion of the Universities on the proposed course of extension lectures at the commencement of every academic year for presenting to the students and junior practitioners a general outline of the origin and growth of medicine with special reference to and a detailed discussion of, the various epochs of Indian civilization and their contribution to the knowledge of the science and art of medicine, as well as the changing methods of affording medical relief for fighting epidemics.

Their opinion as to the desirability of arranging for the exchange of professors and other teachers between different Indian universities, has also been asked by the Board.

The Teaching of and Practical Training in Archaeology

A very important subject to which the Inter-University Board should turn its attention is the teaching of Archæology and training in archæological field work and museology in all our universities. In every province and many districts there are sites which require excavation and exploration in the interest of the past history of India. In many places old sculptures lie on the surface of the soil with nobody to care for or properly study them. The Archæological Survey Department of the Government of India is under a competent Director-General. But what can he and his department do with the

meagre amount budgeted by the Government for archæological work ? Hence it is necessary to have educated private enterprise in this very necessary field of national endeavour.

Bose National Week Ban on Bengal Press

A notification published in a *Calcutta Gazette* Extraordinary, issued on the 5th April last, prohibited editors of newspapers in Bengal from publishing the whole or any part of any programmme for the National Week, issued by the (suspended) Bengal Provincial Congress Committee or any body affiliated thereto or connected therewith or Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Swami Sahajananda or either of them or any organisation with which they are or either of them is connected, or any programme identical with, or based on, or substantially similar to, or reproducing part or the whole of, any such programme, etc., etc.

The following is the text of the order :

> Government of Bengal.
> Home Department Political (Press).
> Order to all Printers, Publishers and Editors in Bengal.
> No. 2097P.—5th April, 1940.—In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor is pleased to prohibit absolutely the printing or publishing within the Province of Bengal of—
> (1) any document containing a reference by way of statement, advertisement, notice, news, comment or otherwise to —
> (*a*) the whole or any part of any programme for the so-called "National Week, 1940," issued by or on behalf of the (suspended) Bengal Provincial Congress Committee or any body affiliated thereto or connected therewith or Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Swami Sahajananda or either of them or any organization with which they are or either of them is connected or any programme identical with, or based on, or substantially similar to, or reproducing part or the whole of, any such programme; and
> (*b*) any procession, meeting, assembly or demonstration held, speech delivered, or thing done or omitted to be done in connection or in accordance with or for the furtherance of any programme referred to in sub-clause (*a*) or part of such programme; and
> (2) any document containing a reference by way of comment to this order.
>
> By order of the Governor,
> H. J. Twynam,
> Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Hindu Mahasabha's Conditions for Co-operation With the Congress

In the course of a long statement released to the Press on the 14th April last Sj. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar lays down the conditions on which the Hindu Mahasabha can co-operate with the Congress. He has done so, because—

> "Numerous Congressite Hindus have been questioning me throughout my tours with a well meaning anxiety whether a way could be found to secure a hearty co-operation between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian National Congress instead of having these two great National bodies ranged into opposite camps. I promised to these friends that I would issue a public statement in general instead of replying to each individual so that it might reach a much wider circle of such well meaning Hindus in the Congress camp."

The conditions are that the Congress is to declare its adhesion to the fundamental national principles, enunciated by him, "pointing out sternly 'thus far and no farther'", and to shape its policy accordingly.

Sj. Savarkar defines these "fundamental national principles" as :

> (*a*) India should be one and indivisible as a political unit with a strong and well-knit Central Government invested with such prestige and power as to enable it to maintain unity and freedom, integrity of the national Indian State, and command a harmonious co-ordination of its different provincial constituents.
>
> (*b*) All Indians should be treated alike as Indian citizens, having equal fundamental rights and duties, irrespective of caste or creed, race or religion, so that there will be no question at all of a communal majority or a communal minority. Failing which the only alternative is : laying it down that all communities—not only the minorities but even the majority community—should be granted explicit safeguards guaranteeing equal freedom regarding their respective religious, cultural and linguistic life : all political representation will be based on the only definitely ascertainable and just principle of the proportion which their respective populations bear to each other : the public services also may follow the same proportion but only in so far as it is consistent with personal merit and public efficiency.
>
> (*c*) So long as there is no electorate based on one of the above national principles, the Congress should refuse to seek election on behalf of any communal constituency, but should leave the Hindu and Muslim organizations to elect their respective representatives through their communal constituencies."

Continuing Mr Savarkar says : "If the Congress declares its adhesion to these fundamental national principles pointing out sternly 'thus far : and no farther' and shapes its policy accordingly—the Hindu Mahasabha will ever be found prepared to extend healthy and hearty co-operation to any such really national institution. Because the Hindu Mahasabha claims nothing for the Hindus which is not nationally their due and it denies nothing to the Muslims which is nationally due to them either on the principles of merit or population."

He concludes by asking : "Will the Indian National Congress accept the conditions laid down above and assume the role of a veritable 'Indian National Congress'?"—*A. P.*

China's Two Wars, And India's ?

The object of one war in which the Chinese have been engaged for more than two years is twofold. One object is to prevent the conquest by the Japanese of the provinces and regions of China which Japan has not yet been able to occupy. The other object is to recover from the Japanese the regions which they now occupy. So China's war is a War of Independence in two senses: to preserve the independence of that part, the greater part, of the country which Japan has not yet been able to invade and occupy; and to make that part again independent which is now under a foreign yoke.

In the course of this war of independence China's loss in men and material wealth has been vastly greater than any that any other single country ever sustained in any war of similar or even longer duration known in history.

Yet, in spite of being engaged in this terrible literally life-and-death struggle, China has declared another war, namely, War On Illiteracy. Why so ? Because she knows that precious as Independence is, Literacy and Knowledge are also precious—precious in themselves and precious as instruments for the maintenance and recovery of Independence. So though she knows that it is necessary to concentrate her energies and resources on winning the War of Independence, she has thought it necessary to and can still spare men and resources to win the other war, the War on Illiteracy.

We learn from the latest issue of the No-frontier News Service that, in spite of the war, and partly with the help of teachers and students who came as refugees from the Japanese-occupied territories, the Chinese government is organizing a huge anti-illiteracy campaign in ten provinces. In Chungking no fewer than 15,315 adults passed the literacy examinations last November, and the renewed drive is expected to push ahead all phases of the campaign. Ten thousand persons are attending classes. The total number of illiterates in Chungking was estimated a year ago at 150,000. In the province of Kwangsi the number of illiterates had already been brought down from 3,369,999 in 1935 to 1,863,995 in 1939. There are now 5,950 teachers busy with adult classes. The expense for training these people is only 50 cents per person. In Shensi it is hoped that illiteracy will be almost entirely "liquidated" before the end of 1940. One of the great difficulties is, of course, the threatened need of evacuation; Chungking's shift of population in order to reduce the remaining number of residents to the point of safety and protection for all, will create serious problems for those in charge of the anti-illiteracy crusade. *"But if the spirit that has animated the campaign thus far still endures, not even war will stop this other war against illiteracy."*

We shall not insult the intelligence of our readers by instituting a comparison between China's War of Independence and India's mostly-on-paper and non-violent War of Independence. We will only say this that, if China in the midst of a most devastating war thinks it indispensably necessary to wage war on illiteracy and can spare men and resources for victory in it, how much more should we do to liquidate illiteracy in our country.

The waste of energy, the misuse, the harmful use of energy, conspicuous in all directions in our country is depressing in the extreme.

Yet we must hope against hope and wait for the dawning of sense among all who can work for the country.

Machines More Precious Than Men !

Already, with the war less by far than a year old, the press reports virtually ignore men lost in plane battles and crashes, and refer merely to the tragic and serious loss of machines, or else the ease with which they can be replaced. Here is an example, from *The Spectator* : "The scale of air-warfare up-to-date, and the potentialities of air-warfare in the future, will be put in their right proportions if it is realized that in all the fighting—North Sea, Heligoland Bight, Western Front—neither side has . . . . lost in machines the equivalent of anything like a week's or half a week's production." (No-frontier News Service.)

Ultimate Effects of the War on The British Commonwealth

The British Dominions at War, a Foreign Policy Report, published from New York, concludes :

> The ultimate effects of the war on the political structure of the Commonwealth will be largely conditioned by economic developments. Two conflicting tendencies have been present in the past twenty years ; the growth of economic nationalism in each of the Dominions, because of the rise of local industries and consequent demand for tariff protection ; and the growth of an Empire economy, because of the desire to protect the sterling currency and to combat competition from non-British countries. The first tendency, a direct result of the World War, was checked in the Ottawa agreements of 1932, by means of which Great Britain

and the Dominions—through imperial preferences in tariffs and quotas—considerably increased inter-Empire trade. It is too early to predict whether this development of an Empire economy, now expanded—by means of the Allied Economic Council and its executive sub-committees—to include the French Empire, will continue once the pressure of war is eliminated. It is possible that economic nationalism might reappear in the different Dominions, if they again suffered a post-war depression because of over-expansion of agricultural and industrial production. Both the political and economic problems confronting the Commonwealth, however, await a military decision in Europe.

Silver Jubilee of Vanita Vishram Society

The Vanita Vishram Society of Bombay celebrated its Silver Jubilee last month. We thank the Society for its very well got-up and profusely illustrated souvenir volume and a short history of its activities during the last 25 years. The origin of the Society is thus described :

In the year 1907 Shrimati Shivgauri K. Gajjar, (the sister of the late Professor T. K. Gajjar), and Behen Bajigauri D. Munshi conceived the idea of founding an Institution at Surat with the object of ameliorating the condition of Hindu widows by giving them literary, moral and religious education and inculcating in them the spirit of service and sacrifice and thereby making them useful and important members of the Hindu Society.

The two ladies dedicated their lives to the noble object, set before themselves, and gave their all, including their stridhan, for the purpose of founding an Ashram for widows and other needy women and girls at Surat.

The financial position of the Society has been thus summarized :

The capital of the funds of the Vanita Vishram, including the value of immovable properties at Bombay and Surat, is estimated at Rs. 9 lacs. The total annual expenditure of the Institution including the expenses of the Vernacular and English Schools, the training College and the boarding houses at Surat and Bombay, comes to about Rs. 80,000/-. There is an annual recurring deficit of about Rs. 40,000/- in the income from the securities and immovable properties of the Society, which deficit is being made good from grants received from Government and the Indian Women's University and donations from philanthropic gentlemen and certain charitable institutions of Bombay.

At the Jubilee celebration of the Society many addresses were delivered.

BOMBAY, April 20.

"Work done by individuals, institutions, private committees and unofficial bodies—all these combine to make nations great. If this can be done in India, India would not lag behind other nations. The state where men and women co-operate and co-ordinate their political and social activities, it must forge ahead of other nations." Thus declared Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar presiding over the Silver Jubilee celebrations of 'Vanita Vishram' in the spacious lawn of the 'Vishram.'

Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, President of the 'Vishram,' Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Acharya Kripalani, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. B. G. Kher, Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mrs. Munshi, Mr. Indravaden Mehta, Chief Magistrate and other distinguished persons were present.

Sir Purushottamdas said that Gujerat which had produced great men and great events, had produced this great institution which advanced the cause of women.

Mr. B. G. Kher speaking hoped Mr. Rajagopalachariar would live to see the Golden Jubilee of the institution, and paid tributes to his services and sacrifices.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said that the glory of the ancient Hindusthan was neither created solely by men's efforts, nor could modern India's culture and traditions could be exclusively maintained without getting help of women. Similarly the prosperity of the future India would not exclusively depend upon men's efforts. Women had been through centuries, the guiding stars of great men, and power behind great events.

Mr. Munshi laid stress on the sacrificing spirit of women and observed that such women were the objects of veneration in society.

'Stans or 'Sthans in Abundance

The name Hindusthan and the geographical division of the Earth which it denotes are not things of yesterday. The name Pakistan and the plan behind it are of comparatively very recent date. Since then many other 'stans or 'sthans have been heard of—the products of either a sense of humour or of so-called racialism, or communalism, or fanaticism, or fancy, or what-you-will.

There is Acharya J. B. Kripalani's Zananistan, Begumistan, Paristan, or Naristhān. There is also the Dravidasthān agitation of some persons in Madras. Others are for an Achchhutsthān for the "untouchables." Some are for making Chotanagpur Adibasisthān. Even a proposal for a Studentistan or Chhatrasthān has been published in a daily. The more the merrier.

Congress President on Lord Zetland's India Speech

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, prior to his departure for Calcutta on the 22nd April, issued the following statement to the United Press on Lord Zetland's recent speech in Parliament on India :

"Lord Zetland's speech leaves things where they have been since the breakdown of the negotiations between Lord Linlithgow and Gandhiji in February last.

"I can only say that every difficulty that the Secretary of State raises is completely met by the proposed Constituent Assembly. The issue is simple. Is the British Government prepared to admit the right of self-determination for India ? If she is, then, there

can be only one proper method of finally deciding all the problems, that is, they should be referred to the elected representatives of India. Only such an Assembly can deal with problems relating to Hindus and Muslims and the Indian States.

"But if the British Government is not prepared to accept this position, then, it is clear that they want to hold India by force. In such a case there can be no common ground for mutual understanding. I, therefore, fail to understand why the Secretary of State continues to repeat the difficulty about the minorities and the Princes.

"Who wants the British Government to coerce the minorities against their will? Who says that a decision should be forced on the unwilling Mussalmans? The Congress does not want to dictate its own terms to others. It admits the fullest right of the minorities to formulate their own safeguards. It has no hesitation in admitting the right of the Muslims to determine their own method for safeguarding their rights and interests through their representatives. It only wants the recognition of a correct and democratic method of approach to the problems. The recognised minorities can send their representatives to the Assembly through separate electorates, if they choose to do so. So far as the settlement of their problem is concerned, it would not depend on the vote of the majority."

Congress Working Committee's Resolution

At the conclusion of a four days' session at Wardha the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution on the 18th April last:

"The Working Committee have given full consideration to the situation in the country as it has developed since the Ramgarh Congress and to the necessity for preparing the Congress organisation for Satyagraha which the Ramgarh Congress declared, was inevitable in the future.

"The Committee welcome the steps taken by the Provincial Congress Committees in pursuance of the directions, issued by Gandhiji, to function as Satyagraha Committees and to enrol active and passive Satyagrahis. The Committee trust that all Congress Committees throughout the country will pursue this programme with all earnestness and thoroughness and will put their affairs in order for such action as may be required of them.

"The Committee recommend that those members of Congress executives who are unable to take the prescribed pledge and shoulder the burden of a struggle under the disciplined guidance of the Congress will withdraw from their executive positions.

"The Committee lay stress again on the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by Gandhiji, compliance with which is essential for Civil Disobedience."

Many Congress Committees in the country have already taken steps to implement this resolution and many others are expected to do so shortly.

Calcutta Corporation Elections

It is not possible for us to enter into the details of the recent elections of councillors, aldermen and mayor of the Calcutta Corporation. They have been characterized by absence of principle, unscrupulous intrigue and mutual dirt-throwing.

Bose-League Combine

Assuming that the gods exist and that they laugh and weep, they must be doing both in view of the conclusion of the pact between the Subhas Chandra Bose group and the Moslem League group in the Calcutta Corporation.

In the past we have never grudged our support to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose whenever we could conscientiously accord it to him. But in connection with the Calcutta Corporation elections, we cannot approve of what he has done.

The Congress authorities had declared that they would not nominate any candidates for councillorship and had asked Congressmen not to have anything to do with the elections *as Congressmen*. In spite of this fact the Bose group candidates were called Congress candidates and those among them who have been elected continue to be called Councillors of the Congress party by the Bose group and its organs. This is irregular and improper. Councillors of the Bose group owed their success to a great extent to the improper and unauthorized use of the Congress name.

We are not against but rather for Hindu-Muslim co-operation. But such co-operation can be real and practicable only between those Hindus and Muslims who have in the main the same ideals, principles and object. But the Congress, of which Subhas Babu continues to use the name for his own party purposes, has ideals, principles and object which the Muslim League has been opposing tooth and nail. Congress is for one country, one nation, one political goal. The Muslim League wants to vivisect the country, and professes to believe that there are at least two nations in India, the Hindus and the Muslims, whose political goals are different. The Muslim League has been continually bringing forward charges of oppression of Musalmans in the Congress-administered provinces without being able to substantiate a single charge. When Subhas Babu was president of the Congress he could not arrive at any agreement with Mr. Jinnah owing to the elusive character of the latter.

So far as the Calcutta Corporation is concerned, it has been all along more than an open secret that the Calcutta Municipal Act was amended to destroy, at least to curb, the influence of the Congress and the Hindus in it.

As almost all the Congress Councillors were Hindus, destroying the influence of the Congress was equivalent to destroying the influence of the Hindus. It was natural, therefore, for so distinguished a Congressman as Subhas Babu, who had been twice its president, to solemnly announce that he would launch an agitation against the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill or Act unparalleled in its intensity and power in the history of the country. Far from keeping that promise. he has walked into the parlour of the Muslim League which has humiliated the Congress and the Hindus.

If the Congress and the Hindus had acquired ascendancy in the affairs of the Calcutta Corporation by any inequitable and unrighteous means, if their influence had not been natural and a thing to be expected, nobody could have objected to any legislation to destroy that ascendancy and influence. But the Hindus, from whom the bulk of Congress Councillors came, form the vast majority of the inhabitants and of the rate-payers of Calcutta, most of the revenues of the Corporation come from the pockets of the Hindus, they form the majority of the educated class and of the public-spirited citizens of Calcutta. To seek to destroy their just influence is wicked. Entering into a pact with those who have made a successful attempt in that direction cannot be supported.

Allegations have been made from the side of the Bose group that it was the Hindu Mahasabha group who first tried to conclude a pact with the Muslim League group, but they failed and the Bose group has succeeded. Assuming but not admitting the truth of these allegations, one may interpret them to mean : " It was the other fellows who tried to prove traitors to the cause of nationalism. But they failed, and we have succeeded. Therefore we are entitled to felicitations. "

As a matter of fact the Hindu Mahasabha never entered into or authorized any negotiations with the Muslim League party in the Corporation.

Student's Death Due to Rowdyism At Meeting

At Narayanganj a student named Jyotirmoy Bhowmik has died in consequence of blows on his head received at a public meeting. About a year ago, a similar sad death of a boy took place at Jessore. The usual condemnations of such violence from student platforms and from some of their elders have followed. We do not attach any importance to these condemnations. In furtherance of their own selfish objects and in order to secure the unpaid services of students, many of whom are minors, many " leaders " have not only refrained from restraining the turbulence of these boys but have even encouraged them in their violence when directed against the party opposed to these " leaders." Therefore student indiscipline and turbulence are rampant in the country.

Such rowdyism has been in evidence in public meetings even after the death of Jyotirmoy.

Students' Active Participation in Politics

Our students should undoubtedly have a correct knowledge of politics. They may also have such subsidiary connection with political movements as will not interfere with their studies, which give them the name of students. Active participation in politics and leadership in politics are not for them. When they have finished their educational career, they can take active part in politics and become leaders if they have the requisite ability.

Landlords and peasants, mill-owners and mill-hands, fascists and socialists, etc., may and do have their own separate political programmes and platforms. Students as such, among whom are included all persons who attend educational institutions from the kindergartens to the universities, can have no separate politics of their own. Individually they come from the families of landlords, peasants, capitalists, factory workers, socialists, etc. They can have the politics of either their own guardians or of some other parties indicated above. Our student politicians who consider themselves very advanced and quite competent to teach politics to their seniors, only spout out Marxism or Russian bolshevism, often without any study of these 'isms.' But what is their own originally thought-out special politics ?

Along with those leaders who flatter our boys and students by saying that they are the future hope of the country, we also believe that they are the future hope of the country, provided that they prepare themselves for that future by serious study and work.

The active participation of boys and young students in politics, generally party politics, with their immature and excitable minds and the outbreak of violence in public meetings are not unconnected things. If one desires to strike at the root of the evil, the politics of the elders of the students must be freed from all taint of rowdyism, and students

should have plenty of healthy activity and social service work outside their class-rooms and laboratories, unconnected with politics, particularly with party politics.

They are enemies of boys and young men who employ them in electioneering work, as that generally brings them into contact with the real or imaginary shady side of the record and character of the candidates of opposite parties and sometimes draws them into scenes of mob violence.

Portuguese Octocentenary in Nova Goa

BOMBAY, April 24.

Preparations are being made to celebrate in a fitting manner the double Centenary of Portugal, which completes this year eight centuries of its existence as an independent nation.

The celebrations will commence on the 3rd June and will last to the end of December, 1940. Festivities of various kinds will take place in the capital, Nova Goa, and simultaneously in every town and village of Portuguese India.

The festivities will open with a solemn session on the 3rd June at the Town Hall of Nova Goa, when His Excellency the Governor-General, Colonel Jose Cabral, will deliver a speech. A new monument to Alfonso de Albuquerque, the Conqueror of Goa, will be unveiled at Nova.

The closing ceremony at the end of December will consist of the formal inauguration of a complete system of asphalted roads throughout the country.

The Portuguese may rejoice that they have been independent for eight centuries, whatever that may have been worth. But what is the reason for the rejoicing of their *subjects?* Because they were conquered? The British rulers of India have the saving grace of humour in that they have not yet called upon us to celebrate the battle of Plassey with rejoicings.

The Empire Day is perhaps the British parallel to the Portuguese celebrations.

German Ambition

Germany has been able to swallow Denmark without any resistance on the part of the latter. But in trying to capture Norway similarly the Nazis have met with stout resistance. Germany may attack Sweden also. Extending the area of her operations involves strain on her resources, but with the seizure of new territory she is able to replenish her resources also. From this point of view, the enlargement of the German empire is a source of anxiety to Britain and France.

Shaw Suspects Plot to Partition U. S. S. R.

"By far the gravest suspicion of the good faith of the professed intentions of our imperialist Government," writes Mr. Bernard Shaw, in the *Sunday Express*, is that—

"Our Ministers are either the dupes or the accomplices of a conspiracy of the Western capitalist States, including the United States of North America, to effect a partition of the U. S. S. R., with its very tempting plunder, and the re-enslavement of its workers as proletarians.

"I shall be told by people who have never dreamt of such a thing that the conspiracy exists only in my imagination. As yet it exists only in imagination, but not in mine alone.

"Lord Beaverbrook, writing for his great popular newspaper, says nothing about it, nor do the controllers of the other great dailies; but the very select review, "The Nineteenth Century and After," which the vulgar do not read, has let the cat out of the bag. Hear its editor discoursing on the situation in his April number:

"Hard blows alone will dissolve the German-Russian partnership and promote a Russian political order that will let the Allies send their managers and experts to recondition Russian industry and enable them, instead of Germany, to draw on Russia's exportable surplus, and perhaps threaten an isolated and fully blockaded Germany with armed risings in her eastern border regions."

"Pretty frank, that. What has Lord Beaverbrook to say to it? It is a solid policy with all the might of Western capital behind it. The rest is only gas and gaiters."—*U. P.*

Mr. C. F. Andrews' Last Message

Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty writes:—

"On the eve of his last operation, Mr. C. F. Andrews dictated the following statement to me and asked me to release it for publication if anything happened to him. In memory of a great Englishman and friend of India, I place it before the public with reverent homage in this hour of sorrow."

"During these days of waiting since the decision was taken that I should have this operation, my thoughts have all the while been with God and I know that whatever happens His will will be done. Every day I have been praying the prayer: Thy Will Be Done. I have been wonderfully helped in thus keeping *Shanti* by thoughts of Gurudeva (Tagore) and all I have learnt at Santiniketan: also by Mahatma Gandhi and what I have learnt from him all these past years. Above all, from the loving spiritual visits in the hospital, from day to day, of the Metropolitan whose Christian faith has marvellously sustained me through all these days of very great suffering and bodily weakness. He has become in these days dearer to me than ever he was before. I have found how absolutely his heart is one with mine in his love for India and for all the world.

God has given me in my life the greatest of all gifts—namely, the gift of loving friends. At this moment when I am laying my life in His hands, I would like to acknowledge again what I have acknowledged in my books—this supreme gift of friendship, both in India and in other parts of the world. For, while I have written so far about those who are near me here in India I have been all the while equally conscious of the supreme loving friends in my own dear land of England whose spiritual help I have been receiving along with constant letters and telegrams. I have also had the same spiritual help from friends

who have remembered me in other parts of the world.

While I had been lying in the hospital I trust that my prayers and hopes have not been merely concerning my own sufferings which are of the smallest importance today in light of the supreme suffering of the whole human race. I have prayed every moment that God's kingdom may come and His will may be done on Earth as it is always being done in Heaven.

Quinquennial Review on Education in India, 1932-37

We have before us a copy of the recently published Eleventh Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in India, which covers the period 1932-37. The new Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Mr. John Sargeant, M.A., in his brief preface to the *Review* very appropriately points out that " the practical value of a survey of this kind would be substantially enhanced if the interval of time between its publication and the period to which it relates could be reduced to a minimum. " So long as steps are not taken to expedite the preparation and issue of a State Paper of this nature, the purpose for such publication cannot be properly served. Beyond satisfying the curiosity or interest of either some venturesome antiquarian, a zealous specialist, or an imaginative and enterprising statistician, it cannot be expected to be of much service. Though the publication is discribed as a *Review,* it is mainly a compilation from the various provincial *Reviews* and other special reports by such authorities as the different Universities, the Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agriculture, the Director of Military Training, etc., etc. In fact, the Educational Commissioner himself frankly acknowledges that he has confined himself " almost entirely to the arrangement of the matter supplied and to verbal editing where required, " and has " made no attempt in the Report to examine critically any of the opinions quoted or the hopes and fears expressed. "

This detracts very much from the value of the publication. Besides supplying numerous statements containing useful comparative figures relating to educational progress, such as the number of educational institutions in British India and their enrolment, the total number of pupils under instruction, arranged province by province, the percentage of total population receiving instruction in all institutions by provinces, the total educational expenditure by provinces, the total provincial expenditure and expenditure on education from Government funds by provinces, the average annual cost per pupil to Government by provinces, the expenditure on education according to objects, etc., etc., the Report deals with practically the entire field of educational activities in India. It brings within its purview such matters as University education, secondary education, primary education, education of girls and women, professional education, including legal, medical, engineering and commercial education, teaching, seamanship, military training, civil aviation, forestry, etc., vocational education, education of special classes and communities, including Muslim education and education of the so-called depressed classes, and miscellaneous subjects which include education in the army, education of defectives, education of adults, libraries, textbook committees, oriental studies, moral and physical training, medical inspection of school children, educational broadcasting, etc.

Each of these subjects is important, and notwithstanding the dry and unattractive way in which these have been dealt with, it cannot be denied that the publication contains very valuable information which, if properly utilised, could be of immense service to the educational reformer and the social worker. We realise the handicap under which the Educational Commissioner had to work in the preparation of the *Review*, as it deals with a period prior to his taking up his duties. It is, however, to be hoped that he will have the energy and the initiative needed for the adoption of suitable measures for the introduction of the necessary improvements and thus justify to the fullest extent the expenditure incurred by the Government of India for the maintenance of the office of their Educational Commissioner.

Japan's " Anxiety " For Dutch East Indies

Japanese military leaders have expressed grave " anxiety " regarding the future of the Dutch East Indies. In plain language this anxiety means that if Germany conquers and occupies Holland, Java and other possessions of the latter in the East must not come into the possession of any other power than Japan, and the disturbed state of Europe may give Japan the opportunity to seize the Dutch Indies.

But neither the United States of America, nor Britain can contemplate such accession of territory and power to Japan without anxiety.

Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan

By the death of Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan Bengal loses a distinguished

scholar, litterateur and teacher. It is said that he knew 26 languages, ancient and modern. He had an extensive knowledge of both eastern and western philosophy. Archaeology and history were his favourite studies. He had at different times edited different periodicals. He was the author of several works. He was long connected with the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Bengali Literary Academy) and had presided over various literary gatherings. Perhaps he will be best remembered as the chief editor and compiler of Bangiya Maha-Kosh (Encyclopaedia Bengalensis), of which many parts have been published. It is said that he has left the compilation of this great work complete, though its publication will take many years.

Heavy Taxation Proposals in New British Budget

On the 23rd April last the second war-time budget of Great Britain was presented by Sir John Simon in the Commons.

Two thoughts arise on casting a look at these budget figures, the power of the British people to bear heavy taxation and the enormous waste of wealth which war involves.

Restriction of Japanese Immigration to Philippines

WASHINGTON, April 22.

Mr. Cordell Hull said today that the Government would not undertake "to dictate to the Philippine Legislature or bring pressure to bear on them in connection with Japan's objection to the proposal to limit Japanese immigration to the Phillippines."

The Japanese Ambassador in the United States, Mr. Horinguchi, had asked Mr. Hull on Saturday to intercede with the Philippines where legislation, which would cut Japanese immigration to 500 persons per year, was now pending.—*Reuter*.

Evidently the Filipinos think that they cannot afford to run the risk of having too many potential Japanese invaders within their gates.

The Constituent Assembly and Safeguards for Minorities

There seems to be a belief among the advocates of a Constituent Assembly for drafting a constitution in which the minority communities are to have all the safeguards which they want for the protection of their interests, that if some of the safeguards demanded be injurious to the general good or to the interests of the majority, still they must be granted. We do not desire to discuss such a belief now, but wish only to ask that, if the safeguards wanted by one minority be incompatible with the safeguards demanded by another minority community, how will their conflicting claims be adjusted, or which community will have preference.

If it could be agreed upon that under India's democratic constitution each individual, to whatever majority or minority community he might belong, was to have the same equal fundamental rights as any other individual, neither more nor less, and that no community was to be favoured at the expense of any other, then questions like those mooted in the previous paragraph would not arise.

Northern and Southern States of U. S. A., and Hindusthan and Pakistan

It is a fortunate and auspicious circumstance that, except Mr. Jinnah and his followers in the Muslim League, all vocal Muslims have had the sense to perceive that the Pakistan scheme is injurious not only to India as a whole but to the Muslims themselves also. Therefore, if a Constituent Assembly were convened and all or almost all the Muslim delegates in it were to demand for the protection of their interests a separate State (call it Pakistan or by any other name), the question whether their demand should be met is not likely to arise as a part of practical politics.

But nevertheless it is being discussed in view of Mahatmaji's opinion that if all Muslims demanded it he could not resist the demand. So it may be allowable to draw attention to a historical parallel in order that some fundamental principle may be discovered according to which such questions may be decided.

The part of the earth which is now called the United States of America never formed one cultural or political unit in ancient times. Their political oneness was of comparatively recent growth. Yet when the Southern States wanted to secede from the Northern States and form a separate union, their desire was resisted, because it was felt that in the interests of humanity and of all the States themselves, the United States should remain an indivisible political and cultural unit. The Southern States did not yield easily. There was a bitter and bloody prolonged civil war. We are not now discussing whether the preservation of the Union could not have been effected by any non-violent means, or whether the use of violence was justifiable for the attainment of the object in view. What will generally be admitted as true is that the maintenance of the oneness of the United States

has been good for them, good for mankind, and good for the cause of individual personal freedom as opposed to slavery.

On account of the mountain ranges in the north, north-west and north-east and the ocean to the east, west and south, India has been marked out from remote antiquity as one geographical unit, which cannot be said of the United States of America. It may not have been one political unit in the sense in which it is one at present, in historical ancient times and middle ages. But it was very near to being one in the days of the emperor Asoka and during part of the Gupta period. Under some of the Mughals also the greater part of India had practically one kind of administration, though not one suzerain. And at present, India is undoubtedly one political unit. Would it be good for India, good for its parts, good for all the different communities inhabiting it, and good for the world and humanity to preserve its integrity, or to cut it up into two or more parts? We unhesitatingly say yes to the first question and no to the second. A divided India could neither achieve nor maintain independence.

Taking a large view of things, the cultural and spiritual unity of India has been more unquestionable than its political unity. Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and the Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages and literatures have given it this cultural and spiritual unity. The spread of Islam gave it another bond of union. The fusion of modern western culture with the cultures handed down from hoary antiquity and the middle ages has been creating another bond of union.

We are convinced that it would be undoubtedly for the good of India and all its communities and for the world and humanity to preserve the integrity of India.

If any community or communities demand its partition, it would be the duty of all lovers of India and of humanity to resist this demand. **To acquiesce in it would be self-determination run mad.** Those who are thoroughgoing ahimsāists may not use physical or armed force to prevent the partition of India. But they should rather lay down their lives than weakly agree to the slaughter of India, for that would be nothing short of but more than matricide. Those with whom ahimsā is not an inviolable religious principle may do what they think best if the problem ever comes within the range of practical politics.

This note was written before the receipt of any report of the proceedings of the Azād (Independent) Muslim Conference at Delhi.

"Hindusthan Day"

Mr. Jinnah's "Pakistan Day" was a failure. Not so was the "Hindusthan Day" observed by those Musalmans who differ from Mr. Jinnah and who are far more numerous than his followers. It was enthusiastically celebrated in many meetings attended by large numbers of Musalmans.

Khaksars in the U. P. and in the Panjab

In pursuance of their policy of propitiating Musalmans, the Congress ministry in the United Provinces dealt leniently with the Khaksars. From this the latter appear to have concluded that, if a non-Muslim government was so indulgent, the Muslim government of the Panjab would certainly be much more lenient. Hence, their movement in the land of the five rivers has become more "dynamic" than in the U. P. The result has been that in the Panjab the Khaksars have received bullets and tear-gas bombs in return for their *belchās*.

The Plight of Noakhali Hindus

Sj. Manoranjan Chaudhuri continues to publish in the press details of the victimization and sufferings of the Hindus in Noakhali district. Though so far his has been practically a cry in the wilderness, publicity has value and must tell in the long run.

Traffic in Women in Sind

HYDERABAD (SIND), April 26.

The City Police raided yesterday a house in the Advani Lane and arrested Maharaj Hiranand and a woman who were described to be traffickers in women. From the same house, three other women, who were believed to have been on sale, were detained. Maharaj Mitto, another trafficker, managed to escape.

It is stated that the accused are habitual traffickers and their agents are scattered to many upcountry stations wherefrom women are sent to Hyderabad where they are sold away in marriage to the highest bidders.—*U. P.*

It is not only in many "upcountry stations", that is, in those in Bihar, U. P. and the Panjab, that there are traffickers. This devilish traffic is carried on in Bengal and Assam also. It ought to be fought and destroyed in all provinces.

Shia-Sunni Conflict in Lucknow

It has sometimes seemed that the Shia-Sunni conflict in Lucknow has died out. But appearances are deceptive. From the smouldering embers of the disputes the fire of fanaticism again breaks out. There has been

recently a fresh recrudescence of sectarian hatred. This is greatly to be regretted.

British imperialists appear to think that Mr. Jinnah is the uncrowned king of all Musalmans in India. Why can he not at least try to put a stop to these internecine strifes ? Political capital can be made out of Hindu-Muslim conflicts by both British imperialists and their Indian henchmen. But no political advantage can be imagined to be derived from Shia-Sunni riots. There must be some other reason for Mr. Jinnah's inaction.

Hindu-Muslim Riots in Burma

Hindu-Muslim riots have been again taking their toll in Burma. This is extremely saddening.

At the end of the outbreak of Burmese frenzy, directed mostly against the Musalmans, there was an enquiry by a committee appointed by the Government of Burma. Its report was published. Does that report throw any light on the origin of the recent Hindu-Muslim riots ?

A drastic step that all non-Burmese and all non-Buddhist Burmese should be made to leave Burma may suggest itself as a remedy to some unthinking persons. But such a step is neither practicable nor would it be good even for Burma and the Buddhist Burmese. Some other practical remedy of enduring value has to be thought out and applied.

The Sino-Japanese War

One day comes the heartening news of a great Chinese victory. But this is followed next day by a Japanese claim of a greater victory involving staggering carnage.

Chinese patriotism and love of liberty should extort the admiration and respect even of their enemies. Their staying power is wonderful.

Maulvi Mujibar Rahaman

The death of Maulvi Mujibar Rahaman is a great loss to India, particularly to Bengal. He was about 71 years of age at the time of his death. He was a bachelor all his life. He was a staunch nationalist, noted for the purity of his principles and firm adherence to them in all circumstances.

The profession of journalism as followed by him was a thing to be proud of. He was for some time president of the Indian Journalists' Association. He started the weekly *The Mussalman* and afterwards converted it into a daily and edited it for about three years. When on account of difference of policy of the new management he could not carry on, he left it and started the *Comrade*. He had an attack of paralysis in 1937 and had been suffering ever since. He took part in the Non-co-operation movement and was in jail for fifteen months. His undoubted courage never degenerated into bravado or bragging. A man of unassuming disposition, he avoided the limelight. His life was a life of struggle throughout, but compromise for the sake of any worldly advantage was not in his nature.

Order On "Hindusthan Standard" Withdrawn

> The Government of Bengal have issued an order dated April 26 withdrawing their former order issued on February 17 on the editor of the *Hindusthan Standard* under the Defence of India Rules directing him to submit all editorial articles, intended for publication in the paper, to the Special Press Adviser, Calcutta, for scrutiny for a period of three months from the date of service of the order.

The earlier order was for three months, but it has been withdrawn after nine weeks. It should not have been passed at all.

Hindusthan Standard appeared again with an editorial on Sunday the 28th April last.

Fighting Among Students

> The intense tension that has been generated as the result of controversy now raging among student-members of the Bengal Provincial Students Federation on the question of the control of the executive of the Federation, burst out rather in nasty form yesterday evening when several students and non-students received injuries as a result of fighting that took place.
>
> A meeting of the Council was called by Mr. K. M. Ahmad, President of the Federation but its legality was challenged by a section of members, whose contention was supported also by the Joint Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation in charge of Bengal and Assam zones, who in a statement to the Press urged the postponement of the meeting.

Thus the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 28th April last. *Hindusthan Standard* of the same date writes :

> About half-a-dozen students were injured in a clash between groups of students at a meeting of the All-Bengal Students' Council of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation held on Saturday evening at the Aryya Samaj Hall, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
>
> The meeting had been called by the President of the Federation, Mr. K. F. Ahmad, in spite of protests from the Joint Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation and several prominent members of the Working Committee of B. P. S. F. who had challenged the validity of such a meeting on the ground that the list of members of the Council was missing.

When papers influenced or controlled by parties at loggerheads with one another report that there was a fight among students, one may be sure it was a fight, not a wholesale fraternal embrace.

The future of our country is getting more and more assured with some of our young hope-

fuls becoming quite up-to-date in forward politics.

From a long statement issued by some members of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation, it seems that a group of students have been guilty of enrolling bogus members, changing the genuine document, not keeping proper accounts, etc. How faithfully they are copying their elders!

Whenever we raised any question in this respect the issue was avoided on the plea of student-unity. And under the smoke screen of students' unity heads of our comrades have been broken, our rights curtailed and the Students' Federation has been utilized to the fullest extent for serving the interests of one particular group—the National Front. The National Front people find it convenient for the sake of students' unity not to allow genuine members of the Students' Federation to participate in the conferences and the conventions wherever they are in office, and it is only for the purpose of achieving students unity they found no scruple to bring about the unfortunate and tragic end of our comrade, Late Jyotirmoy Bhowmik.

"The same thing happened in Khulna, where the members of the National Front group severely belaboured a member of the All-India Students' Council and for which one of them has been expelled from the college."

We have quoted these sentences as sample glimpses of student-politics, and as showing that the student leaders have become adepts at statement warfare.

No Mass Civil Disobedience At Present

Gandhiji writes on civil disobedience in *Harijan* of the 27th April last :—

"The Working Committee advisedly passed no startling or new resolution this time, or there was no programme before them. That of Civil Disobedience has to be evolved by me. But the Committee had useful discussions on many points arising out of the contemplated movement. I propose to give the readers the gist of what I told the members of the Committee, with the necessary amplification.

"Civil Disobedience in the face of the lawlessness that prevails in the country will easily pass for the same unless it is beyond doubt recognized as something different in kind from the prevailing brand. Thus the Khaksar defiance is admittedly and openly violent. The Kisans who held up the train between Gaya and Kiul were violent under cover of non-violence. They were doubly guilty according to the non-violent conception. For they are supposed to be Congressmen. To hold up a train is Disobedience without doubt. And so far as the Congress is concerned, according to the Ramgarh resolution Congressmen may not resort to Civil Disobedience singly or in groups without my permission." . . . . .

Now Civil Disobedience if it is really civil, must appear so even to the opponent. He must feel that the resistance is not intended to do him any harm. At the present moment the average Englishman thinks that non-violence is merely a cloak. The Muslim Leaguers think that Civil Disobedience is aimed at them more than at the British.

I protest with all the strength at my command that, so far as I am concerned, I have no desire whatsoever to embarrass the British, especially at a time when it is a question of life and death with them. All I want the Congress to do through Civil Disobedience is to deny the British Government the moral influence which the Congress co-operation would give. The material resources of India and her man power are already being exploited by the British Government by reason of their control of the whole of this subcontinent.

If by Civil Disobedience the Congress has no desire to embarrass the British people, it has still less to embarrass the Muslim League. And I can say this on behalf of the Congress with far greater assurance than I can with regard to the British. Working in the midst of suspicion and terrible misrepresentation on the one hand and the prevailing lawlessness outside and inside the Congress on the other, I have to think a thousand times before embarking on Civil Disobedience.

So far as I can see at present mass Civil Disobedience is most unlikely. The choice lies between individual civil disobedience on a large scale, very restricted or confined only to me. In every case there must be the backing of the whole of the official Congress organization and the millions who, though not on the Congress register, have always supported the organization with their mute but most effective cooperation. . . . . .

Which Country Has Sole Right to Determine India's Status?

BOMBAY, April 27.

In an interview given to the *New York Times* and reproduced in today's *Harijan*, Mahatma Gandhi says : "The legal status of India, whether it is Dominion Status or something else, can only come after the war. It is not a question at present to decide whether India should be satisfied with Dominion Status for the time being. The only question is what is the British policy? Does Great Britain still hold the view that it is her sole right to determine the status of India or whether it is the sole right of India to make that determination ? If that question had not been raised, there would have been no discussion such as we are facing today. The question having been raised—and it was India's right to raise it—I was bound to throw in my weight, such as it is, with the Congress. Nevertheless I can still repeat the question I put to myself immediately after the first interview with the Viceroy : Of what value is freedom to India if Britain and France fail? If these Powers fail the history of Europe and the history of the world will be written in a manner no one can foresee. Therefore, my question has its own independent value. The relevant point, however, is that by doing justice to India Britain might ensure victory of the Allies because their cause will then be acclaimed as righteous by the enlightened opinion of the world."

Sir Jagdish Prasad and Sir N. N. Sircar on Present Political Situation

DARJEELING, April 27.

The belief that there can be no reasonable solution of the communal problem so long as the Congress

Ministries remain out of office, is expressed by Sir Jagdish Prasad, a former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a statement to the *Associated Press* on the present political situation.

It is in the supreme interest of the country, he adds, that the deadlock should be ended while Lord Linlithgow is in India, and every effort should be made to help him in his sincere endeavours to find a solution.

SIR N. N. SIRCAR'S STATEMENT

In a separate statement Sir N. N. Sircar, the late Law Member of the Government of India, says that he is in full agreement with the views expressed by Sir Jagdish Prasad adding that the power of the Congress to do good to the country will be progressively weakened the longer it continues in the self-imposed renunciation of the power it had secured to itself as administrator of seven of the provinces of India.

We are for justice, not for generosity to any majority or minority community, whether Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh or Parsi.

The question of the sincerity of the Viceroy or of any other British statesman is beside the point. If any authority sincerely follow any wrong policy, his sincerity will not make it right.

The simultaneous issue of statements by two ex-members of the Viceroy's Executive Council may show that they may have received some hint from the powers that be. Whatever, that may be, their appeal to return to the path of co-operation at a time when under Gandhiji's guidance the Congress has been preparing to advance further along the path of non-co-operation, may not find any response. Apart from the question of India's political goal, the Viceroy's offer was not sufficiently precise and definite for acceptance.

Sir N. N. Sircar on the Constituent Assembly

In the course of his statement Sir N. N. Sircar makes some pointed observations on the proposed constituent assembly which deserve attention.

Over the vexed question of a Constituent Assembly, apart from all other considerations and objections, it strikes me that the idea of the minorities, coming through special electorates—or otherwise—formulating provisions over which the majorities will have nothing to say leads to an impossible and unworkable situation. If a minority asks for special electorates, for the lowering of the franchise concerning itself to a fantastic degree, for an inflated ratio in the services, for special rights and innumerable safeguards, each one of which operates as an injustice to other communities or interests, yet the majorities must acquiesce in them. The sooner the absurdity of such a Constituent Assembly is realised the better.

It is obvious that the Constituent Assembly which has been proposed cannot be expected to draw up a constitution reasonably fair and just to the majorities and minorities alike and it has not the remotest resemblance to any constituent assembly which has functioned at any time in any part of the world. Insistence on the British having no concern with or voice in the future constitution may be food for logic, but it takes no notice of the reality of the situation. It is because the Englishman does not make a fetish of logic and first principles that his practical common sense has enabled him to produce a constitution which has stood the test of centuries, and he is not dismayed by the fact that the constitution had to be tinkered with in large or small measure from time to time to adapt it to the changed circumstances and varying public opinion.

Our Muslim brothers, far more practical than ourselves, have followed the same course and it is no wonder that they have won all along the line—a result contributed in no mean measure by their avoiding over-subtlety and by their subordinating theoretical perfection to practical consideration. The power of the Congress to do good to the country will be progressively weakened the longer it continues in self-imposed renunciation of the power it had secured to itself as administrator of seven provinces in India.—*A. P.*

It is true the "practical" opportunism of Indian Muslim leaders in disregard of logic and principles has given them some immediate advantage. Nevertheless some would prefer adherence to principles to that sort of pragmatism.

What Has Shocked Britishers !

Shri Pyarelal writes in the course of an article in *Harijan* that Sir Alfred Watson remarked at a meeting of the East India Association in London: "What has shocked us in this country is that these Indian leaders have thought fit to use the international situation in order to promote a further step towards self-government." Shri Pyarelal says that the accusation has been repeated in other quarters, too. We will quote only one paragraph from his article.

The elasticity of the British conscience is proverbial. It has shown itself to be fairly tough and shock-proof when Britain really meant business. Mr. F. G. Pratt, who as an ex-Indian administrator knows both India and England well, was not slow to call attention to the fact. He reminded Sir Alfred and the house that it was in the middle of the Great War that the Dominion ministers at the Imperial Conference of April 16, 1917, had insisted upon "the full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous units of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important part of the same, and also on recognition of the right of the Dominions and of India to an adequate voice in foreign relations." It did not shock British conscience then. Nobody thought of accusing the Dominions of "political bargaining."

Independence Resolution of Azad Muslim Conference

The Azad Muslim Conference passed the following long resolution on the 29th April :

This Conference of representatives of the Indian Muslims, who desire to secure the fullest freedom for

their country, consisting of delegates and representatives from all provinces, after having given its fullest and most careful consideration to all the vital questions affecting the interests of the Muslim community, and the country as a whole declares the following :

AN INDIVISIBLE WHOLE

India, with its geographical and political boundaries is an indivisible whole and as such it is the common homeland of all the citizens, irrespective of race or religion, who are joint owners of its resources. All nooks and corners of the country contain the hearths and homes of the Muslims and the cherished historic monuments of their religion and culture, which are dearer to them than their lives. From the national point of view every Muslim is an Indian and the common rights of all the inhabitants of the country and their responsibilities in every walk of life and in every sphere of activity are the same. The Indian Muslim, by virtue of these rights and responsibilities, is unquestionably an Indian national and in every part of the country he is entitled to equal privileges with all other Indian nationals in every sphere of govermental, economic and other national activities. For that very reason Muslims owe equal responsibility with other Indians for striving and making sacrifices to achieve the country's independence. This is a self-evident proposition, the truth of which no right-thinking Muslim will question.

INDEPENDENCE AIM

This Conference declares unequivocally and with all the emphasis at its command that the goal of Indian Muslims is complete independence along with the protection of their religious and communal rights and they are anxious to attain this goal as early as possible. Inspired by this aim they have in the past made great sacrifices.

CHARGE REPUDIATED

This Conference unreservedly and strongly repudiates the baseless charge levelled against Indian Muslims by the agents of British imperialism and others that they are an obstacle in the path of Indian freedom and emphatically declares that the Muslims are fully alive to their responsibility and consider it inconsistent with their tradition and derogatory to their honour to lag behind others in the struggle for the country's independence.

PAKISTAN SCHEME CONDEMNED

The following is the text of the resolution on Pakistan scheme :—

"This Conference considers that any scheme which divides India into Hindu-India and Moslem-India is impracticable and harmful to the country's interest generally and those of Moslims in particular. This Conference is convinced that the inevitable result of such a scheme will be that obstacles will be created in the path of Indian freedom and British imperialism will exploit it for its own purpose."

Maulana Hafiz Ul Rehman moved the following on the Constituent Assembly :—

"This is the considered view of this conference that only that constitution for the future Government of India would be acceptable to the people of India, which is framed by the Indians themselves elected by means of adult franchise. The constitution would fully safeguard all the legitimate interests of the Musalmans in accordance with the recommendations of the Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly. The representatives of other communities or of an outside power would have no right to interfere in the determination of these safeguards."

Azad Muslim Conference Chairman Speaks

The All-India Azad Muslim Conference which met at Delhi during the closing days of the last month was, as its name signifies, a conference of those Muslims who want "azadi" or freedom and independence.

Describing himself a great supporter of the All-India Muslim League, Khan Bahadur Shaikh Mohammed Jan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said, in part :

It is my strong belief that tremendous changes are going to take place in the world in the near future which will not leave India unaffected. The present-day India is not going to be stagnant country content with its subordinate position. Should not the Musalmans make their due contribution to the coming changes? Will it be honourable for them to do nothing but put forward their claim as full partners in the spoils after the battle is fought and won by others? I hope that this conference will not only discover a common formula for safeguarding the due rights and privileges of the Musalmans of India but will also chalk out a great plan for them to make proper sacrifices worthy of the great community and of the cause of the country.—*A. P.*

Address of President, Azad Muslim Conference

NEW DELHI, April 27.

"It is this conference and this conference alone today which is in a position to evolve a constructive scheme to bring the political deadlock to an end," was the assertion made by Khan Bahadur Allah Bux in the course of his presidential address before the Azad Muslim Conference, which commenced its open session this afternoon in a specially erected pandal in the Queens Gardens. The proceedings began with recitations from the Quran.

Khan Bahadur Allah Bux said :

"If you can come to an agreement as regards the basis of a communal settlement, the Congress, which is undoubtedly the most influential and powerful organization in the country today, is bound to consider your proposals as the one golden bridge which leads not merely to communal and political harmony in the country but to the ultimate goal, namely, India's Independence.

"Perhaps your decisions are being awaited both in the country and abroad with great impatience, because on them will depend a very great deal. I am perfectly confident in my mind that the Congress will not hesitate to endorse our reasonable proposal for the communal settlement.

"The Congress can no longer say that the scattered Muslim organisations and individuals who are eager to attain the country's freedom have not yet formulated

their proposals on behalf of the Muslim community for the settlement of the entire communal problem.

"It is perfectly obvious that whatever scheme of settlement you eventually evolve for safeguarding the rights and interests of the minorities, whether they happen to be in Hindu or Muslim majority provinces, you will keep in view the principle of equal and universal application of the same standard to all of them everywhere."

The president subjected the Pakistan proposal to detailed criticism from many points of view, including the financial. To begin with, he contested the claim of the Muslim League to be the sole representative body of the Indian Musalmans.

School Hygiene Show in Calcutta

Three-day Show of a special School Show programme to disseminate ideas about healthful living and preventive measures through visual medium began on the morning of the 27th April last at the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Calcutta Corporation Health Museum.

Before 8 o'clock hundreds of School boys had already arrived at the All-India Institute of Hygiene and the Corporation Museum. By 8-30, both the places were full to overflow with children from various High Schools. Owing to overcrowding at times it was difficult to give demonstration or to explain the charts and models to the students. Every effort was made to stimulate healthmindedness and alertness about health. The system of water supply in Calcutta and tubewell supply in rural areas as well as the drainage and sewerage system in the town were explained with models, wood-cut figures and other apparatus. The boys evinced great interest in knowing and learning the common facts of daily life. Useful literatures about food values, school tiffin and weight and measurement were distributed to the pupils. At 9 o'clock, the Hon'ble Vice-Chancellor Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque delivered a very interesting talk in Bengali to the boys about the necessity of becoming healthy, strong and efficient to put up a strenuous fight in the struggles of life.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University addressed the gathering.

Interesting health films were shown to the students at the Corporation Health Museum which were very highly appreciated by all. Charts and models specially made for this occasion and displayed at the Museum drew much attention of the youngster.

A Praiseworthy Student Movement

This year too classes have been held at the Calcutta University Institute for training student volunteers who will engage in the urgently necessary and highly beneficial work of adult education during the long summer vacation of colleges and the university. This movement has the wholehearted support of all who desire the progress of the country.

Co-operative Report

We have been favoured by the Director of Public Information, Bengal, with a summary of the Annual Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the Presidency of Bengal for the year ending 30th June, 1938, with instructions for not publishing it before the 28th April, 1940. It struck us at first as rather extraordinary that the annual report of the Co-operative Department should be published so late, for the report for 1938-39 has also been overdue, and that for 1939-40 will have to be soon made ready. The Annual Report for 1937-38 has since seen the light of day and it contains the following explanation for the delay :

After the close of the year the charges of the five Divisional Assistant Registrars were split up under the orders of Government into 16 small charges each comprising of one or two districts. This required the opening of 11 additional Assistant Registrars' offices and the separation and transfer of records to the new offices. It was therefore not possible for the Assistant Registrars' offices to complete the compilation of annual statistics of the year under review within the prescribed time.

We are informed that the new Assistant Registrars were appointed in October 1938, and that according to the rules of the department, the Inspectors have to submit the reports of their circles to the Assistant Registrars by the 31st July and the Assistant Registrars in their turn, are to compile and submit their statements to the Registrar by the 15th August. In such circumstances the explanation quoted above appears to be rather incredible. Whether the information on the subject placed at our disposal be accurate or not, there can be no doubt that the rather unheard of delay made by the department in publishing its report is an indication of its inefficiency and incompetence.

Education in Bengal

While referring to the Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal (1932-37), in our February issue, we commented on the deplorable state of affairs prevailing in the sphere of education in the Province. The Eleventh Quinquennial Review on Education in India (1932-37) points out how grievously Bengal has suffered as a result of the prevailing financial stringency. It gives prominence to the remark made by the Bengal Report that "the most evident result of their financial stringency has been that the province no longer occupies the position it had in the education world of India before the inauguration of the Reforms;"

and quotes from the Resolution of the Bengal Government issued in 1935 which observes that "the result for education has been disastrous. What was bad becomes worse and what was tolerable has in many instances become bad. Improvements long meditated and long overdue had to be postponed indefinitely and instead of even normal progress there was at many points a visible retrogression." It is not difficult to fix the responsibility for the most unfortunate position in which Bengal has thus been placed. The provincial figures relating to percentage of expenditure on education from Government funds to total provincial expenditure for 1936-37 shows how Bengal compares unfavourably with some of the other Provinces. While the percentage of such expenditure in case of Bihar was 17·7, the United Provinces 16·8, Madras 15·8, the Punjab 15·1, Bombay 13, that of Bengal was only 12. Again, while the average annual cost per pupil to Government in 1936-37 was 22·10 in N.-W. F. Province, 14·69 in Sind, 14·33 in the Punjab, 13·40 in the United Provinces, 11·97 in Bombay, 9·95 in the Central Provinces and Berar, 7·93 in Madras, 7·39 in Assam, 6·02 in Orissa, and 5·95 in Bihar, the figure for Bengal was 4·49. A comparison of the percentages of trained teachers in the different provinces places Bengal in a similar unfavourable position. While in some of the other provinces the percentages of trained teachers in 1937 were as high as 95·1, 89·7, 84·7, 82·8 and 80·3, in Bengal it was so low as 20·7. All this points to the need of determined and planned action for the improvement and expansion of education in the Province.

Dr. H. K. Sen on India's Basic Industries

"Basic Industries", was the subject-matter of a lecture delivered by Dr. H. K. Sen, Director, Indian Lac Research Institute, Ranchi, at an ordinary meeting of the Indian Chemical Society held at the Applied Chemistry Lecture Theatre of the University College of Science.

In the course of his lecture Dr. Sen said :

"Preparation of raw materials in mass or conversion of raw materials into other useable commodities may be broadly defined as industry. But in this scheme, there are a few industries that claim a priority over others as they supply pre-requisites for industrial processes in general. These may be termed the basic industries. Thus for any large scale industries, motive power in large quantities and fabrication of plant and machinery would, therefore constitute the basic industry, attention to which must be directed immediately for achieving industrial progress within a measurable period of time. Similarly in the manufacture of chemical products drugs and dyes, certain basic industries have to be ushered into existence before an all round development may be expected. Examples of such industries are the acid and the alkali, nitrogen fixation and the solvent industries. The agricultural industry, which is far and away the most important enterprise for any country, deserves special consideration in the case of India. It is well-known that for a civilised standard of living, the sum total of agricultural produce is inadequate in this country and our, first effort, therefore, should be directed towards increasing the efficiency of agricultural production by the establishment of certain basic chemical industries. Viewed from this point, the most urgent needs of the country would seem to be in their order of importance : Power and fuel industries; Engineering industries; Chemical industries including manufacture of chemical fertilisers.

Proceeding Dr. Sen said :

"The machine and the power industries are essentially bound up together, and if I may say so one reacts upon the other. For ordinary purposes both these industries require to be re-modelled before they could be called really efficient. An well-organised power industry making cheap and abundant power easily available is in fact the foundation of all industrial ventures. Whether the power is generated from coal or oil, water or gas, its suitability for application to the various industries, must ultimately depend upon the cost of production. The electro-chemical industries which are assuming such importance in everyday life cannot be thought of without cheap power costing only 0.8 to 0.9 pie per K.W.H. Large power organisation can only be undertaken by large syndicates or by the State. In fact, conditions obtaining in this country would incline one to believe that the State should come forward to establish such and other basic industries to provide facilities for the early development of an Industrial India. A national debt incurred for such ventures is a national asset, and a really progressive State cannot shirk such responsibilities. Dr. Sen urged the members of the National Planning Committee not to forget to further the ways and means of creating an Industrial India and content themselves by recording merely plans.

The speaker is both a scientist of high standing and a practical industrialist. He knows what he says. His concluding remarks, therefore, deserve serious attention.

The country is teeming with scientifically and technically trained energetic men without adequate organisations to utilise them. A scheme involving the utilisation of such power cannot but bring about desirable results, and each basic industry will be the forerunner of an innumerable minor ones creating unlimited prospects for the youths of the country.

EMERSON AND AGASSIZ

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

Cabot, in his Memoir of Emerson, tells us that the friendship between Emerson and Agassiz "began at the Saturday Club and was never interrupted. It was an unfailing source of refreshment to Emerson at their monthly meetings. The abundant nature of Agassiz, his overflowing spirits, his equal readiness for any company and any subject, and a simplicity of manner which was the outcome of quick and wide sympathies, gave Emerson a sense of social enjoyment such as he rarely found elsewhere."

Emerson tells us that Agassiz was very fond of the Saturday Club, and that he was very popular there; that, alike in his conversation and his after-dinner addresses, he was always bright, entertaining and informing, and through all ran a subtle stream of humor like a gently rippling brook. One of Agassiz's short, humorous speeches he records, in the speaker's own words. "Many years ago," said the great naturalist,—the great authority on fishes, "when I was a young man, I was introduced to a very estimable lady in Paris, who in the conversation said to me that she wondered how a man of sense could spend his days dissecting a fish. I replied, 'Madam, if I could live by a brook which had plenty of gudgeons, I should ask nothing better than to spend all my life there.' But, since I have been in this country, I have become acquainted with a Club, in which I meet men of various talents, one man of profound scholarship in the languages; one of elegant literature, or a high mystic poet; or one man of large experience in the conduct of affairs; or one who teaches the blind to see; and I confess that I have enlarged my views of life; and I think that, besides a brook full of gudgeons, I should like to meet once a month such a society of friends."

In Emerson's Journal of May 28, 1857 we find the record of the celebration by the Saturday Club of Agassiz's fiftieth birthday. All the members were present, and three visitors,—a group of men than which no more distinguished could have been gathered in the State of Massachusetts. It was on this occasion that Longfellow read his poem, composed for this event, entitled "The Fiftieth Birthday of Agassiz." It begins as follows:

"It was fifty years ago
In the beautiful month of May,
In the beautiful Pays de Vaud,
A child in its cradle lay.

And Nature, the old nurse, took
The child upon her knee,
Saying: 'Here is a story-book
The Father has written for thee.'

'Come, wander with me,' she said,
'Into regions yet untrod;
And read what is still unread
In the manuscripts of God.'

And he wandered away and away
With Nature, the dear old nurse,
Who sang to him night and day
The rhyme of the universe.

And whenever the way seemed long,
Or his heart began to fail,
She would sing a more wonderful song,
Or tell a more wonderful tale."

In 1852, before Emerson had come to know Agassiz, he wrote in his Journal: "I saw in the cars a broad-featured, unctuous man, fat and plenteous as some successful politician, and pretty soon divined it must be the foreign Professor, who has had so marked a success in all our scientific and social circles, having established unquestionable leadership in them all;—and it was Agassiz."

Later when he no longer knew Agassiz merely by reputation, he writes, "Agassiz is really a man of great ability, breadth and resources, a rare and rich nature, and always maintains himself,—in all companies and on all occasions."

In the summer of 1866 Emerson and his wife and daughter visited Agassiz at his summer home in Nahant; after which he records in his Journal: "Visited Agassiz by invitation, and spent the day at his house and on the Nahant rocks. He is a man to be thankful for, always

cordial, full of facts, with unsleeping observation, and perfectly communicative."

In another journal entry we read: "Agassiz never appeared to such advantage as in his Biographical Discourse on Humboldt, at the Music Hall, in Boston, yesterday. What is unusual for him he read a written discourse, about two hours long; yet all of it strong, nothing to spare, not a weak point, no rhetoric, no falsetto; —his personal recollections and anecdotes of their intercourse, simple, frank and tender in the tone of voice, too, no error of egotism or of self-assertion, and far enough from French sentimentalism. He is quite as good a man as his hero."

Emerson tells us that at one time Agassiz was offered an engagement for a series of popular lectures at a very profitable fee. He refused the offer with the remark, "I am not willing to waste my time making money."

Though Emerson's approach to nature was that of the poet and philosopher rather than the scientist, yet he sympathized with and shared the scientist's uncompromising search for truth and his patient interest in nature's infinite details. But the naturalist "who sees the flower and the bud with a poet's curiosity and awe" met Emerson's ideal most nearly. Hence his friendship for Thoreau and for John Burroughs; and in Agassiz, too, he found this poetic appreciation of nature. Bliss Perry quotes Agassiz as saying that he "preferred to talk with Emerson on scientific subjects than with any other man he knew." "He has a scientific method of the severest kind," said Agassiz of Emerson, and cannot be carried away by any theories." It is interesting to put besides these judgments that of Professor Tyndall who said, "By Emerson, scientific conceptions are continually transmuted into the finer forms and warmer lines of an ideal world."

When Emerson sent his second son to Harvard he said to him: "Take all the electives you can that will bring you under the influence of Agassiz." That is probably the highest compliment he could have paid his scientific friend.

PROPAGANDA

By JOSEPH F. M. COELHO

LITTLE did the Allies realize that in scattering leaflets over German territory in October 1918, they were presenting the world with a new weapon—Propaganda. The results of this novel method of warfare were startling. For the first time the eyes of the German soldiery were drawn to the appalling economic conditions at home; simultaneously, the civilians saw that the armies had not been as successful as they believed they were. The country's morale was suddenly shaken, faith in its government waned and resistance collapsed.

Such being the potentialities of propaganda, it is no wonder that the rival ideologies which have flourished since the Great War have made intense use of it. In Germany, Hitler has set up the Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment under Dr. Josef Goebbels, to give effect to the process known as "Gleichschaltung". It consists in securing that all organs of publicity and discussion are brought under the control of the ruling party and thus made potent factors in the furtherance of its policy. Russia's propaganda machine works under Comradre Andrei Zhdanov who, it is said, controls numerous wireless stations, 9,000 newspapers and 4,000,000 "worker correspondents". This mighty machine is mainly charged with the preservation and spread of Communism. One by one, all the states have taken steps to propagate ideas and notions they consider necessary for their safety and well-being. Britain has set up a Ministry of Information because she has realized that battles are not fought by physical weapons alone. Even in India, a Central Board of Information has been brought into existence for providing the Press and the radio with authentic news about the War.

Propaganda has been expertly defined by the American Institute for Propaganda Analysis as

> "an expression of opinion or action by individuals deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to premeditated ends."

Nations, like individuals, are susceptible to influences. They fix their minds suddenly on one object and lose themselves in its pursuit. Whole nations have been known to become impressed with one delusion and persist in it until blood and tears brought them to their senses.

Ordinarily crowds are easily malleable: Says Herr Hitler in *Mein Kampf*,

> "The skilful and unremitting use of propaganda can persuade people to believe that Heaven is Hell, or conversely that the most miserable existence is paradise.

Those who control the means of swaying the masses and forming their opinions have great power for good or evil.

Looking around us, we cannot say that propaganda is being used for noble purposes. Germany for one has employed it mainly in support of her aggressive design. " Einkreisung " or " encirclement " and " Lebensraum " or " living room " have been the most popular words in the vocabulary of the official propagandists and have been incessantly repeated to justify the foreign policy of the country. In the annexation of Austria, the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia, Memel and Poland the same technique was followed. To begin with attempts were made by radio and by literature to create a favourable impression on the unsuspecting victims. They were told of Germany's might and of the benefits of belonging to the Reich. When the ground was thus prepared, the authorities assumed a denunciatory tone. Exaggerated reports of the injuries inflicted on helpless Germans were widely circulated and the active intervention of the Fatherland was shown to be imperative. Actual annexation was soon a *fait accompli*. Now that war has broken out, the Propaganda Ministry's sole object is to sing a hymn of hate against the Democracies and present Germany to the world as a victim of unprovoked aggression.

Prior to the conclusion of the Unholy Pact, Germany and Russia indulged in vituperating and vilifying one another. Nor has British " Imperialism " been spared by Russian propagandists. During the Abyssinian War, when Anglo-Italian relations became strained the Italian press and radio took up a bellicose attitude and attempted to incite public opinion against Britain. Of late, the tone has been somewhat modified. In the Far East, Japan's partial failure in the Chinese campaign has made Britain the scape-goat of her fury. Certain Japanese-owned or Japanese-controlled Chinese newspapers in Shanghai have gone the extent of describing the activities of missionaries as being

> " part of the policy of aggression of the British Imperialists carried out under the cloak of kindness."

In China, the advancing Japanese armies have installed public loudspeakers which enable the inhabitants to hear broadcasts from Tokyo emphasising the advantages of co-operating with the new regime. Often the villagers use these facilities to listen to " fight-to-the-last " talks from Marshal Chiang Kai-shek ! In general propaganda in Europe today is carried on as an incitement to partriotism and a trumpet call to war.

How far does propaganda succeed in producing the intended results ? A salesman's goods must possess all the attributes he claims for them; otherwise he steadily loses his clientele. Similarly propaganda, to produce lasting effects, must be based on facts and realities. For a time a party case based on lies and half-truths may prevail, considering that the untrained mind is gullible and does not pause to reflect. Yet it cannot prevail for long because, with the march of time and the gradual unfolding of events, truth emerges to the top. As a well-known writer recently ponited out :

> " A system or policy based on untruthful propaganda is a house built on sand. For when the storm beats upon it, it is bound to fall and its ultimate ruin will be all the greater."

The Nazi policy and the Nazi philosophies have mainly been supported by a surfeit of lies and grossly exaggerated claims as they are alien not merely to the world's conscience but even to the German mind. " Suppressio veri, suggestio falsi " seems to be the motto of the propaganda department. The British, therefore, are trying to present the mere facts of the situation to the Germans by means of leaflets and through the air. It is hoped that in course of time the German nation will be able to form its own independent judgment on its desperate situation. The idea is not to create panics and disillusionment, but to ensure that the people who constitute greater Germany are not enemies of the Allies, that the Allies have not taken up arms out of selfish motives or in a spirit of revenge but only to make them partakers in the benefits of peace, justice and freedom for all. This will bring about an earlier collapse of Hitlerism than a protracted campaign on the fields of Europe.

To carry out this stupendous task it is absolutely necessary that the utterances of the democratic powers should be honest and sincere, giving the truth, the entire truth and nothing but the truth. Amid the frantic ravings of Dictators they must speak with the calm voice of reason and appeal to the higher instincts of man. Only then will the Democracies retrieve the spiritual and moral leadership which they have partially lost in a crumpling world.

THE WAR—AFTER SEVEN MONTHS

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

"Beware the Ides of March," Cæsar was warned, and we in England were assured that with the Ides of March would come Hitler's oft-threatened *blitzkrieg*. Well, the Ides of March have come and gone and we are still left a little bewildered and wondering, like a young relative of mine at the front in France, "when this war is going to begin." In the air and at sea there has been a certain amount of fighting—yet not on such a scale as can make any real mark on the outcome of the war as a whole. On the Western Front it is a case of stalemate. Neither we and our French allies nor the Germans are prepared to risk an offensive which, to the attacker, is bound to be disproportionately costly in men and munitions. What, then, is going to happen ? How long is the present Micawber-like position going to continue? In what way will it be brought to an end ? These, and similar questions, are being asked wherever one goes and no one seems to be able to give a definite answer.

It is quite possible, of course, that Hitler is banking on the efficacy of a "war of nerves." There was unanimity in this country at the beginning of the war on the necessity of calling a halt to the Nazi threat of domination to free men and women in Europe and elsewhere. People were prepared to accept burdens and make sacrifices to ensure victory over Hitlerism and all it stands for, but they had expected to find definite and active steps being taken both by Germany against us and by us to bring home the fact of war to the German people. Instead of bombs we have dropped leaflets and, while the Germans can carry on propaganda to their hearts' content by radio in this country, we are debarred from retaliating in like fashion owing to the fact that Germans can only listen under the risk of imprisonment or death.

Hitler believes, according to his gospel laid down in *Mein Kampf*, that he can destroy the the morale of his opponents in a war of nerves by "a drumfire of lies and calumnies." His henchman, Dr. Ley, has just told the German people that "France and Britain are becoming more nervous every day." He even alleges that in Britain this nervousness has already "reached the verge of hysteria." Well, it would be difficult to recognize it here. We have just had an Easter Bank holiday with crowds that have beaten all records. Trains have had to be duplicated and triplicated to carry all the holiday-makers. In Germany, on the other hand, civilians have been forbidden the use of the railways as they are all required for military transport. Dr. Ley may impress Germans who are not allowed to get any news from outside, while we here can listen to all the German broadcasts. He impresses no one here and all the German threats in their war of nerves leave life here calm and unruffled. Perhaps too unruffled, as it seems difficult to get the realization of war really brought home to the people.

Meanwhile, although our output of munitions, guns and aeroplanes continues to increase rapidly, we have still well over a million unemployed whose energies are wasted to the country. Prices have risen: taxes have risen even more steeply, with no indication of how high they may go. The "black-out" arrangements—necessary as they are thought to be by those most able to judge—and the evacuation of tens or hundreds of thousands from London and other vulnerable centres, have upset business and trade and indeed threaten many long-established businesses with extinction. The public are appealed to to refrain from buying anything but absolute necessities and to save wherever possible, so that the immediate outlook for the distributing trades is far from rosy. On the other hand, although there is rationing of butter, sugar, bacon and meat, there is ample for everyone who can afford to buy—and most of the necessities of life and enjoyment are unrationed; indeed in the rationing of food there is no hardship to anyone. Grumbling certainly goes on, but when did an Englishman not grumble? There is no more grumbling than in peace time and probably a good deal less.

Although there is complete haziness about what form the war is going to take, and when it is likely to get under way, there is much discussion as to the kind of world we expect or hope to live in after the war is a thing of the past. Everyone takes it for granted, of course, that we shall win, although no one is prepared

to say when or how. But, assuming our victory, are nations to be allowed to behave towards other nations in a way that, in any civilised country, would never be tolerated as between individuals? Can we allow the world to go on with every nation acting as judge in its own disputes? Must we not now try to bring a rule of law and order between nations as between individuals? This, no doubt, means that we give up some of our freedom, but in any civilised state the freedom of the individual may not interfere with the freedom of his neighbours. So it must be with nations.

With the invention of the telegraph, the telephone, wireless transmitters and receivers, the aeroplane and airship, the old boundaries have disappeared and yet, so short-sighted were we after the last war that, instead of trying to learn the lesson of these great inventions, we made more and more boundaries within which nations—going against the whole trend of the times—have endeavoured to become self-sufficient and independent.

It is beginning to be realised more and more that we are at the beginning of a New Era. "Old things have passed away." We see around us in every direction signs of the breaking up of old forms. In time of war, of course, careers are changed or brought to an end; homes and estates are broken up; incomes fall or disappear: even nations disappear or undergo radical changes. We are at the birth throes of a new world. It is a wonderful time to be alive, but that does not mean that it is necessarily a very comfortable time: it is in fact quite the reverse. It is for us, as individuals and as nations, to try to realise how the stream of events is tending and to work with and not against that stream. Events move quickly at such a time and decades may see more and greater changes than did centuries earlier in the world's progress.

But if war, as we were led to expect it, has not begun on land, what of the other fields which contribute just as surely to the winning of the war? What of diplomacy? Many of us had hoped, after all Russia's protestations (and was it not she who defined an aggressor so ably at Geneva?) that she would link up with France and ourselves against her arch-enemy Hitler. But Russia's price meant the sacrifice by us to her of the Scandinavian democracies—a price that, to our credit, we refused to pay. Germany had no such scruples, so in that diplomatic game she won—at the price of her honour.

Then came Finland: and her defeat by Russia is claimed in Germany as a victory for Hitler. It certainly is a loss to us. Hitler has always dreaded having to fight on two fronts. The Finns have come out of their war with honour, after an epic struggle against overwhelming odds. Russia has shown herself to be absolutely careless of life and material. Her vaunted military prowess has been shown to have been greatly over-rated and she emerges —a giant with feet of clay. Whether she can and will now help Hitler is still in doubt.

Perhaps the most disillusioned people in the world today are the Communists. I do not mean merely the people in Russia—in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—but the adherents outside Russia who saw in Lenin an idealist who was anxious to do away with bureaucracy and make the world a better place for all and not merely the well-to-do. How far Stalin has travelled from the idealism of Lenin is patent for all to see. The Nazi regime was supposed to be the antithesis of Communism and their slogans were directed against it as an evil thing which they could do no other than oppose. At the same time Hitler posed as the champion who was to save Europe and the world from the poison of Bolshevism. Now these two are allies, but do not let us imagine that the Communism of Stalin bears the least resemblance to that of Lenin. Perhaps nowhere is this more clearly brought out than by looking back on what Lenin wrote about Finland in 1917 :

> "Only equals can come to an understanding. For an understanding to be a real understanding, not a conquest masked by phrases, a real equality of rights is necessary between both parties. This implies that not only Russia, but also Finland must have the right not to enter into the understanding. That is crystal clear. . . One should not use force to bring other peoples into alliance with the Russians. . . We affirm : 'A Russian Socialist who denies freedom to Finland is a Chauvinist !' . . . No people can be free if it itself oppresses other people."

Thus it is that Stalin and his associates are condemned out of the mouth of him they profess to revere and follow.

Except perhaps in the totalitarian countries where war, as war, is glorified, there is everywhere a general horror and detestation of war and all that it involves. Some of us went through experiences in the last war that will be dreadful and horrible memories throughout life and that cannot be forgotten. We want peace, but a peace that is real and not just an interlude between wars so that it may be a time of preparation for the next war. Such a peace requires much thought and careful planning. The kind of peace that would meet with general

approval in this country was well summed up by President Roosevelt in a recent speech :

"The world needs a real peace, with guarantees for the integrity of the small nations and of religious and intellectual freedom. We need today a moral basis for peace. It cannot be a real peace if it fails to recognise brotherhood and it cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit thereof is oppression, starvation and cruelty or if human life is dominated by armed camps. It cannot be a sound peace if small nations must live in fear of powerful neighbours. It cannot be a moral peace if freedom from invasion is paid for by tribute, and it cannot be an intelligent peace if it denies free passage to the knowledge and ideals which permit men to find common ground."

It is the acceptance of these propositions by our people—propositions laid down not by us but by a neutral—that shows the tremendous gulf separating us from Hitler and his minions in Germany. It is for such a peace that we are prepared to make sacrifices and to endure discomforts and privations so that, in the end, we may hand on to those who come after us a world in which the spirit of giving and service shall take the place of grab and domination.

Similarly, there is no one in this country who does not readily and gladly subscribe to the five points laid down by another distinguished neutral, the Pope, in his address to the College of Cardinals on Christmas Eve. These five points were that all nations, great and small, strong and weak, have a right to life and independence, with reparation if their independence has been impaired; that peace must be founded on disarmament : that international institutions are necessary both to defend and, where neccassary, to revise treaty settlements : that the just demands of ethnical minorities must be fairly met: and that rulers and people alike must be imbued with the spirit of moral justice. All these we are ready and anxious to accept, but they run contrary to all that the totalitarian States stand for and act on. How long must the world wait until both sets of belligerents are ready to accept a common peace platform ?

Well, the Finnish War is over—but nobody believes that it is *ended*. Nobody believes in the permanence of the so-called Peace that Russia has imposed. It strikes as hollow as the ideological arguments with which Russia seeks to cover it up. Not Stalin, not Molotov, can hide the truth from world opinion. In the unforgettable and deeply moving words of the Pope, it was "a peace written in blood on the last snows." And no peace written in blood will endure. As in the case of Poland, Finland must wait until the Allies have defeated the German war machine. Russian imperialism will not survive the collapse of German imperialism. The one has made the other. They keep each other going (and Italy too for that matter). Such at any rate is the opinion of the President of Poland—and of a good few others. Says M. Vladislav Raczziewicz :

"The Russians cannot stay after Germany has been beaten. They will have too many troubles in their own country to be able to hold foreign soil by force of arms. The crumpling of Germany will mean the defeat of Russia."

The Polish President foretells more trouble at home for the Bolsheviks. It is not impossible that some of these troubles will arise as a direct consequence of Russian penetration of Poland and Finland. We have all heard of the delighted amazement of the Red soldiers at finding Polish and Finnish shops stuffed with such goods as they had never been able to come by. But they are only at the beginning of enlightenment. They were told they were to rescue Finland from the reactionary rule of Mannerheim. But it will not be long before contact with the Finns will convince them that they have made war on the most democratic State that existed in the world ! In Finland, they will discover, one family in every three owned land. In Finland, the co-operative movement was so strong that virtually all butter exports—over 98 per cent in fact—were handled by the Valio Society. In Finland, last but not least, 1 child for every 76 inhabitants attends a secondary school, and 1 student for every 420 the university. I have already quoted Lenin's views on the question of Finland. What stomach can his successors have for this reactionary departure in policy, this lie in the soul of socialism-at-home-cum-imperialism-abroad, when the imperialism is directed against such a democratic entity as Finland ?

The political implications of the Finnish betrayal are of course well known and need not be enlarged upon. Germany sold Finland to Russia, as part of the price of Russian abstention from the Peace bloc desired by Britain and France. (East Poland was included in the price. So were the other Baltic States. So was Bessarabia.) But as is often the case with evil bargainings, Germany must pay over and over again. The whole of Scandinavia is open to the Russian menace. Germany hoped that the Scandinavian nations might now rally in a Defensive Alliance—an Alliance which she could use equally against Russia *and* the Allies—but Russia saw through this attempt at double-crossing and quashed the proposal. (And so Sweden decided to continue with "exploring"

it, instead of forging it.) Indeed, at the moment of writing, Russia seems to be bent on teaching the Germans just how little they may expect in return for their blood money. Russia, according to the Nazis—and as we were repeatedly informed by Lord Haw-Haw—would provide Germany with all the war supplies she needed. Russia would be the back-door left open which would nullify the blockade. But Russia has now disclaimed this role. Indeed she has gone so far as to suggest that it never had any existence—save in the imagination of France and Great Britain, who used it as a pretext for hostility to the Soviet Union! "German-Roumanian trade is much more important than Soviet-German trade", says Molotov for a parting shot.

What in fact have the Germans *gained* from their bargain with Russia? It has meant the retreat of Germans from all over Eastern Europe and the Baltic States. It has thrown the Russian shadow right across Scandinavia. What do the Germans think now about their great victory at Tannenberg? It was the German defeat of Russia that produced these new States of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania! What would Hindenburg say to Ribbentrop if he could rise from that memorial grave at Tannenberg? Would he not curse the day that he ever admitted the Nazis into the Government?

No wonder the Nazis dare not release Molotov's speech to the German people until they have vetted it. But the Nazis have no one but themselves to blame. It is they who set the fashion in double-crossing. Indeed, at this very moment, they have a whispering campaign against Russia going on in the Netherlands. The malcontent, Goering, as usual, is said to be behind it. Hitler, they say, is only using Russia. Note that he has not cut out from *Mein Kampf* his tirades against Russia—though Ribbentrop begged him to do so!

March, Hitler's mystic month, has not this year lived up to its reputation. There is nothing to add to that series of successes—the refortification of the Rhineland, the invasion of Austria, the march into Prague. (Successes which were, all of them but breaches of faith.) But what a month it has been! There was Mr. Sumner Welles's visit, which was all discretion and flatness in Paris and London; had its moment of interest when Hitler and Mussolini met at the Brenner Pass; and then sputtered out like a damp squib. There was this meeting of Dictators with their armoured trains. There were the ensuing alternative rumours: (1) they were trying to tone down the bad impression made in Berlin on the American envoy and to devise more acceptable peace terms; (2) they were discussing a Berlin-Rome-Moscow Axis to keep the Allies out of the Balkans.

The first rumour was followed by an 11-Point Peace Plan, which no one would own, which was fathered on an element at the Vatican, and which was probably Goering. (It gave everything to Germany. But included Disarmament and Free Trade—not free speech and a free press!—as springes to catch woodcocks.) The second rumour was followed by an announcement from Berlin that at the end of the week there would be another announcement which would change the face of Europe. Evidently the Three Power Pact was on its way—and all the Nazi Press trumpeted it together. Yet somewhere it met with difficulties, and news of it subsided as quickly as it had sprung up. Did Italy feel tired of trailing after Germany? Did she at last realise how inimical it must be to her true interest to join an alignment with Germany and Russia at a time when the prestige of the Papacy is steadily rising—and rising because of its unswerving opposition to German and Russian outrages in Poland and Finland? It is impossible to come to any final conclusion about Italy. The course of Italian policy is muddied by resentment, resentment against France and Britain for imposing Sanctions at the time of the Italian invasion of Abyssinia (though the National Government would have given her everything she wanted in the Hoare-Laval Pact). On the other hand, she is equally touchy about her "independence." For example Rome Radio, in a broadcast in English the other day, echoing the Italian Press, said that it was "absurd for Germany to deceive herself into thinking she could influence Italy's freedom of policy and action."

If Italy's policy is confused by resentments against France and England, its objective is always the same. She wants to be arbiter in the Mediterranean. To this end she intervened in the Spanish Civil War, hoping that a Fascist Spain would allow her to establish, if necessary, submarine bases—next door to Gibraltar. To this end, she covets Tunis. For whoever controls Tunis, controls passage through the Mediterranean. To this end, she invaded Albania—and so closed the Adriatic. Albania also is a jumping off place to Greece and parts of Greece she has always wanted. Her alliances are of the same kidney. She is friends with Hungary, who harboured the murderers of King Alexander of Jugo-Slavia. After years of enmity with Jugo-Slavia, she now holds her in an uncom-

fortable embrace. (What can Jugo-Slavia do, now that the Adriatic is an Italian lake ?) She has made a royal marriage with Bulgaria. She calls herself Roumania's "big brother"—in spite of the fact that her protegees, Hungary and Bulgaria, look to her to despoil Roumania for their benefits ! Only Turkey is not deceived. Turkey who belongs to the Mediterranean *and* the Black Sea. Turkey, the friend of France and Britain; Turkey, above all, who sees that the Balkans do not want any big brothers. What they want is freedom from interference, freedom inside their own Balkan Federation to develop their own Balkan civilisation.

Roumania, of course, is the very bone of contention in the Balkans just now. Russia has pointed out for us that she is a greater help to Germany than is Russia herself. Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, are all hoping that one day she will fall apart. *But* Roumania has a British guarantee. *And* King Carol has stated that she will not yield up any part of her territory.

Italy and the Balkans generally have been taken by surprise this week. Scarcely did the Three Power Pact appear to be lost, stolen, or strayed, than news came of a Franco-British initiative. The Allies recalled, for consultation, their envoys in Turkey, Roumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia and Hungary. It is plain, at long last, that there is to be a counter-attack on the war of nerves which the Axis Powers—separately or together—have been waging over South-East Europe.

What is going to happen there ? Is it real war ? At the moment of writing, the fact that the envoys have been recalled suggests that war cannot be imminent. On the other hand, the general expectation is that war *is* coming there. Whether it is just gossip in Madrid cafes, or whether it is a French Ambassador being misreported in New York—War is anticipated. War in the Black Sea. War against Russia. . . The War, as Turkey stated the other day, is now at her very door.

The characteristic weapon of the Allies in this war, so far, has been the blockade. It is through the tightening up of the blockade that the war is now to be developed. . . . .

But to return to the Black Sea. Sooner or later—unless Russia drops her Nazi partner entirely and ceases to supply her with oil and other war supplies—war must develop there. At the moment Germany has assembled at Odessa, that famous Russian port on the Black Sea, vast quantities of oil and food stuffs. These are to be transported to Germany along the Danube. Is there any way of stopping this contraband without drawing on a war with Russia? Can Turkey open the Dardanelles and admit our blockade ? Even if that were possible, there would still be the point about territorial waters. Russia could keep this trade inside her own and Roumanian territorial waters. No one can hope for the extension of war to any new era. But it does seem, sometimes, that this war will not end until the military deadlock is broken. (It is rather like the method of stopping a great fire—by burning up the ground ahead of it.) And, by the same token, might it not shorten the war if, say, Russia were to invade Bessarabia—and so bring into operation the British guarantee to Roumania ? British help to Poland and Finland was handicapped by the insuperable barriers of geography. But no such difficulties exist in the Middle East. There a powerful concentration of Allied troops, under General Weygand, associated with the modern armies of Turkey, Egypt and Iraq, are waiting for the order to move.

Well, we shall see, and meanwhile this mere hint of Allied intervention in the Eastern Mediterranean has shattered the myth of the Italian big brother. The Mussolini family paper has come out with a querulous article—in which it appears that Italy, the self-appointed protector in these parts, is herself alarmed—even for the safety of Abyssinia !

Italy, incidentally, like the United States, will have to realise that there is more in a state of war than trying to stop it spreading. More in it than the opportunity it brings to Neutrals of increasing their wealth and power. An Italian shipping concern announces that Italy will shortly have no less than 24 maritime routes operating in the Eastern Mediterranean. Well, the war to Italy may mean nothing but prosperity. But what prosperity will there be for her, or for anyone, if the Nazis bring Europe under their yoke ?

April 1, 1940

THE ROLE OF THE GHORPADES IN MARATHA HISTORY

By G. S. SARDESAI, B.A.

FEW people outside Maharashtra perhaps know that the family of the Chhatrapati Bhosles and that of the Ghorpades are both descended from a common ancestry, and are indeed related to each other as cousins, so that owing to the principle of consanguinity these two families have never inter-married. Both of them trace their origin to the Sisodia Rajputs of Udepur and Chitod and this traditional sentiment has recently been strengthened by the publication of some old firmans, possessed by the Ghorpade Raja of Mudhol, which go to suggest that upon the capture of Chitod by Ala-ud-Din Khilji in the year 1303, two scions of the Sisodia clan named Sajjan Sinh and Kshemasinh, migrated to the Deccan in search of employment and helped the founder of the Bahamini Kingdom, Ala-ud-din Shah, to establish his independence at Gulburga. The two Bhosle brothers were rewarded for their services with handsome jaghirs. Thus for generations the Bhosles served the Bahamini Kings in weal and woe in hereditary succession. How and when the two migrant brothers or their descendants received the surname Bhosle is yet a puzzle in history and no satisfactory derivation of the word Bhosle has yet been suggested.

The Hoysala dynasty of Dwarasamudra (Halebid of the present day) is well known in history. Some scholars detect linguistic affinity of the word Bhosle with Hoysala, and maintain quite a different origin for the ancestry of the great founders of the Maratha Raj.

The name Ghorpade can however be easily accounted for. *Ghorpad* is a Marathi word meaning iguana. One Karnasinh and his son Bhimsinh, descendants of the above-mentioned Sajjan Sinh, distinguished themselves in the employ of the Bahamini Kings by capturing in the year 1469 the fort of Khelna (present Vishalgad, east of Ratnagiri), escalading a steep rock by means of a rope tied to an iguana, when Karnasinh lost his life. His victorious son Bhimsinh was afterwards rewarded with the title of "Ghorpade" by Mohammad Shah Bahamini and his talented Vazir, the famous Mohammad Gawan, who had led the expedition for the conquest of that western region. Bhimsinh's descendants thenceforward came to be known by the surname Ghorpade; while Karnasinh's younger brother Shubha Krishna had an independent career and is known as the ancestor of the Bhosles from whom Shivaji took his rise later. Although, therefore, the credit of founding the Maratha kingdom goes to the Bhosle family, history must recognise that their cousins the Ghorpades have an equal share in all the transactions that preceded and followed the advent of Shivji. The history of Maharashtra during the three centuries, 16th to 18th, is inseparably connected with the activities of the two great families in harmonious co-operation, but not infrequently exhibiting bitter domestic animosities.

The Ghorpades like the Bhosles have now many illustrious branches settled in different parts of Maharashtra and Karnatak, such as Mudhol, Datwad, Bedak, Gajendragad, Sandur and Gutti. Their history if properly investigated will enable a student to trace the past careers of many a soldier of this family whose deeds deserve to be studied with pride. The Mudhol branch is perhaps the oldest, and chose, for a long time covering several centuries, to oppose any movement for throwing off Moslem control attempted by their Bhosle cousins. The main factors that helped to build up the careers of Shahji and Shivaji were these family feuds. We know how Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol acting under the Bijapur general Mustapha Khan contrived to arrest Shivaji and bring him captive to the capital in 1648. In retaliation Shivaji fifteen years later inflicted a sudden and furious raid upon Mudhol and killed Baji Ghorpade in a sanguinary engagement in 1664. The vast region of southern Maharashtra and Karnatak was long under the sway of the various Ghorpade families and ruled by them, illustrating both the strength and the weakness of Maratha fortunes through historic times.

It is not possible to trace this history in full within the limited scope of this single paper. I shall content myself with giving a bare outline of the part played by the two illustrious members of the Ghorpade family, Santaji and Murarrao, both of whom fought and suffered in the national cause. The history of their glorious but pathetic careers is almost unknown to an average reader, and it deserves to be properly reconstructed. The two occupy between them the

exact period of a century of heroic service and illustrate the role which the family had played in the past. The available materials for their history have not yet been analysed and put into shape.

The existing materials of Santaji's life are still scanty and their sources have been indicated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the last volume of his *History of Aurangzeb*. Sarkar's estimate of Santaji's character and achievements distinguishes him as a great general to be ranked only next to Shivaji,—a general who, fighting against odds, humbles an enemy through sheer daring and tactical strategy. The greatest achievement of which to this day the Marathas are proud of and which made their name a terror throughout the country, is the war they successfully waged for seventeen long years against Aurangzeb, after he had captured Sambhaji and put him to an ignominous death. This was a grand national struggle and the main credit of its being successful belongs doubtless to Santaji and Ramachandrapant Amatya, both of whom had served under the great Shivaji and tried their best to extricate Sambhaji out of his difficulties. When the latter's death created a chaos in Maratha fortunes, Santaji's great powers enabled him to come to the rescue of the Maratha State. How necessity puts forth the right man at the right moment is well exemplified at this momentous crisis. Santaji's forces, famous for their lightning speed, were constantly on the move for eight years over an area of at least eight hundred miles between the Deccan and the Coromandel Coast. He heroically faced many renowned Mughal generals, such as, Zulfikar Khan, Kasim Khan, Khan Azad Khan, Himmat Khan and others who had been deputed to chastise him, and brought them to utter ruin to the great discomfiture and chagrin of the Emperor. Writes Sir Jadunath:

> "Santaji's greatest monument is the abject fear he inspired in all ranks of the Mughal army, which is faithfully reflected in the curses and abuses invariably used as the epithet to his name in Persian histories. He had an inborn genius for handling large bodies of troops, spread over a wide area, changing his tactics so as to take prompt advantage of every move in the enemy's plans and condition and organizing combined movements. He always insisted on implicit obedience from his subordinates and enforced the strictest discipline by drastic punishments. He was moderate in victory, generous to the vanquished, polite in his address, and practised in self-control. He served his country unselfishly."

But the details we get of Santaji's activities are yet too meagre. A more substantial evidence of his great achievements can yet be collected, if a thorough search were to be made through the vast southern regions where he spent the best part of his life. It is one of the most painful tragedies of Maratha history that Santaji met with a tragic death at the hands of an assassin. The Emperor had laid a price on his head, and some Maratha helpmates of Santaji succumbed to the lure, had him murdered and on presenting his head to the Emperor obtained the promised reward in return. This happened in June 1697.

Santaji was not alone in waging a successful war against the Emperor. He had been the head of a large family of brothers, sons and nephews, who all combined to avenge his murder and displayed an uncommonly sound spirit of service and patriotism, and without guidance from a central authority managed to continue the fight to preserve Maratha dominion in the south for more than a quarter of a century after Aurangzeb's death. Their valour and devotion were rewarded by the grant of titles such as Mamalkatmadar, Jaftan-ul-mulk and Hindurao, by which the Ghorpades are still known in Maharashtra.

Santaji had two brothers—Bahirji and Maloji. Bahirji's son, Murarrao, became famous in the Anglo-French struggles of the mid-eighteenth century, so vividly described in their writings. Murarrao was a power to be reckoned with and his name struck terror in the minds of all who opposed him. The Peshwas coaxed him and Hyder Ali bitterly hated him. In fact few persons in Maratha history had perhaps such a romantic career as Murarrao Ghorpade and fewer still possibly experienced such vicissitudes of fortune as he did. In age he almost reached a century, if we may believe two papers printed at Nos. 46 and 160 by Rajwade in the 15th Volume of his Historical Sources. They are dated Shak 1618 Vaishakh Vadya 12 (18 May 1696) and Shak 1617 Adhik Ashad Shudhha 14 (15 June 1695) and supply the clue to Murarrao's birth date. Both these papers mention him with his title Wajaratmab and his usual seals as a Maratha officer in authority and management of affairs. There is no ground to disbelieve the authenticity of the papers, so that taking Murarrao to be about 15 years of age in 1695, he appears to have been born some time about 1680, and we know he met a sad death at the end of 1777 as a prisoner of war at the hands of Hyder Ali, which give him an age of about 97 years. The seals mention him as the son of Bahirji. He must doubtless have been an eye-witness of Santaji's deeds and was certainly trained under him. The next notice we obtain of Murarrao is dated 1730,

before which we know nothing of his life and doings. Thus there is a big gap from 1695 to 1730 which research students should work to fill up.

Stray notices of the Ghorpades in Karnatak are discovered in old papers here and there, which refer to such places as "Sondha, Bednur, Savnur, Shira, Shrirangpattan, Chittaldurg, Gutti, Sondur, Guntakal, Kadappa, Trichinopoly and as far as Chinapattam (Madras) and Pondicherry on the east coast." Murarrao appears to have claimed, as his legitimate heritage, all this region acquired by the heroism of and sacrifice of lives by several members of the large Ghorpade family. It was the great Shivaji who first traversed and established his power over this large territory; after him it was the valour of the Ghorpades that prevented in it the extinction of Maratha power, until the moment the vigorous Peshwa Bajirao I began his career of conquest. Shahu's conqest with his aunt Tarabai and the unsettled conditions at the central Court of Delhi left the Ghorpades practically a free hand long after the death of Aurangzeb.

Shahu's settlement of the claims of Tarabai and his cousin Sambhaji of Kolhapur by the treaty of Warna in 1731 was a blow to the Ghorpades' independence in the south, and also let loose several new claimants to contest their possession. Shahu himself had many powerful chiefs to conciliate, such as his Peshwa Bajirao, the Pratinidhi, Raghuji Bhosle, Fatesinh Bhosle of Akalkot, Babuji Naik Joshi and others, none of whom he could check or induce to work in harmony for a national purpose. Nizam-ul-Mulk and other Nawabs of Karnatak with several local Nawabs complicated the situation still more. Indeed it would be a very valuable work in historical reconstruction to bring together and sift all sources of information available in Marathi, Persian, English and French and evolve from them an accurate and authentic account of Murarrao's life and work, so as to replace the cloudy and one-sided statements at present going under the name of history. When I set to study the carrer of Murarrao, I noticed at least 8 Volumes of the Peshwa Daftar Selections containing papers scattered through them referring to that one personality. Vols. 26, 28, and 37 in particular may be said to be practically devoted fully to Murarrao's activities, several documents of which are his own autograph letters. The Peshwa Daftar Selections alone can claim something like four hundred papers referring to Murarrao as will be seen from the indexes of those various volumes, and perhaps as many more can be traced in the several volumes edited by Khare, dealing with his later transactions. The voluminous literature on the Anglo-French struggles and the relevant material from such works as Anand Ranga Pillay's Diary must be studied side by side with the Marathi papers, while Kanarese sources have not yet been touched or even suspected to exist. All these channels of information must be carefully investigated in order to determine the part of Murarrao Ghorpade in the national history.

From 1730 to 1777 is a long period of 47 years, at the beginning of which Murarrao seems to have transferred his allegiance from Sambhaji of Kolhapur to Shahu of Satara. A significant letter dated 14 November, 1730, in Shahu's Diary, (No. 171, page 85) printed by Wad, is addressed to Hindurao Ghorpade and runs thus: Writes Shahu:

> "Sagunabai and Murarrao came to pay their respects to us and we had a very cordial interview. We thank you for having arranged this affair satisfactorily and exactly as we wished. We place great confidence in Murarrao's loyal services and have commanded Naro Ram Mantri to utilise them properly for the national interests. Whatever measures Naro Ram will take should be considered as our own and loyally executed."

This paper supplies a distinct landmark in Murarrao's career, henceforth his life became a life of monumental struggle, full of incidents and thrills, of victories and reverses, of statecraft and foresight, all varying with the changing situation but grounded always on the highest interests of the nation.

The above-mentioned period of 47 years can for convenience of study be divided into three distinct phases, the first from 1730 to 1744, the second from 1744 to 1761 the date of Panipat, and the last from 1761 to 1777 the year of Murarrao's death. At the beginning Murarrao was practically holding the large Karnatak region on his own responsibility undisturbed by expeditions which were sent out by Shahu from Satara to conquer that region, the first headed by Bajirao in 1725-26, and the next in 1739-1741 led by Raghuji and Fatesing Bhosle. I have no time to enter into the details and results of these expeditions in relation to Murarrao's part in them. It is enough to note that the Maratha leaders subjugated all the southern territory, humbled the Moslem Nawabs, and brought Chandasaheb captive to Satara, leaving Murarrao Ghorpade at Trichinopoly in charge of Maratha interests.

From 1744 onward started the famous

scramble for power in which the British East India Company and the French representative Dupleix began to take active part in Indian politics. At the same time Shahu deputed first Babuji Naik and then Sadasivrao Bhau to protect Maratha claims in the south. The death of Shahu in 1749 further complicated matters, so that the astute Peshwa Balajirao appeared on the scene and dealt his famous knock-out blow in which he was first opposed by Murarrao and Bussy. He soon overcame their opposition and probably would have continued undisturbed and have prevented the rise of Hyder Ali, if the Panipat disaster had not intervened. This disaster, however, produced the required chance for the rise of Hyder Ali, whose appearance on the scene brought a new factor, providing enough work for the skill and valour of the great Peshwa Madharao I, whose right hand man Murarrao always proved to be. The death of this sagacious Peshwa, followed soon after by the murder of his brother Narayanrao, exposed Murarrao to the full vengeance of Hyder Ali, who soon carried everything before him, captured Murarrao alive, razed his capital Gutti to the ground and confined him for life in his State prison Cabaldurg, where the veteran Maratha chief met a cruel death by privation and hardship at the end of 1777.

This is a mere outline of the eventful career of one of Maharashtra's great historical personalities. An earnest student will find in it much to study and much more to reconstruct. It is to be regretted that the Peshwa Balajirao had recourse to the same suicidal policy in putting down Murarrao by the aid of the French, as he had done a year before in overcoming the Angria's power with the help of the English naval force. Any way I earnestly hope that all the present Ghorpade families will combine to get the careers of their worthy ancestors properly investigated, and materially add to this neglected chapter in their national history. I commend to their notice the following important letters, mostly Murarrao's autograph, Nos. 57, 61, 98, 100, 138, 140, 169 and 192 of Peshwa Daftar Selections Vol. 28 and No. 161 of Vol. 37. P. D. Vols. in which the Ghorpade papers occur are 6, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 37, 38 and 40.

I have picked up Santaji and Murarrao for special treatment in this paper as the most noteworthy figures in the Ghorpade family. But there are certainly many other members of this family both male and female, whose stories cannot be less fascinating. Any way I am very keen on the history of all the Ghorpades being suitably presented on an authentic and scholarly basis; and if to such a consummation the lines I have indicated in this brief notice would lead, I will consider my labour amply rewarded.



THE LAND AND PEOPLE OF VIJAYANAGARA

By Professor T. J. JOB, M.A.

For the defence and preservation of Hindu life and culture of South India from the destructive inroads of Mohammedan invaders of the north, the strategic city of Vijayanagara was founded by the Hoysala King, Vīraballāla III, about the year 1321 A.D. on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra. This fortified city, under the rule of four powerful dynasties—the Sangama, the Saluva, the Thuluva, and the Aravīdu—developed gradually into one of the greatest Empires of Southern India. Harihara II (1376-1404), the third king of the first dynasty, was the first to assume full imperial birudās (titles) and he ruled over practically the whole of the Peninsula south of the Tungabhadra. The Empire, however, entered on its most brilliant career only with the accession of Krishna Deva Rāya, the second king of the Thuluva Dynasty, in 1509. There followed a period of successful conquests and good government and an intense literary and religious activity. Even after the disastrous battle of Raksās-Tagdi (Talicōtta) in 1565, the glories of the Empire were not much diminished. But owing to the chronic internal rebellions of the Nāyaks (provincial governors) the Empire lost vitality and succumbed to the Mohammedan Kingdoms of the Deccan during the latter half of the 17th century.

Recent researches have thrown a flood of light on the state of civilization of South India under the rule of this Empire. What is attempted in this article is only a brief description of the land and people of Vijayanagara.

According to an inscription dated 1565 A.D. the Vijayanagara Empire was 126,000 yōjanās in extent. It contained six big provinces. Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri enumerates them as the "Udayagiri Rājya;" the "Penugonda Rājya;" the "Araga Rājya;" the "Bārakūru Rajya;" "the Muluvai Rājya," and the "Rājagambhīra Rājya." Foreign travellers testify to the richness of the soil of Vijayanagara. Duārte Bārbōsa who visited the Empire in 1504-1515 A. D. says:

> "This kingdom of Narasingua (Narasimha) is very rich and well supplied with provision......and all the country is very fertile and brought under cultivation."

Domingo Paēs who visited Vijayanagara in 1520 and Nicholas Pimēnta who travelled from Tanjore to Mylapore in 1559, had the same tale to tell. In addition they make a special reference to the beautiful groves on either side of the high ways. The poet Sarvajna whose date is about 1700 A.D. certifies the account of the foreign travellers in the following passage:

> "The middle country is very rich; you have your cake of wheaten flour, and the milk of the lusty buffaloes, and the love of the modest female."

The various parts of the Empire were knit together by a good system of land and water transport. The rivers were forded. The boats used were basket-like, made of strong leather and bamboo. The foreign travellers speak of roads, carts and palanquins. The elephant, the camel the horse, the ass and the ox were the chief carriers. The palanquins and the howdah over the elephants were the more fashionable and costly vehicles. The open space in front of the King's palace, according to Paēs, was the road where "passed all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else."

The Empire contained numerous beautiful cities and towns. Of these Vijayanagara, the capital, dazzled the eyes of foreign travellers, with its splendour. It had seven walls round it, and magnificent thoroughfares, temples and buildings. Abdur Razzāq, the Persian Ambassador who visited the city in 1443 says:

> "Between the first and second and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops, and bazaars are closely crowded together. In the city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds.......The city is such that eye has not seen, nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth."

The east and the west coasts were studded with great commercial towns. Ankōla and Māngalōre on the west, and Mylapōre, Pulicāt and Negapatām on the east, were centres of sea-borne commerce.

The Caste System existed in Vijayanagara with orthodoxy in some directions and laxity in other. Bārbōsa says:

> "In this kingdom of Narasingua there are three classes of heathens each of which has a very distinct role of its own."

As regards the stature and colour of the people he desribes them as "tawny men nearly white." And Paēs testifies to their industrious character.

The Brahmins were held in great esteem by the Emperors and the people. But the Emperors were shrewd enough to make them the servants of the state. One peculiarity about them was that they could take to any business. Paēs says that there were priests, ministers, officers of towns and cities, merchants and cultivators among them, and that the presence of the Brahmin was felt in diverse fields of activity in the royal household; as minister of the King, as governor of a province, as mediator in the love matches among royal families and so forth.

The middle class was largely composed of the Settīs or Chettīs, traders in precious metals and stones and money lenders; the Vīra Pānchālas, traders and artisans; the Kaikkōlārs, weavers; and the Kurumbās, sheep-farmers, blanket-makers and hunters. The social status of the barber community was evidently inferior, but in the 16th century they rose to some prominence. We read from an inscription that Rama Rājā Odeyar being pleased with the barber, Kondōjā, exempted the barber community from certain taxes.

The lower class included the jugglers, the snake charmers and the sooth-sayers. Linchoten in 1583 A. D. wrote :

"They have likewise many Sooth-sayers and Witches which use juggling; travel the out countries having about them many snakes which they know how to bewitch, and being shut up in little baskets, they pull them out and make them dance. They wind them about their necks and arms and kiss them; skilful in preparing poisons......"

From the accounts of foreign travellers we get a full description of the habitation, dress, food, amusements and social institutions of the people.

The Kings and nobles lived in palaces, the middle class in nicely built houses, and the poor people in cottages. Pietro della Valle noticed in 1623 A. D. an universal custom which escaped the attention of the previous travellers. The pavements of the cottages were varnished over with cowdung.

Silk and cotton were the principal cloth materials. Wool was seldom used. Nicolo Cōnti says :

"Both men and women wear a linen cloth bound round their body descending as low as the knees in the case of men, and ankles in the case of women." "They have no beards, but very long hair; some tie their hair at the back of their head with a silken cord, and let it flow over their shoulders. They sleep on silken matresses, and on beds ornamented with gold. They wear sandals with purple and golden ties as we see in ancient statues. In some places women have shoes made of thin leather. Their head is covered with a cloth embroidered with gold. In some places they twist their hair up on the top of their head; some wear false hair of black colour that is held in great estimation. Some paint their faces. Men wear caps or turbans on their heads."

An interesting description of the Chettīs is given by Bārbōsa :

"They go naked from waist up, and below gather round them long garments many yards in length and have little turbans on their heads....Their beards are shaven, and they wear finger marks of ashes mixed with sandal wood and saffron on their breasts, foreheads and shoulders. They (probably women) have wide holes in their ears into which an egg would fit, which are fitted with gold with many precious stones; they wear many rings on their fingers."

The description of the markets gives us an idea of the food of the people. Paēs says : "On every Friday you have a fair there (Vijayanagara City), with many pigs, and fowls, and dried fiish from the sea and other things .... of which I do not know the name." Nuniz adds: "The markets are always flowing with abundance of fruit and mangoes and are very cheap." As regards meat, "they eat mutton, quail and all kinds of birds, even sparrows and rats and cats and lizzards all of which are sold in the market of Bisnaga." This account of Nuniz is evidently exaggerated. Hear Barbosa : "These men eat flesh and fish and other meats save only beef ....." Their chief cereals were rice and corn. Leaves were used in eating, although the people were not ignorant of plates. Betel leaf chewing was a popular fashion then, as it is now.

The people were intensely religious. Siva and Vishnu were the popular deities. Festivals were celebrated on a very grand scale. Nicolo gives the best description of these festivals :

"At certain time of the year their idol is carried through the city in chariots in which young women, richly adorned, sing hymns to the God. Many carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels so that they may be crushed to death, a mode of death which, they say, is very acceptable to their gods. Others make an incision in their side and, inserting a rope through the body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament, and thus suspended and half dead, accompany their idol. Thrice a year they keep festivals of special solemnity. On one of these occasions the males and females of all ages, having bathed in the river or the sea, clothe themselves in new garments and spend three entire days in singing, dancing and feasting. On another of these occasions they put up lamps, both inside and outside the temple and keep them burning day and night. On the third day they set up in all highways large beams richly decorated,

on the summits of which pious men are placed, who, patiently suffering all ill-treatments of the mob, would pray for the favour of God. There are other festivals also in which they sprinkle saffron water on all passers-by, even the King and Queen. This is received by all with much laughter."

The first of these festivals may be the Kanarese New Year's Day. The second is the Deepāvali when the temples and houses are illuminated. The description of the third answers to the nine days' festival called Mahānavamī. The other feasts of three days' duration may be the Hōli Festival.

Dancing and music, Kōlāttam or stick play, fencing, wrestling, hunting, dice, ball-playing, buffalo-racing and cock-fighting were their principal games and amusements. Castenhēda in his history of Portugal, deals with the duels in Vijayanagara :

"There are many duels on account of the love of women wherein many lose their lives....There are special wrestling grounds, and judges to decide who is the winner, and the King used to reward the best fighter with a gold chain as the bravest knight of the place."

Polygamy, Prostitution, Sati, Guilds and Slavery were some of the important social institutions.

Nicolo writes :

"The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please who are burned with their dead husbands. The King takes for himself 12,000 wives of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go, solely employed in the kitchen. A similar number more handsomely equipped ride on horseback. The remainder is carried by men in litters of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are selected as his wives on condition that they should voluntarily burn themselves with him which is considered a great honour for them."

With the Chettīs however, the custom seems to have been different. For, Barbosa says :

"....If her husband dies, the wife never marries again young as she may be; if the wife dies, the husband may marry again; if she offends he may poison her without any punishments...."

Barbosa gives a vivid description of Sati in the first half of the 16th century :

"If she is a woman of low-caste and poor, she jumps into the funeral pyre of her husband. If she is a rich lady, while the body is being burnt, the relatives feast and rejoice, and after that the woman decks herself with rich dress and ornaments, mounts a horse, and is taken in all parts of the streets with great rejoicings. Then they come to the same spot as before and there the woman gives all that she wears to her sons and relatives excepting a small cloth to cover her nakedness. Another fire is lit and she jumps into it while the relatives pour oil and butter into the fire....."

The institution of public women had received too much prominence. Abdur Razzāq says :

"Opposite the mint, is the office of the prefect of the city with 12,000 policemen and their pay is derived from the proceeds of the brothels.."

They enjoyed certain privileges from the King. They were entitled to be present on certain occasions at the times of feasts and festivals, and during a campaign. There was a special set called dancing girls whose duty was to dance before the gods in temples, and before the King.

As regards the social status of women, since the days of Manu, Hindu Law has assigned to them a dependent but by no means a dishonourable position in society; and these traditions were maintained in the time of the Vijayanagara Empire. Service in the royal palace was one of their important functions. According to Barbosa, "they do all work inside the gates and hold all duties of the household ...." They were not prevented from receiving higher education. There were several learned women. Ganga Devi, the wife of Kumara Kampana, the great conqueror of the first dynasty, is the best example. She wrote a very masterful historical play called *Madura Vijayam* or Vīrakamparāyacharitam, portraying the conquests of her husband. Thirumalāmba, the author of the drama, *Varadāmbika-parinayam*, Mōhangi, who wrote an excellent love poem entitled Marīchipurānam and Rāmabadramba whose *Raghunāthābhyudayam* is a first rate dramatic work, are other notable examples. Among many other accomplishments of women—music, dancing and so forth—Nuniz mentions also wrestling. This is confirmed by an inscription dated 1446 A.D.

Throughout the cities of the Empire, trade and crafts were regulated by guild organisations. Abdur Razzāq writes thus :

"Tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another; the jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazaar."

Paēs wrote :

"There are temples in every street, for these appertain to the institutions like confraternities, you know of our parts, of all craftsmen and merchants."

Besides looking after the quality of goods, fixing up prices. and helping the poor members, the guilds conducted weekly fairs or 'sante' whose superintendent was called the 'Pattanaswāmi.' They had another high dignitary called the 'Mahāprabhū.' These leaders seem to have exercised great influence at the royal court.

They could get taxes remitted, or a new city erected by sending petitions to the King. The financiers were mainly the Chettīs, but the rate of interest was too high. Hear Barbosa : "They are given to usury so much so that one brother will not lend to another a ceitil without making a profit thereby. "

Both the inscriptions and the writings of foreign travellers contain direct reference to the existence of slavery. Nicolo Cōnti writes :

" They have a vast number of slaves, and the debtor who is insolvent, is everywhere adjudged to be the property of the creditor." In a grant of 1382 A.D. female slaves are mentioned.

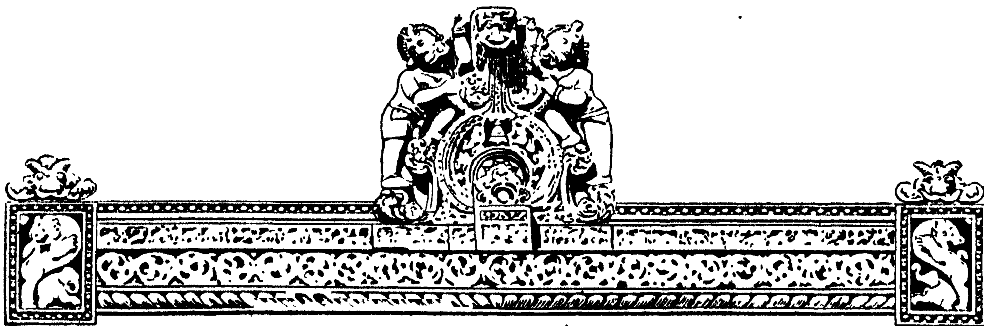
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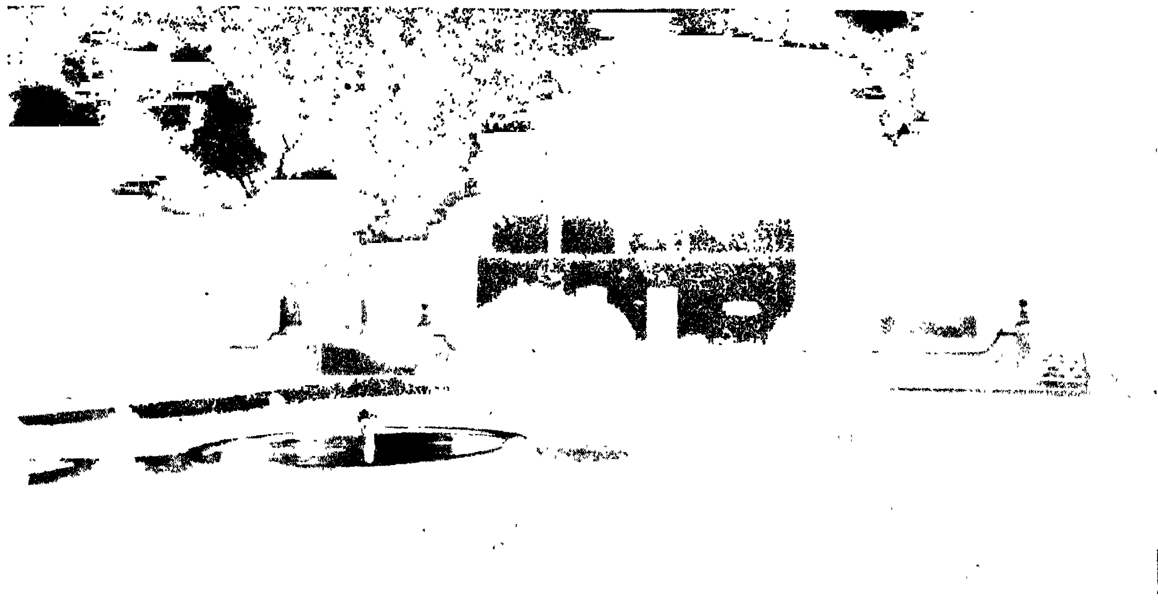
By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The lamp had gone out in the desolate house
when the traveller from the far land burst open the door
and in the dark laid his burden upon the sleeper's breast.

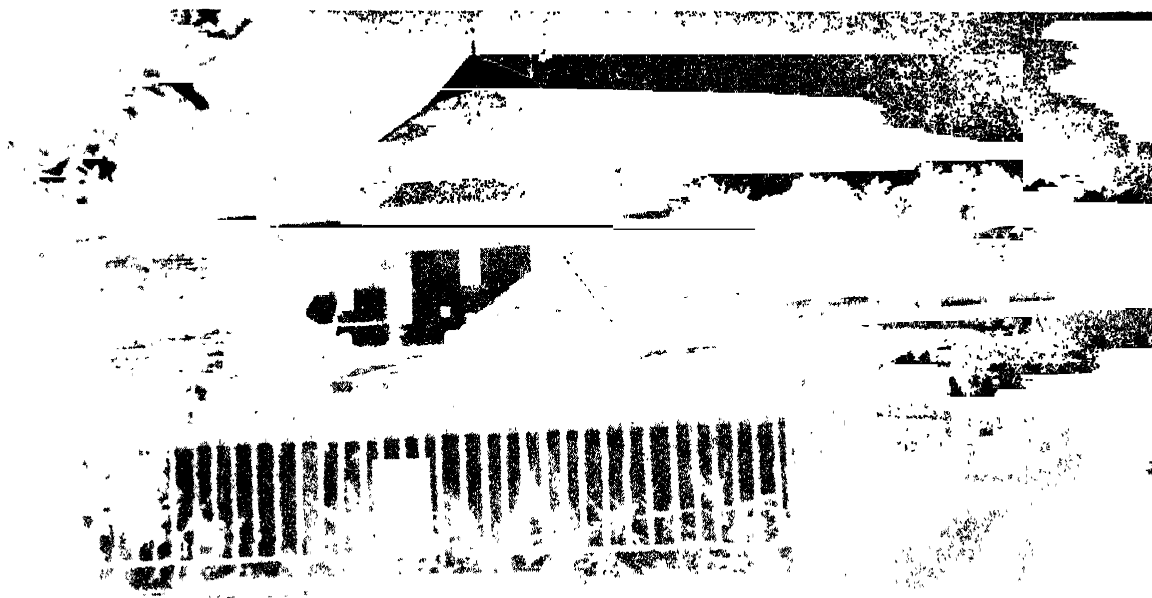
Through the dumb hours she dreamt
that it was the burden of her own fate
and despaired of the sunrise
and gladness of uncumbered life.

The day dawns at last; she struggles to raise up her head,
for she hears the song of the soaring wings, and cries :
" Thou who hast helped me in the agony of my awakening,
O stranger, be my friend, and help me in the freedom of my limbs;
Let me join thee in a common road of pilgrimage."





Sri Chitralayam



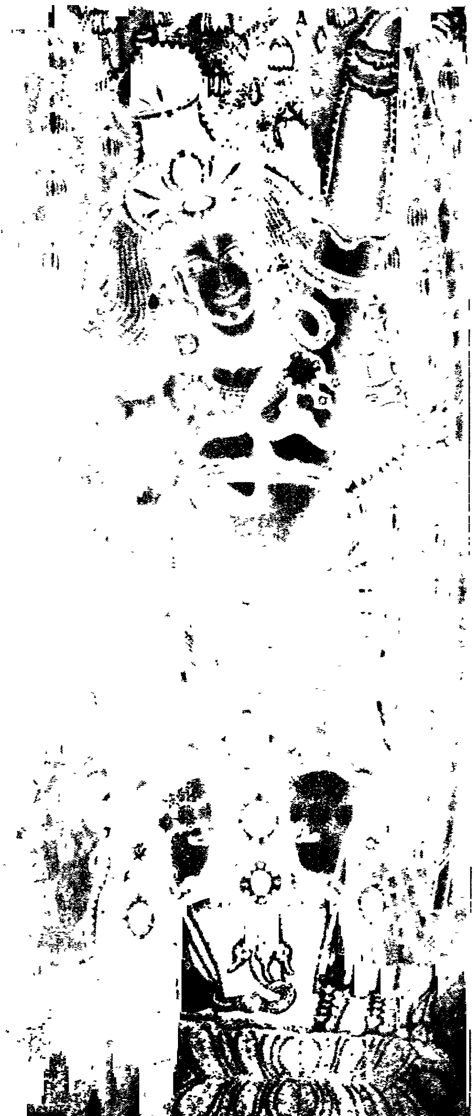
Padmanabhapuram Palace



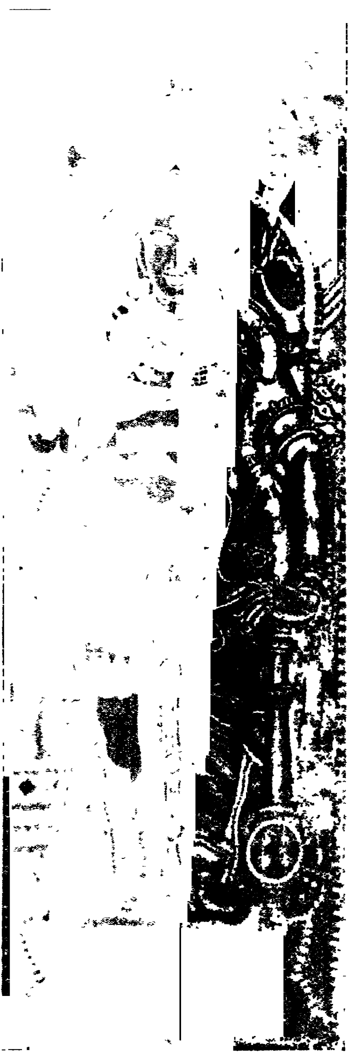
Rajarajeswari
Mural painting in the Padmanabhaswami Temple



Lady's toilet
Mural painting in the Padmanabhaswami Temple



Sri Rama
Mural painting in the Padmanabhapuram Palace



Harihara
One of the many beautiful frescoes in the Padmanabhapuram Palace

Sri Krishna and Gopis
Mural painting in the Padmanabhapuram Palace



Lakshmi Parinaya. Mural painting in the Padmanabhapuram palace

TRAVANCORE MURAL PAINTINGS

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

ONE of the distinctive features of the present era of enlightenment in Travancore is an effort on the part of those in authority to stimulate interest and activity in the Arts. With this lofty end in view two art institutions have recently been founded: the *Sri Chitralayam* (the Gallery of Asian Painting) in the Public Gardens, Trivandrum; and the *Renga Vilas Palace Museum and Gallery* situated in the Fort.

The Padmanabhapuram Palace and the Sree Padamanabhaswamy Temple in Travancore have become the favourite haunts of tourists and art critics who desire to examine the originals of the exquisite mural paintings exhibited in the *Sree Chitralayam.* Those who visit these citadels of Art are moved by the sheer beauty of the frescoes, which form the most precious artistic heritage of Travancore. The genius of the masters who executed these paintings may be discerned in many a line and curve and in the wonderful delicacy of the well-toned vegetable colours. The mural painting distinguished by forms that are poems and colours that are melodies are saturated with a holy and mysterious feeling. In these frescoes Hindu Art holds to the essential dignity of the human soul without denying sensuous appeal. They impress upon the visitor that the master minds who conceived and executed these marvellous works of art were not ordinary mortals but Titans of energy and creative genius.

One of the rooms in the *Sree Chitralayam* is set apart for Buddhist and Hindu mural paintings. Copies of frescoes from Ajanta and Bagh are shown here in cronological sequence for the first time: thereby, linking up the art of Kerala with that of Central and North India. The display is logical and instructive. The Travancore mural paintings exhibited in this section compel attention. They reveal the highly developed state of mural painting executed in the temples and palaces of Travancore and Cochin.The collection of frescoes exhibited in the *Sree Chitralayam* is unique. These artistic achievements of our ancestors set before us a wonderful example of the creative power of man and his lofty sense of sublime beauty and aesthetic grandeur. The centuries-old frescoes are wonderfully fresh and unmutilated. The



Subramonia (left) and Narada. Mural painting in the Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple

various phases of the active religious imagination and colorful ceremonial life of India find their powerful and charming expression in these mural paintings. The figures in the frescoes are done with great care and are of heroic proportions. Though they appear crowded they never encumber, and each is in its place. The expressions on their faces is dignified and makes you feel that you are face to face with a sublime power. Deeply devotional and intensely humanistic, these mural paintings display "the most beautiful union of painting with poetical mythology and genuine theory of music."

The line-work of the masters of the Travancore mural paintings bears comprison with that of the masters of the Italian School of Painting of the Renaissance period. The artists who have produced these miracles of art have discarded all superfluities of

colour and shade and by masterly strokes of marvellous flexibility have expressed in vivid colours what language itself can only imperfectly express. The male figures in the Travancore frescoes are all heroic; the maidens are all lovely. The fragile maidens in sweet attractive poses irradiate charm and bespeak purity and moral exaltation. The most sweeping and eloquent gestures are made use of by the talented artists to express physical and spiritual charms. These mural paintings possess a powerful rhythm which sets the heart-strings vibrating. They date from the early fifteenth to the eighteenth century. The technique and finish of these frescoes are superb and they are eloquent with spiritual instruction. The personalities in these wall paintings of old throb with exalted life. The most wonderful state of efflorescence of Travancore Art and culture is wintnessed in these masterpieces of inspired art which impart to us the most vivid impressions of an ancient culture. They display a vigorous style and are rooted in Truth. They evoke fear and veneration. With arresting faithfulness and dominant realism which powerfully moves the spectator, human emotions, grave and gay, have been exquisitely portrayed in these noble frescoes, which are remarkable for their excellent grouping and cosmic symbolism. They exhibit a joyous and sumptuous exuberance of human fancy running riot. All that is noble in human faith and warm in human feeling has been recorded in these wall paintings, which indicate the loftiest of creative strivings, the communion with the Infinite, and the entry into the realm of spiritual bliss. They portrary spiritual powers which control human destiny.

Both as the highest form of artistic conception and technique and as historic, ethnographical records the Travancore mural paintings are of enormous value. The great and distinctive art displayed in these paintings reveal a wonderful vitality and intensity of feeling, meditative charm, divine majesty, decorative delicacy, unique verisimilitude, subtle charm of colour, fine texture and marvellous draughtsmanship. The rich glowing beauty of the splendid colouring of the mural paintings is at once an object of wonder and envy to the modern artists. Works of unusual charm and beauty have been executed by the painters of these frescoes, with red, blue, yellow and green paints and many intermediate tones of colour. The talent for composition and intuitive power of expression displayed by the painters extort eloquent appreciation. The mural paintings indicate powerful lust of life, joyous vision, inspiring youthfulness and sublime beauty. For detailed finesse and rhythmic poise they are supreme. They recall to mind the vigorous and overcrowded canvasses of the Venetian masters of the Renaissance. These paintings form a stupendous art gallery unique in the history of Indian Art produced by master artists of vision and intuition who were in no way inferior to those who painted the splendid frescoes in the Ajanta and Bagh Caves and the tombs of the ancient Kings of Egypt and the Italian frescoes.

All the Travancore frescoes are essentially



Sastha on horseback Mural painting in the Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple

Hindu in subject. Those who produced these superb wall pictures were unknown craftsmen who cared not for fame. They inherited the traditions of their art from generation to generation. Most of these frescoes are still wonderfully fresh. Some of them indicate a harmonious union of Hindu ideals with Buddhistic influence, both in demeanour and craft. The paintings are distinguished by boldness of outline and broad sweep of the brush. The wonderful spontaneous brush line (a characteristic feature of early mediæval mural painting in Europe) of the Kerala mural paintings is indicative of artistic perfection. They are remarkable for their powerful rhythmic lines and rich warm tones.

Siva and Parvati with two devotees, the

original of which is in the cave temple of Thirunandikkara, is the earliest relic of mural painting so far discovered in South India. The style of this fresco, ascribed to the early ninth century, is similar to the finest Ajanta Paintings.

Nataraja (the Lord of the Dance) is the most striking of the Travancore mural. This painting which belongs to the 16th century is the symbolical expression of continuous motion. It is a masterpiece of Indian Art and a powerful and awe-inspiring representation of the Tandava Dance of Lord Siva. The powerful symphony of rich and graceful movements of the Dancer produces a sublime effect upon the mind of the devotee and the spectator. The painting has been so cunningly executed that the eye fails to grasp at first sight the marvels of exquisite workmanship. It intoxicates the senses of the spectator and plunges him into spiritual exaltation. The complexity of detail in this painting does not belittle the importance of the main figure in the design. *Nataraja* is the second largest fresco that has as yet been discovered, in Travancore, the first being the largest fresco (14′ × 11′)—*Gajendra Moksham* in the old palace of the Kayamcolam Raja at Krishnapuram. *Gajendra Moksham,* which may be considered as the latest example of mural painting in Travancore, is remarkable for its dazzling colours, magnificent composition and harmony of line, form and design.

The mural *Harihara* which measures 4 × 1½ feet is a typical masterpiece of South Indian Art. It is symbolical of form and life and represents the inner unity of the two paramount features of the Hindu gods—God Vishnu (Hari) and God Siva (Hara). The picture which at first sight appears to be composed of a single figure, on close study, reveals that it is made up of two figures, Hari on the left and Hara on the right. Magnificent grasp of composition and living texture are displayed in this fresco. The same concept of inner unity is expressed in the fresco depicting Siva and Parvati, in the single figure known as Ardhanareeswara (*ardha* means half, *nari,* goddess, and *Iswara, god*).

Krishna and Gopis (4 ft. 2 in. ×3 ft. 8 in.) and *Sri Rama* are two of the best paintings in the Padmanabhapuram Palace. They are excellent in technique and finish and eloquent with spiritual instruction. The figures in these paintings are full of vitality and grace and they throb with exalted life. The sumptuousness of floral design and the depiction of fish in the mural *Krishna* and *Gopis* indicate the skill of the artist in painting nature. The colours in these stuccos are rich and lovely and the figures are dignified in posture.

The craftsmanship discerned in the frescoes is superb. Their symbolic expression is arresting. There is a wealth of beauty and charm in them that makes us stand lost in admiration of a culture of the highest standing. The artists who created these miracles of art had an eye for feature and form and the technique to faithfully yet imaginatively represent it. In these paintings which are exquisite and full of rhythm more is meant for the head and the heart than for the eye. Niceties of perspective anatomic perfection did not bother the artists.

The mural paintings, *Rajarajeswari, Manmatha* (the god of love), *God Sastha on Horseback, Narada the Rishi, God Subramonia,* and *A Lady's Toilet,* are some of the best in the collection of frescoes exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam.* These are remarkable for their superb pose, meditative repose, radiant expression and lavish embellishment. They are unsurpassed in linear presentation, emotional fervour, consummate charm and contemplative mysticism. Their dignified beauty of form and their refinement are graceful. Some of the figures of maidens resemble the *Apsaras,* divine damsels. The frescoes have been executed in fast vegetable colours the richness of which has not been dimmed by time. The essentials of exquisite feminine charm as indicated in the ancient books have been observed in the sprightly figures with brows like the crescent moon, almond-shaped eyes, bosoms full and swelling like the swan breasting the waters, slender waists and pointed fingers. The elusive grace of women is most charmingly depicted in these frescoes. " Majesty and power " distinguish the women in the Travancore frescoes. The poses are acclaimed as the acme of art. To see these paintings which are at once spiritualised and spiritualising is " to see poetry in motion and perceive a new world." " They are a flowering of the mind in form."

The Travancore mural paintings are vivacious and varied in design. They are full of form and colour and their perspective and grouping are excellent. The unity of style evident in these paintings in stucco is marvellous. The long and subtle curves are drawn with supreme precision showing consummate skill and manual dexterity. The paintings are soft and subtle and their caligraphic and sweeping curves remind one of Chinese and and Japanese Art. The artists who drew these frescoes possessed perfect command of posture. The Hindu racial type has been glorified in these works of inspired art.

Competent critics have established a continuous tradition in the art of mural painting

in Travancore, from the Thirunandikkara mural painting which has been referred to the 9th century, through the old frescoes in the Suchindram Temple assigned to the 11th and 12th centuries, and the relics of the 14th century paintings in the Sri Krishna Shrine at Thiruvambadi, the Nataraja fresco in the Ettumanoor Temple ascribed to the 16th century, down to the 18th century mural paintings in the Sree Padmanabhaswamy Shrine at Trivandrum.

AN HISTORICAL TRIP TO LUMMINI

By Prof. N. N. GHOSH, M.A.

In connection with the annual archaeological tours organized by the College Historical Society I took my student-members to Lummini, the birth-place of Lord Buddha. Twenty members and one of my American colleagues joined the trip. From the Allahabad City station (B. N. W. R.) we took the mail train to Gorakhpur in the afternoon and reached there early next morning. At Gorakhpur we changed for a branch line to Nautanwa, the terminus of the British territory bordering on Nepal. From Nautanwa one has to travel 12 miles. The conveyances for travel in dry season are bus, bullock-cart or horse. The season was early November; the rivers were too full to permit journey by any other means than riding or tramping. We chose the latter.

The Journey

We started from Nautanwa before sunrise. The journey before us was long and arduous, as we would return the same day. Innumerable rivers—some deep and fordless, others shallow and sandy, crossed our path. Midway between Nautanwa and Lummini is the village of Majhgaon. The Zamindar of this place, Thakur Brijmohan Singh, a strongly built old man with a venerable look, is well-known for his sincere hospitality. We halted at his place to rest for a while, and he entertained us to a kind of native tea made of Nepalese *lawa* concocted in hot milk and sugar-candy. It was a delightful and refreshing drink. He invited us to dinner on our way back which we gladly accepted. Indeed a good dinner consisting of several courses of hot and tasty dishes awaited us as we returned from Lummini at sunset, tired and hungry. After an hour's journey at Majhgaon we renewed our forward journey, crossed several rivers and passed through many villages. The villages in Nepal Tarain are very similar to the villages generally found in the U. P.—small and thinly populated. But we noticed one difference: As we entered a village, the narrow path between the rows of houses were lined by men, women and children who welcomed us with silent, curious looks, and their dogs with loud barks, as if we were strange, unfamiliar animals.



The Rummindei Pillar

Perhaps our dresses had much to do with this. The dogs and the children followed us up to the end of a village. Thus walking continuously for over five hours we reached our destination—the holy spot of Lummini—at about noon.

The Ruins of Lummini

The village of Lummini has an area of nearly one square mile, half of which is covered by the ruins. There are crop fields and a score of houses round the ruins. There is a commodious Dak-Bunglow just near the ruins. We rested there for a while and finished our lunch which we had brought from Nautanwa. The sub-overseer in charge of the Bunglow—Mr. Chammanlal Perli took us to the ruins showing everything worth seeing. We expected to find there Mr. Nagarji, the resident Engineer in charge

of the excavation work. It gave us a shock when we heard that he had died ten days ago as a result of a fall down a precipitious hill while he was inspecting the construction work of a Government building at Khathmandu. His death has been a great loss to archæology in Nepal. His engineering skill coupled with his knowledge of and interest in archæology did good work in



A few large-sized bricks

unearthing some very valuable finds in Lummini. Sir Kaisar Shumshere Jung Bahadur, K.C.I.E., the Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, is, like the late Lord Curzon, keenly interested in archæology. It is on account of his interest in Nepalese Archæology that the Nepal Government has undertaken to excavate the ruins in Lummini. We spent nearly three hours in the ruins. The place is literally strewn with broken pieces of stone, bricks and innumerable stupas. The stupas have been found after excavating to the depth of four feet or so. Some stupas have cells made round them constructed probably for the residence of holy men who preferred solitary life for meditation. We saw in the Elephanta Caves similar cells designed for the residence of *sadhus*. A large number of relics have been housed in a small museum. A beautiful soap-stone figure of the Buddha found in the excavation and kept in the museum with great care excited our admiration.

Large-Sized Bricks

A large number of bricks have been found in the excavation and stacked in a specially built tin shade. They are of large size and of five different measures :

(*a*) 21 by 21 by 5, (*b*) 15 by 15 by 2½, (*c*) 14 by 8 by 2, (*d*) 12 by 8 by 2 and (*e*) 10 by 8 by 2.

They are unlabelled. But from the measurement it is clear that some of them at any rate belonged to the Mauryan period. The existence of an inscribed Asoka pillar *in situ* which will be noticed shortly in detail and of the large-sized bricks undoubtedly prove that the village was of considerable importance in the time of Asoka, where monks and nuns congregated for whose residence cells were constructed round the stupas.

The Asoka Pillar

The most important object of archæological and historical importance in Lummini is an inscribed pillar of Asoka. The capital is missing. A deep fissure possibly made by lightning runs down from the broken top. The Lummini (Rummindei Pillar) Inscription is one of the best preserved of Asoka's inscriptions. None of the letters have faded or has been damaged in any way. Fortunately the fissure stops at a point just above the inscription. The pillar has been carefully preserved by a base pavement and a strong iron fence around the base. One can easily read the inscription in the pillar by standing. The inscription runs as follows :

Text.—1. Devana-piyena Piyadasina Lagina visati-vasabhisitena.

2. Atana agacha mahiyete hida Budhe Jate Sakya-muniti

3. Sila Vigadabhicha Kalapita siba-thab he cha usapapite.

4. Hida Bhagabani Jate ti Lummini-game ubalike kate.

5. Atha-bhagiye cha.

Translation.—When King Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been annointed twenty years he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Sakyamuni was born here. He caused a stone wall as an enclosure and a stone pillar erected here. (And) because the Blessed One was born here the village of Lummini was relieved of taxes, being made to pay (only) an eighth share of the produce.

The Rummindei inscription

The importance of the inscription is very great. In the first place, it provides the archæo-



A beautiful soap-stone figure of the Buddha

logical evidence for the identification of the birth-place of the Buddha. According to the Buddhist literature Bodhisattva was born for the last time in the womb of Māyādevi, the Queen of Suddhodana, the Sakya ruler of Kapilavastu. Tradition has it that Queen Māyā, knowing her motherhood was near, desired to go to her parents. Accordingly, seated in a palanquin borne by men, and accompanied by guards and music, the Queen left for Devadaha, the city of her kinsfolk when the procession reached the Lumimini grove, which was a royal pleasance belonging to Suddhodana, the Queen rested there, Suddenly she felt her time had come, and standing beneath a lovely sāla tree she brought forth her child, pangless. Thus Lummini is associated with one of the greatest events in the history of the world and is rightly considered by the Buddhists as one of their four greatest sacred places. Secondly, it lends corroborative evidence to Kautilya's statement in the Arthasastra regarding the royal share of the land revenue which he says 'a fourth or fifth part of the produce' (*Chaturtha-pancha bibhaga*). The inscription therefore permits the conclusion that Asoka remitted fifty per cent of the land revenue hitherto realised by the Mauryan Government from the village of Lummini.

THE RUMMINDEI TEMPLE

There is a temple in Lummini. It is situated on a mound in the middle of the ruined area. The carved images inside the temple perpetuate the story of the birth of the Buddha. The figures carved in stone are of the Queen Māyā, the infant Buddha and a female attendant. Who actually built the temple is not known, but the carvings are pretty old indicating the antiquity of the temple which is further proved by the bricks of a ruined base on which the present temple stands. It appears that the temple has been built many times, the original temple being very old indeed whose brick base still exists. Like many deities of the Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism the stone-images of the temple of Lummini are being worshipped by the people far and near as Hindu deities. Rummandei ki Mandir as the people of the district call the temple is also a sacred place for hundreds of Hindu pilgrims. Rummandei or Rummandevi is a corruption of the word Lumman Devi or the goddess of Lummini. The letter ल of Lummini is changed into र. The dialect spoken by the people of Nepal Tarai and in some of the districts of the Eastern U. P. is that form of Hindi in which the alphabet ल is generally pronounced as र.

RELATIVE CRIMINALITY OF THE HINDUS AND THE MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

Both the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal are living under the same political system, governed by the same laws and are subject to the same economic influences. Still it is a fact that so far as the jail population is concerned, there are more Muhammadans than the Hindus. The Muhammadans being 54 per cent of the total population of Bengal, compared with the 43 per cent of the Hindus, it is natural to expect that the ratio of convicts will be in the same proportion. But what we find is that the ratio of the jail population is far greater; there being 24 per cent more Muhammadan inmates of jail than their population strength in the total population would warrant.

Let us examine the relevant statistics carefully. The religious composition of the population in Bengal during the decade 1921-1931 is shown below :—

TABLE I

Percentage Composition by Religions

Year	Muhammadan	Hindu	Tribal	Buddhist	Christian	Others
1921	53·55	43·72	1·79	0·58	0·31	0·55
1931	54·44	43·48	1·03	0·65	0·36	0·44
Average	54·00	43·60	1·41	0·62	0·33	0·04

Thus we find 54·0 per cent of the total population of all ages to be Muhammadans; and 43·6 per cent to be Hindus.

But the age-distribution of the different classes of population is different in Bengal. Under the Indian Penal Code all those who are below 12 are regarded as infants, and so incapable of committing any crimes [*See* Sec. 83]. We have, therefore, to find out the proportion of Hindus and Muhammadans above the age of 12. The following table summarised from that given at p. 115 of the Bengal Census Report, 1931, Part I, shows the numbers in 10,000 of the total population, who are of and over the age shown by principal religions.

TABLE II

Aged & over	All religions	Muhammadans	Hindus
0	10,000	5,443	4,347
10	7,103	3,750	3,206
15	5,925	3,073	2,730
20	4,962	2,545	2,314
25	3,954	2,000	1,870
40	1,676	819	820

Assuming that the falling off is uniform between the ages of 10 and 15—an assumption which is in favour of the Muhammadans, we get the following figures for those who are aged 12 and over.

TABLE III

Aged & over	All Religions	Muhammadans	Hindus
12	6,633	3,480	3,016

The proportion of the Muhammadans is thus 52·46 of the population potentially capable of committing crimes, *i.e.*, of all those who are aged 12 and over, in the year 1931. Assuming that the age-distribution of both the Hindus and the Muhammadans remained the same during the decade 1921-1931, we find the proportion of Muhammadans aged 12 and over to be 54·44 − 52·46=1·98 per cent **less** than their proportion in the total population of all ages; or 54·00 per cent (the average percentage during the decade in question) *minus* 1·98 per cent=52·02 per cent. And the corresponding proportion of the Hindus would be 45·47 per cent.

From the Annual Reports on the Administration of Jails of the Bengal Presidency we get the religions of the convicts. In the Table below, we give the religions of the convicts admitted into jails year by year.

TABLE IV

Religion of the convicts admitted into jails year by year as percentages of the total:—

Year	Total number	Muhammadans	Hindus*
1920	28,167	56·56	39·92
1921	28 217	55·62	40·31
1922	28,655	58·28	38·74
1923	23,580	57·19	37·67
1924	23,865	54·79	42·01
1925	21,759	57·07	39·01
1926	21,834	56·06	40·68
1927	23,970	56·29	40·45
1928	22 354	56·20	39·95
1929	23,525	57·46	39·74
1930	36,801	42·73	55·13
1931	30,727	53·05	42·66

From the above Table, it will appear that the number of convicts suddenly jumped from 23,000 in 1929 to 37,000 in 1930; and the percentage of Hindu convicts from 40 to 55. This was due to the Civil Disobedience Movement

* The percentages for the Christians, Buddhists and Jains, and Others are omitted, as they are not necessary for our present purpose.

of Gandhi. In 1921, there were many prisoners on account of the Non-co-operation movement; but neither the increase in the total number of convicts nor the variation in the percentage was noticeable.

In Table V below, we give the Age-Distribution of the convicts as percentages of the total year by year. It will be noticed that there was a sudden and big jump in the percentage of convicts in the age-periods 16-18, and 19-21, and a corresponding decrease in all other later age-periods in 1930. This was due to the Civil Disobedience movement, when many immature youths were exploited by our political leaders and sent to jail.

TABLE V

Age-Distribution of the Convicts.

Year	Below 16	16—18	19—21	22—30	31—40	above 40
1920	1·10					
1921	1·19			Figures not available		
1922	2·39					
1923	1·32	4·63	7·55	35·36	29·25	21·89
1924	1·06	4·44	9·30	34·41	30·93	19·86
1925	0·59	4·21	7·34	43·29	28·56	16·01
1926	1·09	3·92	7·82	39·63	28·55	18·99
1927	1·40	3·51	9·61	42·70	28·85	14·33
1928	0·34	2·34	6·68	42·90	31·95	15·80
1929	0·55	3·12	7·37	41·54	30·63	16·79
1930	1·95	9·87	13·58	36·58	24·80	13·22
1931	0·53	3·36	6·04	40·60	30·36	19·10

So leaving out the figures for 1921 and 1930, as those of abnormal years when people went to jail for political purpose, and taking the average for the 8 more or less normal years 1922 to 1929 (both inclusive), we get the religious composition of the convicts admitted into the jails as in the Table below :

TABLE VI

Religion of Convicts as Percentages of the Total

Average for 1922-29	Average Total Number	Muhammadans	Hindus
8 years	23,443	56·67	39·89

If we divide the respective percentages of the convicts by corresponding percentages in the population, potentially capable of committing crimes, we get a measure of the relative criminality of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal. Thus Hindu criminality : Muhammadan criminality = 39·89/45·47 : 56·67/52·02 or 0·877 : 1·089 or 1,000 : 1,242.

We see from Table V that most of the convicts are of ages between 22 and 40. Taking the average for the 8 years, 1923-1931 (excepting the abnormal year 1930), we find the average age-distribution to be :

TABLE VII

Average Age-Distribution of Convicts as Percentages of the Total

Below 16	16—18	19—21	22—30	31—40	above 40
0·86	3·69	7·71	36·30	29·89	17·85

Thus 66·19 per cent or two-thirds of the convicts are between the ages of 22 and 40. The proportion of the Muhammadans at this age-period is not much different from what we have obtained for ages '12 and over.' Assuming that the falling off in numbers is uniform between the ages of 20 and 25, we get the following figures for those who are 22 and above per 10,000 of the total population.

TABLE VIII

	All Religions	Muhammadans	Hindus
(1) Aged 22 and over	5,539	2,861	2,564
(2) Aged 40 and over	1,676	819	820
Deducting (2) from (1)	3,863	2,042	1,744

Of the total population of the age-period 22-40, the Muhammadans form 52·86 per cent; and the Hindus 45·14 per cent. This is not very different from 52·02 per cent, and 45·47 per cent, we have obtained previously for all ages above 12. Thus the relative criminality seems to be independent of age.

The Bengalee Muhammadans are racially the same as the Bengalee Hindus [See *The Modern Review* for March, 1931—"Who the Bengalee Muhammadans Are ?"]. Still the relative criminality of the Bengalee Muhammadans is some 24 per cent more than that of the Bengalee Hindus. To what is this greater criminality due ? The answer to this question is very important, as it affects the social welfare of 278 lakhs of Muhammadans in Bengal.



NATIONAL PLANNING IN INDIA

By Prof. M. N. SAHA, D.SC., F.R.S.

I AM very grateful to our brothers and sisters of Rangoon for the invitation to talk on the aims and objects of the National Planning Committee which was appointed at the instance of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Indian National Congress in 1938, and is now working under the Chairmanship of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. I have spent a few days in Burma and I have been impressed by this beautiful land with its fine climate and by the kindliness of the different communities which make up the population of the capital city of Burma. The Burmans are naturally proud of their country and their ancient civilisation and of the religion of the Lord Buddha which they have been following for ages. Inspite of ethnical differences, a common culture largely permeates Burman and Indian life, but I am confining my talk to economic aspects alone. The various Indian and European communities which have come to this land chiefly for making a living and also sometimes for making it a permanent home have developed problems of their own. In fact in Burma, the problems which confront the different communities are to some extent the epitome of those which confront the whole world today. These problems have been created by advancements of modern civilisation due to science or, to be more explicit,—due to quick transport and communications and new types of industries, which owe their origin to scientific discoveries and inventions. These new conditions have been thrust upon a population whose mind does not respond so quickly to the rapidly changing world conditions but prefers to remain anchored in old world prejudices and superstitions. These factors have led to the present great world catastrophe for which some people blame science.

The situation which has developed is a matter of deep concern for all those who set apart a part of their time for thoughts for the well-being of mankind. I have been reading a book *Fate of Homo Sapiens* by the famous writer, H. G. Wells, who visited Burma a year ago. He pays a tribute to the Burman youths who asked him whether he could tell them how to understand modern civilisation. They are reported to have said that they had been trained to become clerks in Government offices and they had no idea how to adjust themselves to the present changing world. But is the complaint of Burman youths quite justified ? While some years ago, they and their elders might have been contented with occupying subordinate positions in life, for the past two years the responsibility of Government has been partly laid on their shoulders and more responsibility might be thrust on them in the near future. The same remark applies to India as well. It will not do if we avoid understanding modern civilisation and its implications. We must have definite ideas and must push on with our ideas towards our goal. Otherwise failure will be writ large on national movements.

When the Indian National Congress and other popular Indian parties were invested with the power of Government in the provinces, it was found that the ideas with which they had worked previously were not quite suitable for carrying on the duties imposed on them. The public wanted that there should be clear-cut schemes of national reconstruction, for everybody clamoured for a better life. In drawing up a programme, however, those who were entrusted with the task of Government found themselves severely handicapped; not merely because of their inexperience but the more so on account of the doctrines to which they had so far subscribed and the mental barriers which had been imposed on them by the particular culture, civilisation, or walk of life under which they had been brought up. They had risen to power by appealing to popular sentiments, on grievances of a general nature, but once responsibility for provincial Government or mis-Government was thrust on them, these grievances had partly disappeared; and it was ludicrous to base the future merely on vanishing grievance. So far the odium of living under foreign domination has brought together the various communities which inhabit the continent of India and Burma. But with the gradual vanishing of the longstanding common grievances, the barriers of caste and religion and of the different cultures which are responsible for the tragedies of our past history again raise their heads and *history tends to repeat itself*. It is, therefore,

obvious that only a clear-cut programme of national reconstruction to which every community can offer unstinted homage, can save us from a repetition of the past blunders of history.

What should be this ideal ? Well, some in our country want religion or religious prejudices to be revived, others cling back to particular forms of their ancient cultures, but it is needless to add that insistence on these points will only raise further insuperable mental barriers and will not promote harmony amongst the people on which alone we can look upon a bright future. There are others who want to preach asceticism for every one, but there is only one Mahatma amongst 400 millions and his way of living, however noble, cannot satisfy the large mass of ordinary mortals which make up our continent and the world. Further, as far as economics and national reconstruction are concerned, the Mahatma has unfortunately allowed himself to be surrounded by a number of ill-informed fanatics of the dubious Gospel of the Spinning Wheel and the Bullock cart who do not allow the *Truth* to get anywhere near him. Besides the fanatics of the Charka and Bullock Cart Cult, we must also mention the large number of *hypocrites*, mostly big business men, who find it convenient to advertise the utility of the Charka, and the village oil-press. Fanatics can after all be understood, but the support of the Money-bags is a subtle kind of hypocrisy which is not so apparent to the unsophisticated mind.

If you subject yourself to a self-analysis, you can easily find out what the wants of the country are. You all know that India is poor but you have no idea how poor you are in comparison to other countries. The National Planning Committee, in one of its sessions went very deeply into the question. They found that the National Income per capita of our population to be Rs. 65 and for the people living in villages only Rs. 35. We can compare it with the average per capita income in other countries. If you take England, the average income is about thirty times greater. But one may object to the comparison with England, which is enormously rich in national resources and has a huge empire. But we may go therefore nearer home. Take for example, Japan;—a country which is far poorer in natural resources than India. According to my friend Sir M. Visweswaryya, one of the makers of modern Mysore, the average income of the Japanese is five times as large—an achievement which redounds to the great credit on the part of the Japanese. It is a fact which requires absolutely no proof. You visit an Indian village and find out the average villager's possessions and wants; there is not much dearth of food though there may be very numerous cases of undernourishment, due to maldistribution of available food. But you will find that he nearly always lacks a good house, he has almost no furniture, he dresses himself in rags, he lives from hand to mouth, has no facilities for educating himself or his children and has constantly to battle against the wolf at the door' and against disease. In fact, he knows very few pleasures of life. You go to a Japanese village and there you find the contrast. So the N. P. C. found that if the National Governments which came into power and may soon have more power thrust on them have to justify their existence, they must find out a method for pushing up the national income to five times its present figure within the next ten or fifteen years.

How can that be done? Some are of opinion that this may be possible by going back to villages, by reviving the village handicrafts which have been swept away by modern science and the modern factory system. A little reflection will show you that this is a *False Philosophy of Life*. The last census revealed that 89% of our people live in villages. That is to say, they have to depend in one way or the other upon the products of the land and only 11% of the people are engaged in industries and other occupations. Out of the total income of India, Rs. 1,800 crores come from agriculture or agricultural industries. Only Rs. 600 crores are our total industrial out-turn. Well, combine these facts with the wants. Every man wants a better house, wants better furniture, wants clothing and some leisure for himself and means to improve his mind. The communications between different provinces and within the same region have to be improved. Therefore the primary need is of greater industrial production and its proper distribution. The National Planning Committee thinks that the industrial out-turn should be increased at least three times during the next five or ten years and they have appointed 28 sub-committees to find out how this should be done. The sub-committees are now busy compiling their reports, but a few salient directions may be picked up.

If you analyse the figures a little more closely you will find that India is twenty times poorer than the average western country because our total out-put of work is 20 to 30 times less. Let us go into this matter in some detail.

The League of Nations publishes a Year Book and they give you statistcs of the per capita out-put of work for each country. The

average per capita amount of work done by say a country like Sweden amounts to about 1,800 units. The corresponding figure for India is about 100 units. This is the key problem. India is 20 times poorer because her out-turn of work is 20 times less.

You can ask me how you get these figures. Well, if you look round the world, you will find today that most of the work which is done in a country is now derived from factories which are run not so much by human labour as was the universal custom before the Industrial Revolution as by power-machinery. The power is again derived from the burning of coal, or of petrol or by harnessing the energy of rivers and water-falls in which many countries abound. In medieval ages, most of the work used to be done by man-power or by animal power. But this forms a very negligible part of the total out-turn of work in any civilised community today. Take for example England. Their total out-put of energy is either from electricity or from steam machinery; the ultimate source in both cases being coal. Electricity gives them about 600 units, the direct steam machinery gives them about 1,000 units and the man and animal power amount to some 100 units. Now let us see the corresponding figures for India. They are—you can make your own calculations in the following way; 10 men equal to one horse and the average per capita out-turn of work by manual labour amount to only 60 units per year. Electrical power gives you about 10 units and steam power and other power all combined probably not more than 20 units. Their average out-turn of power per head amounts to about 100 units. These figures were given by me in a presidential address to the National Institute of Sciences, two years ago, and have not been challenged. They form the key to the problem of poverty: we have not been developing the huge amount of power resources in our country and utilise them for production of such commodities as are required for a civilised existence. These resources are in the current of the water-falls, or the rivers and in our coal and fuel resources. Sir Visweswaryya has calculated that only 2 per cent of the power resources have been developed. 98% remains undeveloped. So in a nutshell, the problem before all National Governments would be to develop these power resources and to create more industrial work. You might think that I am taking refuge in some kind of weird figures which you cannot understand and I am over-stressing the problem of development of power. You may say that very great civilisations were built up in the past when the economy was based entirely on human and animal labour. Why can we not build up a great civilisation on human and animal labour alone and what is the necessity of insistence on Power Developments ? Let us see what human history tells us. If you ask any historian how great civilisations had been built up, they will tell you that all past civilizations were based on slave labour. In the halcyon days of Athenian greatness, it has been estimated that there were four slaves, of course human slaves, to every Athenian citizen: these slaves afforded him sufficient time, leisure and means to devote himself to the cultivation of the finer faculties of the human mind,—to philosophy, to poetry and to sculpture and the world still is amazed at the great amount of heritage left to posterity by the ancient Athenians. This was possible because every Athenian had four or five slaves working for him. When Athens was subjugated by Rome, this great Culture simultaneously vanished because most of the time of the Athenian was taken up in keeping the wolf out of doors. What is true of Athens holds equally well for all past great Cultures. They were all based on Slave Labour, the slaves being either their own men relegated to a lower class as in India, or foreigners captured in war. They gave the upper classes the time and leisure needed for the cultivation of the higher faculties of the mind. You might say I am advocating slave labour. Well, as a matter of fact, modern science tells us that you need not bring slaves from Africa or enslave your own countrymen or men of dependencies for getting your work done. If you can harness your rivers properly, you can get as much work done for each individual as can be done by 10 slaves working constantly. It has been estimated that there are for every citizen of America 14 slaves working constantly for him and this slave is no other than the power of running water or the power of the coal which lies embedded in the bowels of the earth.*

* There is a widespread belief in this country, which has been sedulously disseminated by romantic poets and unworldly philosophers, that civilisation in Ancient India grew in forests and villages. May we ask these poets and philosophers what is the *date* of this civilisation, and its venue ? Ancient India, as far as it has been unearthed, shows that civilisation grew about 3,000 B.C. in the cities of the Indus Valley (Harappa and Mahenjodaro) between 3,000 B.C. and 300 B.C. in cities like Taxila, Hastinapur, Kampilya and Ayodhya, and others which are still unknown, later round Benares, Pataliputra, Kanauj, Gaur, etc. The unhistorical view of poets and philosophers has unfortunately gained too much currency and led the public to attach false values to *rustic life*. The philosopher may point to the Aran-

Our first duty is therefore Development of Power.

The next problem is, if you have developed your power resources, what will you do with it ?

As I told you, you have to create industrial work. Let us see what work is to be created. I can however give you only a bare idea of this vast subject which is being attacked by a number of sub-committees.

At present those who are in industry are feeling the pinch of many essential materials for which they had to depend upon foreign supply. Paper is becoming very scarce. Many essential chemicals which are the basis of many industries *e.g.*, Caustic soda, Sulphuric acid, bleaching powder—to take a few examples, are not produced in our country, and foreign supplies are becoming more and more scarce. The price of metal has almost gone up twice and if the present unfortunate war continues, it will not be possible for us to get sufficient supplies and we may have to revert to medieval times and the time is not far distant when other nations, more fortunately placed about us, may attack our country and put an end to all our national aspirations. So for the solving of the problem of poverty as well as of defence it is necessary that the Government and the public unite in an effort to establish these industries for which India has to depend upon other countries. Let us first take the chemical industries. There are no chemical industries in this country. Those who call themselves Chemical Works do mostly pharmacy, *i.e.*, prepare drugs out of indigenous plants and foreign basic chemicals. They use the word Chemical merely to increase their prestige. We have to depend for all the essential heavy chemicals upon foreign import, and you are probably not aware how many industries like soap, textiles, and paper are dependent on heavy chemicals. But there is no reason why we should not start the manufacture of caustic soda, sulphuric acid, metals like aluminium, for which there is no dearth of raw materials in India.

You are not probably aware that in India consumption of paper per head is 1/40th of an average European country and a large fraction of even this small amount of paper has to be imported from outside. Wood pulp is the raw material for paper and it is made by cheap power in Canada, Norway or Sweden out of their abundant forests and from there sent to Germany or England. Paper is manufactured for us in these countries and then only you can get the newspaper on which you get the news of the world. But why should we be dependent on foreign countries? In the Himalayan regions, Burma and elsewhere we have huge forests of suitable trees (*e.g.*, bamboo pine and spruce). It requires only cheap power, cheap transport and cheap chemicals to bring into existence the wood pulp industry. Wood pulp is the raw material not only for paper, but also for artificial silk, which is replacing in many countries cotton and ordinary silk. If you take again metal industries, iron, copper and other essential metals which are necessary for modern civilisation, you will find the consumption per head in India is about 1/100th of that of the U. S. A. Metal is required in all stages in modern life. One cannot think of modern civilisation without iron, copper and aluminium, not to mention other metals. Iron is required for your railway transport engines, for every kind of machinery or implements and tools. Copper is required for all electrical work and I need not give any further details. There is no dearth of mines containing these minerals in India. In fact, India possesses the finest iron ores and ores of many other metals. If India is to be properly industrialised, there is room for 20 more Tata Iron and Steel Works.

The machinery industry is still in its infancy in India. From the pin and needle up to the motor car, every bit of machinery has to be imported from foreign countries. We have got all the essential raw materials in this country and an attempt should be made for the manufacture of all kinds of machinery in this country. Again, communication in this country is extremely defective. The railway mileage in this country is not at all proportionate to the needs of a civilized nation and whatever little shipping there is, is in the hands of foreign companies. The communication industry is as good as non-existent. How many people use the telephone lines or the telegraph lines ? If you come to Radio, which has been recognised as one of the vital agents for education as well as entertainment, you at once realise the extent of poverty of this country. In U. S. A. there is one radio set per six of the population. There are 20 million radio sets in America and a huge industry has grown up within the last 20 years. We have got in this country only one radio set,

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yakas or Rishis spinning out the theories of the Upanishads in forest retreats, but we find in every case that they invariably made use of the courts of kings or of big cities to preach their doctrine. Some of the royal sages who were authors of the Upanishadic theories might have retreated for short periods to forests, but their normal life was spent in cities.

probably, per 3,500 of population. If we can organise the country properly, the radio industry can rapidly grow up. Even the ordinary villager can have education and entertainment placed at his door. But I calculated that at the present rate of progress, it will take us several thousand years to reach the level of any civilised country. Industrialisation must be a forced march as Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose said.

I need not multiply instances. The National Planning Committee has divided itself into 29 sub-committees and each one of these sub-committees is busy in studying their problems. But I need not go into details about their working. The object of the National Planning Committee is to show the right way of handling the problem of National reconstruction when power comes to our hands. Without transference of power nothing is possible. But even if we get power, we may not have the vision to make proper use of it. The artificial barriers of caste and religion, of provinces and of language which have so long remained dormant, are sure to come to the forefront and may be regarded by interested persons as more important than the problem of reconstruction and all ideas of progress may disappear in the *maelstrom* which will start, leaving for our descendants a more barbarous future than we ever had. The National Planning Committee therefore wants to set up an ideal which will unite all sections in India irrespective of creed, community, caste or province, an ideal to which every Indian can offer unstinted homage.

You might regard that this is all Utopian, worthy only of a visionary and some of the politicians with whom I talked attach more importance to acrimonious debates about the form of government, about personalities, and creeds than to these matters. I do not know what will be your reaction to my line of argument. The average man is so much confronted and confused with the day-to-day problems that he cannot take a long vision ahead. The politician thinks himself very wise or successful when by manipulation of affairs or by raising a false cry he can down his adversary and gather all power in his own hands. But subsequent generations find them to be no better than fools. When the late Mr. Clemenceau, who was one of the signatories of the Versailles Treaty, visited Egypt, he was taken around the Pyramids. He dropped a remark: "What fools and charlatans were the ancient Egyptian kings who employed millions of slaves to raise a pile of stone over their dead carcase?" An Egyptian paper came out the next day with the remark that probably two thousand years afterwards, men will think that none were greater fools than the authors of the Versailles Treaty, for they squandered the world's income on dreadnoughts and sumbarines to annihilate each other, neglected the real work of reconstruction and development and sowed the seeds of future international and worldwide conflagrations. No doubt the authors of the Treaty of Versailles considered themselves very wise men, and regarded men like Professor Keynes who protested against the Treaty as academic fools. But it did not take 2000 years for mankind to find out the folly of the Versailles Politicians. Twenty years have been quite sufficient.

The plans I have given to you may appear to our politicians and leaders as the dreams of a visionary, but probably subsequent generations will find that if India is to take her rightful place in the comity of nations, if we have to renew the springs of our civilization, if we have to shape a hopeful future for our generations, the only way is to get rid of our medieval superstitions and tantalising prejudices and to unite round a common platform of service to the motherland on the lines I have indicated.

To conclude, I am glad to mention to you that many of the leaders I have talked with are in complete sympathy with my views, but two stalwarts may be picked out: Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose who originated the idea of National Planning, and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru who is piloting the N. P. Committee with great tact and ability. When they come to power, as we hope they will do soon, we can hope much of our programme to bear fruit in the near future.

The above is a reproduction of a lecture delivered by Dr. M. N. Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor, Calcutta University, on *National Planning in India* on the 14th March, 1940, at Rangoon.

THE NEED FOR A REVISED RAILWAY RATE POLICY IN INDIA

By Prof. PREM CHAND MALHOTRA, M.A.

The Changing Nature of International Trade

Foreign trade has received an exaggerated importance in all countries. This is evident from the fact that international trade has been broadly considered an index of economic prosperity. In India foreign trade monopolises our attention because the Government is more interested in foreign trade than internal trade. Again, a favourable trade balance has come to occupy a unique importance in view of the fact that India has to meet annual payments on account of 'Home Charges' and import of services (shipping, banking, insurance, etc.). The cause of internal trade has consequently been overlooked in India.

World trade has undergone a revolution in the period after 1918. The world depression of 1929 crystallized the new trends in foreign trade. Economic self-sufficiency became not merely a watch-word but a rigid policy. The result is that world trade is now no more synonymous with international trade but is the sum total of trade activities carried on by various nations.

The Importance of Developing Internal Trade For India

The connection between economic prosperity of a country and its foreign trade is quite uncertian. India's case illustrates the argument. For a country of the size and population of India her internal trade is of far greater importance than her foreign trade. But for a small country like the United Kingdom her very prosperity is dependent on her foreign trade. As India develops her industries she would gradually reduce the demand for foreign imports. Her exports will also diminish partly because if we buy less from other countries they will buy less of our goods, and partly because the raw materials formerly exported would be utilised at home. The immediate consequence of her industrial development will be a decline in her foreign trade. There are additional reasons why we must look for prosperity more in terms of the development of internal trade than in terms of foreign trade. International trade is being strangled by exchange restrictions, quota agreements and tariffs. India is pledged to a policy of protection for her industries. This limits the sphere of bargaining power with other countries. Lastly, agricultural revolution abroad by reducing the cost of production of agricultural products in foreign countries and the adoption of a agricultural protection by them have made the regaining of economic prosperity for us in terms of revival of our export trade very difficult.

Railway Rate Policy and Industrial Progress

The changed conditions call for a reorientation of our aims and means to achieve them. The railway rate policy can be an important lever for the industrial progress of our country. The connection between transport and industries has always been a very intimate one. The beneficial effects sought from a well meant tariff policy may be discounted or even nullified by an indifferent or a perverse transport policy. In their own interest the Railways in India must revise their rate policy. The tempo of economic development in our country cannot be checked. It may be accelerated or obstructed by a progressive or a conservative railway policy. Railway finances are not in a happy position even now. The future prosperity of our country rests on the development of her vast resources. Railways can make their contribution towards that end and also benefit themselves.

Complaints Against The Railway Rate Policy

Railway rate policy in the past discouraged Indian manufacturing industries. The port rates were less than the internal rates. The result of this policy has been the congestion of industries in port towns. The Industrial Commision recommended that

> "Internal traffic would be rated as nearly as possible on a equality with traffic of the same class over similar distances to and from the ports."

Complaint regarding unfair railway rates on raw materials transported from other parts of India and on their manufactured goods despatched to the various markets were made by Indian industrialists before the Indian Fiscal Commission. The inequity and the anomaly

of the Railways rate policy in India was forcibly pointed out by the Indian Merchants Chamber, Bombay, in their memorandum submitted to the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee (1937).

A comparison of the freight charged by various railway lines for port and internal traffic substantiates the defective railway rating policy.

The freights charged on piecegoods from Bombay to upcountry consuming centres are cheaper per maund per mile than those charged from factories situated in the hinterland of the country.

It was complained before the Tariff Board on Heavy Chemicals that the freight on some of the chemicals from Ambemath to the interior was higher than Bombay to the same places though the distance was about 45 miles longer. Even if the two rates were equal that did not meet the objection in principle that the indigenous industry was deprived of its geographical advantage and the foreign industry was given to that extent a preference over the indigenous industry.

More numerous station to station rates are quoted from the port towns. This method of rate quoting is only occasionally adopted in respect of internal mill centres and places them at a disadvantage in competition with the importer.

> "On the solemn plea of port and inter railway competition the Indian railway have kept rates at port towns like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Karachi lower, just enough to cover their supplementary costs and leave a residual share to meet the fixed costs, whereas the internal traffic has to bear not only its share of the total costs but also of the total traffic. Thus the internal traffic has to maintain the railway system and the imported traffic reaps the advantage by paying a little over its out-of-pocket expenses. The practice of attracting extra traffic at costs just a little above its supplementary costs is permitted and prevalent in rail road competition, but this is true only to the extent of utilising the unused capacity of the plant which would otherwise run to waste. This however, cannot and does not hold good of the imported traffic which pours in from every port of India in considerable bulk. The inter-railway competition, especially when most of the railways serving the major ports are both state owned and state managed, is highly pernicious and suicidal to Indian trade and industry. A co-ordinated transport policy, embracing all the varied transport agencies, is the proper remedy."

Another peculiarity of the railway rate policy in India is that different railway systems are considered as separate units in through booking. This is highly detrimental to the industrial development of the country as telescopic rates are not quoted on the entire distance traversed by a given consignment. The cost of transport on internal transit is consequently unduly high.

> "Cement despatches from Porbunder to Ahmedabad has to pay higher freight than that from Bombay to Ahmedabad because in the former case the consignment has to travel over the Porbunder, Gondal and Bhawalnagar State Railways before it reaches Wadhwan, from where it is taken over by the B. B. and C. I. Railway to be carried over to Ahmedabad while in the latter case the consignment is carried direct to Ahmedabad, by the B. B. and C. I. Railway alone."

Again coal carried from Bengal coalfields to Amritsar does not get the benefit of a through rate on the total distance because the traffic passes over the E. I. R. and N. W. R. This is due to the individualistic policy pursued by the Railways even when the different railway zones are state-owned and state-managed.

The unanimous protests of the commercial bodies against the surcharge on coal went unheeded. Coal is the sinews of industry. Moreover, unlike England Indian coalfields are centralised in a part of our country. From first March 1940, it is proposed to raise the existing surcharge on coal, coke and patent fuel from 12½ per cent to 15 per cent and from first November next 20 per cent. The incidence of railway rates of coal on industry proves burdensome.

Goods Rating

For the purpose of rating, goods are divided into ten classes. Each class has a minimum and a maximum rate. Within these limits the railway administration are generally at liberty to vary rates.

> "Railway can, if they desire, give substantial protection to industries by quoting special rates or deprive them of protection by quoting higher rates within, of course, the prescribed limits."—*Tariff Board Report on Heavy Chemicals*, para 120.

When we examine the case of the paper industry we witness a very welcome change in the Railway Rate Policy.

> "The special station-to-station rates which the railway quoted on the imported traffic in pre-war years, denying similar facilities to the local mills, have fortunately become things of the past. Per contra, the rates position today is just the reverse. While the local mills are quoted special station-to station rates to more important consuming centres, both on actual weight and on wagon load consignments, the imported traffic gets the concession only to a few markets and that too due to port competition. This has helped the mills considerably in marketing their output and gives a substantial protection against the competition of the importer. Thus, the railway rates policy supplements the policy of the discriminating protection."

It is incumbent on the railways to pursue a similar policy in respect of other industries as well.

Several Chambers of Commerce complained before the Wedgwood Enquiry Committee (1937) that rates had not been adjusted to changed fiscal conditions and that they facilitate import and export traffic to the detriment of the Indian industries. There is no denying the fact that an erratic railway rate policy may easily frustrate a well designed protectionist policy. There should be a central authority to regulate and control the railway rates policy in consonance with the needs of the industries at home and also consistent with income to railways. The Railway Rate Advisory Committee in India has not proved equal to the task.

Re-Organization of Railway Rate Advisory Committee

Some Chambers advocated the abolition of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee and the appointment in its place a body with mandatory powers like the Railway Rates Tribunal in Great Britain or the Inter-State Commerce Commission in the United States. Another suggestion put forward was the re-organising of the Railway Advisory Committee on the lines of the Tariff Board.

The Railway committee supported the retention and the present jurisdiction of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee and made the following recommendations:

(*a*) Less time should be occupied in preliminaries, and the procedure generally should be expedited.

(*b*) The Government should undertake to refer to the Advisory Committee any relevant application and in case of refusal to refer an application to the Committee give reasons for so doing.

(*c*) A copy of the recommendation of the Committee to the Government should be supplied to the applicant.

(*d*) The final decision of the Government on the application should be published.

The above recommendations would no doubt remove several grievances against the Railway Rates Advisory Committee. But it would not energise it into a machinery for formulating a forward railway rate policy contenting itself not merely with removing anomalies or inequities in railway rate structure but helping and developing internal trade so far as it is possible through the instrument of a remodelled railway rate structure.

An active and energetic railway rates policy is the desideratum for a quicker economic development. A national rates policy must be in keeping with the changed fiscal policy of the country. Uptil now railways have moved passively. They have met a demand where it existed. But Railways should not only carry traffic but also create it. This is how railways are worked in foreign countries:

"In Germany railway rates are carefully regulated to serve alike the local industries and agriculture. German railways assist the export trade by preferential tariffs carefully framed to enable the home manufacture to inter home markets on favourable terms, and augment the restrictive influence of import duties on import traffic."

Increase in Railway Rates from March 1st, 1940

The Railway Budget for 1940-41 proposes following increases: rates and fares as from March 1st, 1940.

(1) Two annas in the total freight on each consignment of goods traffic excluding coal, coke, patent fuel, military traffic, railway materials and stores on revenue account, food grains, fodder and manures;

(2) Two annas in the rupee of the total freight on each consignment of coaching traffic other than passenger,

(3) One anna per rupee of fare for all passenger traffic except for fares of one rupee or less.

Sir Thomas Stewart while presenting the Railway Budget last year tried to argue against the demand for a reduction of rates. Sir Andrew Clow's proposals to raise railway rates and fares from March 1st, 1940 has come as a bolt from the blue on the Indian industries.

Railway rates and fares have to be raised because if these were to remain at their present level the surplus in 1940-41 would amount to about three crores which would not suffice to meet the railway obligation to pay one per cent on the capital charge, less the loss on strategic lines, even for 1940-41, and there is the carry over of a liability of rupees 90 lakhs.

Methods of Improving Railway Finance

The last world depression and road competition led the railways to a lot of heart searching on their part. Various attempts have been made to put railway finance on its feet but the proposals of the present budget clearly show that it is still an exiguous theme. The real way of improving the position of the railways is to run them like a commercial concern. Real economics are neglected and cheese-paring economies are advertised or emphasised. Under these circumstances railways cannot do any better. Measures are taken which are merely to the nature of make-shifts. It is worth considering whether the heavy burden of Railway Debt cannot be reduced by converting loans bearing higher interest rates into one bearing lower interest rates. It should also be

possible to have some savings by reducing the salaries of, at the top, say, above Rs. 250 per month.

THE CORRECT RAILWAY POLICY

The taxpayer in India has a right to expect from railways either handsome contribution to general revenue or encouragement to industry and trade by way of lower rates. For over a decade neither of the two have been available. Unless railways in India work on strictly commercial principles they cannot give much relief to the taxpayer by way of contributions to the general revenue. Unless railways in India function as a part of a planned national economic structure they cannot encourage trade and industry. There is possibility of real injury to the economic advancement of the country so long as the various levers of economic reform—Railways, Tariffs, Currency, Banking, etc.—do not work with one aim.

THE NEED FOR LIBERAL RATE POLICY

It is a pity that the Railway administration in India has not still realised the urgent necessity of liberalising its rate policy to suit the present needs of the economic development of the country.

CONCLUSION

By asking the Railways to adopt a liberal rate policy the railways are not required to cast bread upon the waters. It is as much in the interest of the trade as in that of the finances of the railways. Railway rates should not only cater for the existing traffic but also create new traffic. A beneficent circle of railways helping trade and trade helping railways can set in.

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF INDIANS ABROAD

BY DR. M. S. NATA RAJAN, M.A. Ph.D.

A REVIEW of the position of Indians abroad—in the more important countries—in so far as it affects their residence, status, emigration, etc., is attempted in this brief note.

The problem of Indians overseas is one of the saddest that is facing the political India of today. In some of the foreign countries, notably, the United States of America the disabilities which the Indians have to undergo arise mainly because of the political subjection of this country. In the British Dominions, the colour prejudice on the part of the "Whites" and the helplessness of the Government of India to effectively come to the succour of their nationals abroad are responsible for the various indignities to which Indians are subjected.

THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES

In the United Kingdom there are no disabilities on Indians. The colour prejudice, however, is said to be present in several quarters, especially in hotels and boarding houses. In France proper, there are not only no disabilities but absolutely no colour prejudice whatsoever. In Italy and Russia theoretically there are no disabilities, at least none that is not shared with others. It is, however, a moot point as to how far under the existing regimes over there, Indians would be allowed to carry on business or reside permanently. In Japan, there are said to be no disabilities. Indians are not allowed to emigrate into U. S. A. Nor can they possess citizenship in that country. Indians already there before the enactment against them came into force are not, however, discriminated against. In Persia, there are said to be some disabilities recently imposed.

Afghanistan, it appears, is one of the recent recruits to violently discriminate against all that is Indian. The following are taken from a pamphlet entitled *Afghanistan's Threat to India's Trade* published in 1938 and the situation must be taken to be practically the same on date :

(1) Indian cars and Indian drivers are only allowed the use of two roads, Peshawar to Kabul and Chaman to Kandahar. Formerly no such restrictions existed.

(2) In Kabul all drivers are forced to take up residence at the Sarai-Motor-Khana. All other residential places have been declared out of bound for them. A driver is not allowed to stay for more than five days and is constantly shadowed by the police.

(3) Indian traders and visitors to Afghanistan have to report their whereabouts constantly to the police

and are allowed to stay for 15 days only. Should any one desire to prolong his stay he has to obtain special permission from the Foreign Minister. Thus alone can a man prolong his stay upto one year.

(4) No Indian can acquire any immovable property in Afghanistan. For the first time in history this restriction has been imposed.

(5) Those intending to make a long stay for business purposes have to take up a special license.

(6) An Indian trader intending to leave Afghanistan has to find an Afghan surety to vouch for the fact that he does not owe any debt in the country. Unless this is done he is not allowed to leave. Civil suits brought against Indian merchants based on oral evidence result in decrees being passed against them. Indian traders who owe money are put in prison for an indefinite period and are not allowed to leave it until they have paid off their debts. In this connection it is interesting to recall that various Afghan Nationals owe millions of rupees to Indian subjects. The Indians are utterly helpless to realise their debts and the Government of India have so far failed to extend a helping hand to them.

(7) Very irksome restrictions have been imposed on those who desire to obtain 'Visas' for Afghanistan. It takes more than a fortnight to take such a simple thing as a 'Visa.'

(8) Before an Indian trader can start business in Afghanistan, a heavy security is demanded from him. Unless this is forthcoming he is not allowed to trade in the country.

(9) It is a very interesting fact that these discriminatory disabilities are intended purely for Indian Nationals. The other Foreigners residing or trading in Afghanistan do not suffer from these disabilities. It is well-known that Afghan Nationals visiting or trading in this country are not subjected to any restrictions of the kind enumerated above. They can trade freely and can acquire immovable property wherever and whenever they like.

IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER AFRICAN PARTS

Coming to the British Dominions and Colonies, Indians appear to possess full freedom in regard to their stay, movement, trade, etc., only in Irish Free State and a few other places. In all the rest, there are discriminatory legislations of some sort or the other. South Africa and Kenya are, probably, the worst offenders in this regard. The Indians enjoy the political and municipal Franchise only in the Cape Provinces. In all the remaining provinces they are totally unenfranchised. The Indians are subjected to differential treatment in the matter of trading licenses all over the Union and specially in the Transvaal. Their emigration into the Union is barred and severe restrictions are imposed on even inter-provincial emigration. In Transvaal, Indians are not allowed to acquire immovable property outside locations. In 1937 many attempts were made to humiliate Indians. The most notorious of these measures sought to be enacted then were the Mixed Marriage Bill and the Transvaal Asiatic Land Bill. The anti-Asiatic party have made efforts, especially in Natal, to further curtail the rights of Indians. In addition to many enactments seeking to restrict the trade and residence of Indians, there are many which impose irritating social disabilities such as railway and tramway regulations debarring Indians from travelling in any other carriages except those reserved for them and excluding them from race courses and betting club rooms, Cinemas, etc. Recent instances of the prominent racial antipathy are the refusals on the part of lift-boys to carry Seth Govind Das, M.L.A., and Sir Raza Ali, when he was India's Agent-General.

The Asiatic (Transvaal) Land and Trading Bill passed by the Parliament of the Union of South Africa in June, 1939, is almost the climax of a series of racial and discriminatory legislations enacted against Indians. Under the cover of maintaining the *status quo*, the Act cuts clean through the rights of Indians as guaranteed by the Cape Town Agreement and introduces the vicious principle of segregation. The thin end of the wedge has been driven already by this measure.* The measure is so obnoxious that the Indians of South Africa would have started once again their epic struggle of "Passive Resistance" but for the explicit desire and instructions of Mahatma Gandhi to postpone launching the struggle for the time being. The Indians never sought to penetrate or take away the whitemen's share of lands, goods or things. Even while a Commission is being appointed to examine the alleged penetration of Indians in Durban (a Commission which, by the way, is welcomed by the Indians themselves) Mr. Lawrence, the Minister for Interior could not restrain himself. He uttered a wild threat on the 15th March of the current year saying:

> "If a certain section of the Indian community attempts to encourage penetration of the predominantly European areas, the Government will take measures."

While it is quite likely that during the war, there may be no further provocation especially under General Smuts's Government the problems have not been solved and they are bound to raise their ugly heads as soon as the war is over. General Hertzog and Dr. Malan have not left us in any doubts about that.

The position of Indians in Kenya is too well known to need any recapitulation. Mr. A. S. Polak writes:

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* A detailed examination of this measure is to be found in a note published by the Bureau in June, 1939, entitled, "The latest Menace to South African Indians."

"There is less excuse for the anti-Indian attitude prevalent in East Africa than elsewhere, for, as has been remarked, the indenture system was never introduced there in aid of white planters."

On the contrary, Indian immigration and penetration occurred long before the advent of Europeans. Indeed, its origins are lost in the mists of history. We have also Sir John Kirk's evidence before the Sanderson Committee in 1911 that

"But for the Indians we (the British) would not be there now. It was with Indian aid and influence that the British flag was hoisted."

Mr. Churchill stated about Indians in East Africa that

"It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could earn a living, has more than any one else developed the early beginning of trade."

And yet neither to ownership nor occupation of agricultural land in the highlands of Kenya, could the Indians aspire to, although these highlands could be taken by any foreigner, not even excluding ex-enemies like Germans before the present war.

In the West Indies

In Fiji, Malaya and West Indies as well, the political and civil status of Indians are low. The West Indies have often been held out to be happy colonising centres for Indians. The report of Mr. J. D. Tyson in May last year amply proves that the lot of Indians in Jamaica, British Guiana and Trinidad is nothing very happy. The position of the Indian population of about 18,000 in Jamaica appears to be the most depressing. Mr. Tyson suggested that there should be a Protector of emigrants in Jamaica to safeguard their interests. The peril to Indian interests in British Guiana and Trinidad is even more serious. The claim of Indians to considerate treatment is the greatest in these colonies. It is the Indian labour that has converted British Guiana from its swampy wastes to its civilized tracts. When the Indian labourers were settled there upon the requests of the planters by the Indian Government, the Colonial Office made solemn promises to protect their interests in every way. Hope was held out that land settlements would be made available to Indians and their dependence on labour in the plantations would not be absolute. These promises are yet to be redeemed. While British Guiana is sought to be made into a refugee ground for the Jewish and other waifs and strays of the world, the Indians who constitute the single largest element in the population, numbering in all 41% of the total inhabitants, are not treated as democratic citizens should be. Even their customs and personal laws are not recognised. The West Indies Royal Commission before which Mr. J. D. Tyson led a deputation on behalf of the Government of India appear to have realised the grave disabilities on Indians and in a sense have generally endorsed the proposals made by Mr. Tyson. It is to be hoped that the Government of India would appoint an Agent in West Indies and the Government of West Indies would also follow the suggestions made by the Royal Commission in regard to the amelioration of the conditions of Indians over there.

In Canada, Australia and New Zealand, Indian emigration is not allowed. Those few Indians who had already settled, are, however, said to suffer no disabilities now.

In Burma

While discriminations against Indians are unjustifiable in the case of British Dominions and other Colonies, it is simply monstrous that even Burma and Ceylon should practise them. Burma was separated from India only in 1937. The intense anti-Indian feeling that is prevailing in Burma, and which for all practical purposes is engineered mainly by a certain section of the Burmese politicians, has no justification whatsoever. It was the life-blood of Indians, their hard-earned wealth and enterprising spirit, that has made Burma what she is today and yet they are now looked upon as interlopers and exploiters of the worst kind. The economic policy of the Burmese ministry favours almost the expropriation of the Chetty landlords who have made Burmese agriculture thrive and become prosperous. It was mooted by the Burmese Minister of Agriculture some months back that his Government should purchase land from the owners "at reasonable price" and sell the same to cultivators in parcels of 10 to 25 acres. While the scheme may be good so far as the general distribution of property is concerned, it is a question how far his ideas of reasonable price are really reasonable.

The serious riot that broke out in Burma during July, 1938 and the great loss of life and property resulting therefrom has aroused very great resentment in India. According to Braund Committee, which investigated the whole question of the riots and its implications, nearly

200 Indians were killed and about 750 Indians injured. As regards the extent of damage done, the Committee has given two sets of figures, one being the official figure which estimates the loss of Indians at 19½ lacs of rupees and the other the Indian estimate which puts the loss at Rs. 56 lacs. The Committee seem to think that the Indian estimate was more correct than the official estimate and on the whole, at any rate, 'the truth lies between the two." The riots were a result of the deliberate policy of a certain section of Burmese to drive the Indian traders from Burma by picketing and other objectionable means of propaganda both in the press and the platform. The Government of Burma were guilty in that they did not take sufficient steps to stop this form of prosecution. The question of compensation to Indians who have suffered in life, limb and property is not yet settled between the two countries. An adequate compensation is not enough by itself. In addition to a satisfactory guarantee of life and property of Indians in Burma, a clear reassurance must be forthcoming from the Burmese Government that not only will the freedom of Indians to carry on trade and business in that country be in any way impaired, but also, as the Braund Committee puts it:

"Their status as a British subject in Burma will be upheld and that the position which the benefits which they have conferred on Burma entitle them to will not be lost."

IN CEYLON

Waves after waves of anti-Indian enactments have been passed in Ceylon, a country which owes its economic structure very largely to the Indian labour, capital and enterprise. One of the responsible Ministers of Ceylon some time back had the taste to style Indians in Ceylon as one million parasites. The following is a summary of the more important discriminations practised against Indians in Ceylon:

(1) A barrier is created against Indians aspiring to enter the Ceylon Civil Service, though India has so far, kept her doors wide open to Ceylonese.

(2) The Donoughmore Reformed Constitution of 1929 granted universal adult franchise but not to Indians whose rights are hedged in with restrictions and practically 75% or even more Indians permanently settled in Ceylon, are left without a franchise.

(3) Medical degrees and and diplomas granted by the Indian Universities are not recognized in Ceylon with the avowed object of shutting out Indians aspiring either to enter the Government Medical Service or set up private practice.

(4) In 1932, owing to unabated trade depression in Ceylon, unemployment relief measures were started, but an indirect discrimination was restored to, inasmuch as unemployed Indians were not given any relief, despite the fact that the Mayor's Unemployment Relief Fund was largely built up with the subscription of Indians.

(5) In 1932, the Ceylon Income-tax Ordinance came into force. Certain sections of this Ordinance operate harshly on the bulk of Indian traders and capitalists. Definitions of the terms 'Bankers' and 'Residents' openly discriminate against Indians. Disallowance of interest paid on capital borrowed outside Ceylon and the high rate of taxation on incomes of non-residents are some of the glaring instances of veiled discrimination against Indians.

(6) In 1934, the Ceylon State Council put on her statute book a bill known as 'An Ordinance to provide for the systematic development and alienation of crown land' in which the term "Ceylonese" is so defined as to exclude the vast number of domiciled Indians from its purview, with the ultimate object of preventing Indians from occupying crown land, and settling down.

(7) In 1934, Ceylon imposed a prohibitive and discriminatory duty on ghee, eggs, vegetables, fruits, tamarind, etc., imported from India, under the plea of giving an incentive to local production.

(8) In 1935, further discriminatory duty was imposed on the imports of Indian paddy despite the vigorous protest of Members of the State Council representing Jaffna province.

(9) The Village Communities Ordinance which engaged the attention of the Indian Government and people for the best part of the year 1936 and 1937 constitutes another grievous harm done to the Indian community. The Ordinance which was passed in 1934 enlarged the scope and discretion of the communities in such a manner as to convert them practically into self-governing units. Amendments were moved to this act during the last few years in a way as to exclude Indian labourers completely from the village franchise. This, as could be expected, led to a great agitation and strong representations from the Government of India. The Government of Ceylon thereupon introduced a further amendment taking away from the Ceylonese estate

labourers as well their franchise in this connection. It is the contention of the Ceylon Government that discrimination as such has been removed treating all estate-labourers equally. Indians naturally could never agree to such a course. It has always been the Indian viewpoint that both the Indian labourers and Sinhalese villagers are alike entitled to work for the betterment of the rural life of Ceylon. It must, again, be noted that the removal of the "discrimination" against Indian estate-labourers is a very unreal one. While there are about half-a-million Indian estate-labourers, the total number of Sinhalese labourers employed by estate is about 91,000 of which 28,000 were resident, 43,000 non-resident, 9,000 regular contractors and 11,000 casual contractors. It would be clear that the vast proportion of the Sinhalese workers on Ceylon estates are non-resident and under the provisions of the amendments to the Ordinance would be entitled to have the vote for the village communities without any hindrance.

(10) The Ceylon Government almost outbid the Union of South Africa in their anti-Indian policy in 1938 and 1939. Their unreasonable and unjust attempts in repatriating Indians in their Departments has become the most controversial question between the two countries at the present moment. Just now, the Ceylon Government are concentrating on sending back all Indian daily paid employees in their services It is their aim to repatriate from Ceylon several thousands of daily paid workers even at an enormous expense. They propose immediately to expel all Indian daily paid labourers engaged after April. 1934, with some cash inducement and repatriate those who have put in more than five years' service under the so-called scheme of voluntary repatriation. The Ceylon Government have already begun eliminating from their services and are said to have repatriated to India by 1939 itself nearly 1,000 Indian daily paid employees. They have also embarked on a systematic policy of inducing Indians by threats of subsequent dismissal without any provision for compensation many hundreds of daily paid Indian employees to voluntarily resign and leave Ceylon as early as possible. The modifications that have been introduced in the scheme such as, exemption in the case of such of the Indian employees who have married Sinhalese wives are all very minor ones and do not affect the proposals in any material form.

Negotiations between the India and Ceylon Governments to hold a conference to discuss immigration, trade and other subjects have failed, according to a Government Communique issued in December, 1939 which says:

> "In September last, the Ceylon Government suggested to the Government of India that a conference should be held to discuss the former's proposals to restrict immigration into Ceylon and that the opportunity should be taken to enter into trade negotiations and to discuss other outstanding matters of common interest."

The Government of India saw no objection and expressed their readiness to receive a delegation from Ceylon in India, provided that the Ceylon Government's scheme for the retrenchment of non-Ceylonese daily employees, which had proved the stumbling-block to an earlier inception of trade negotiations, could be discussed at the conference and its operation held in abeyance.

> "The Ceylon Government have found themselves unable either to hold the scheme in abeyance or to modify it except to the extent, already announced in the Assembly on the 12th September, that Indians with more than 10 years' service would be treated, in respect of retrenchment, on the same footing as Ceylonese. The Government of India have come to the conclusion that this does not offer a sufficient basis for entering the conference proposed by the Government of Ceylon and have informed that Government accordingly." *

It is to be carefully noticed that many stringent measures against Indians are promised. While the exact nature of the proposals are not quite known, the restrictions that are going to be imposed on the immigration of Indians are, however, to be effected

> "in the interests of health, public tranquility and on the ground of lack of means of the immigrant."

It is learnt that non-Ceylonese would be asked at the time of their entry into Ceylon to complete a form indicating the purpose of their entry into the island. Non-Ceylonese, besides passports, are to be given identification cards carrying their finger prints, a duplicate being kept by the immigration authorities. Persons with such identification cards will be expected to report monthly during their first three months of stay in Ceylon. No non-Ceylonese is to be allowed to stay in Ceylon for more than three months. Permits to stay in Ceylon for more than three months will not be granted to persons desirous of carrying on business or profession or of employment in Ceylon unless the immigration authorities are satisfied in the case of business that it is in the interests of Ceylon and will not compete unduly with Ceylonese

* A detailed examination of some of the recent disabilities on Indians is to be found in our note on "The Plight of Indians in Ceylon" issued in August, 1939.

business, and in case of employment that no Ceylonese is available for the post. It is also feared that in regard to the estate labourers also that they would be given identification cards marked "Estate Labourer" and they will not be allowed to take up any other occupation. It is further anticipated that a quota will be fixed limiting the number of non-Ceylonese labourers that can be employed in each industry and a tax is to be levied on those firms that employ non-Ceylonese labour. On the whole it is evident that the Ceylon Government seem to be taking delight in finding out ways and means of humiliating Indians who may have the misfortune to visit Ceylon either for business or pleasure.

CONCLUSION

It is an extremely sad state of affairs that discrimination against Indians should prevail over a greater part of the globe. It is however made many times worse when one finds that as yet India has not taken any retaliatory action whatsoever.

The total number of Indians abroad, according to the latest available returns, is as follows :—

BRITISH EMPIRE

Name of Country	Indian Population	Date of Estimates.
1 Ceylon	682,570 *	1938
2. Hong Kong	4,745	1931
3. British Malaya **	754,849	1937
4. Mauritius	269,701	1937
5. Seychelles	503	1931
6. Gibraltar	80 a	1932
7. Nigeria	32	1931
8. Kenya	42,368	1937
9. Uganda	18,800	1937
10. Nyasaland	1,631 A	1937
11. Zanzibar	14,242	1931
12. Tanganyika Territory.	23,422	1931
13. Jamaica	18,669	1936
14. Trinidad	154,083	1937
15. British Guiana	142,978	1937
16. Fiji Islands	89,333	1937
17. Northern Rhodesia	421 A	1937
18. Southern Rhodesia	2,184 A	1936
19. Canada	1,599	1931
20. Australia	2,404	1933
21. New Zealand	1,166	1932

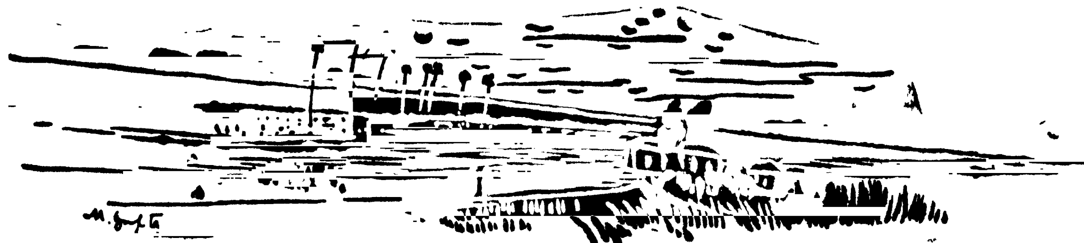
SOUTH AFRICA

Name of Country	Indian Population	Date of Estimates.
22. Natal	183,646	1936
23. Transvaal	25,561	1936
24. Cape Province	10,692	1936
25. Orange Free State	29	1936
26. South African Protectorates	409 A	1936
27. South West Africa	14 A	1936
28. Maldives	550 a	1933
29. British North Borneo	1,298	1931
30. Aden	8,168	1937
31. British Somaliland	520	1931
32. United Kingdom	7,128	1932
33. Malta	41	1933
34. Grenada	5,000	1932
35. St. Lucia	2,189	1921
36. British Honduras	497	1931
Total for British Empire	2,471,522	

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Name of Country	Indian Population	Date of Estimates.
37. Dutch East Indies	27,638	1930
38. Siam	5,000 a	1931
39. French Indo-China	5,000 a	1931
40. Japan	300 a	1931
41. Bahrein	500	1933
42. Iraq	2,596	1932
43. Muscat	441	1933
44. Portuguese East Africa	5,000	1931
45. Madagascar	7,945	1931
46. Reunion	1,533	1933
47. United States of America	5,850	1930
48. Dutch Guiana	37,933	1932
49. Brazil	2,000	1931
50. European Countries	1,000 a	
Total for Foreign Countries	103,736	
Total for all Countries	2,575,258	

* Indian estate labourers only.
** Includes Straits Settlements, Federated and Unfederated Malay States.
A for Asiatics.
a for approximately.



VIVISECTION OF INDIA

By BIRENDRA KISHORE ROY CHOWDHURY, M.L.C.

THERE are many among the Hindus who have so far taken very lightly the demand, which has been officially endorsed by the Moslem League, for the division of India into Hindu and Moslem zones. They still treat this demand as only a day-dream of some temporarily unbalanced people. The present writer is, however, of a different opinion. He does not think that the proposal which the Moslem League has now officially put forward should be so lightly and half-heartedly treated. All serious efforts should be made to bring out into relief its absurdity. Instead of merely trying to laugh it out of court, all Indian patriots should lay their heads together to nip the proposal in the bud.

Everybody who is familiar with the history of communal representation in India knows how slowly but steadily and persistently the wedge has been driven into the body politic of India and how the two major communities have been alienated from each other. When in 1906 the Moslems went on a deputation to Lord Minto and the latter, in reply to the address given to him, promised to consider favourably their demands in respect of their representation in the proposed Legislative Councils, few people appreciated the significance of the Moslem demand and the Viceroy's response. They did not oppose it as seriously as they ought to have done. Thereafter when communal representation with separate electorate had worked for seven years and its evil effect was already manifest, the Indian National Congress did not, even then, think it unwise to enter into an agreement with the Moslem League on the basis of separate representation (Lucknow Pact). So the framers of the Government of India Act, 1919 found it easy to provide for separate representation of the Moslems in the different legislatures. It is unlikely that without the Lucknow Pact the inclusion of such a provision in the Act would have been possible.

Under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms again the evil effects of communal representation became more emphatically noticeable than under the Morley-Minto Reforms. But all the same, when MacDonald's Communal Decision, whose implications are far more dangerous than even the separatist provisions in the Act of 1919, was foisted upon the Indian people, the Indian National Congress refused to call a spade a spade. It treated the matter still very lightly. It could not be persuaded to condemn the Decision outright. It merely passed a resolution of the milk and water type, in which it said that it was neither accepting nor rejecting the Decision. We do not know what influences were brought to bear upon the Congress, when it adopted such an innocuous resolution. But, if anybody was fooled by it, it was only the Indian people. It is not unlikely that if the Congress had refused to have anything to do with the Decision it might have been a dead letter. But the Congress could not rise to the occasion. Now in view of the fact that the separatist force has never been seriously and squarely challenged, it is not unnatural that it should grow in volume and strength. None in fact need be surprised if it ultimately engulfs Indian Nationalism. So, if the final disaster is to be averted at all, no time should be lost and no energy should be spared in opposing seriously the thoroughgoing communalism of the League.

It was by constantly emphasising the special interest of the Moslems in India that they brought home to the British Government the necessity and utility of separate representation of their community, both in the legislatures and in the services. By repeated iteration of their claims the Moslems even disarmed the opposition of the Nationalists in regard to many of their demands. The same method appears to have been taken up by the League leaders in respect of their scheme of Pakistan. By repeatedly emphasising the necessity of such a scheme they are trying to make it familiar and partly at least acceptable, both to the British Government and to the Hindu population. Some of them are at least thinking that by raising their demands in this regard, they may extort concessions in other spheres—concessions which otherwise would not be available to them.

That the Moslems have already succeeded in making their propaganda telling and effective is proved by the fact that the Europeans

in India, who, not many days ago, were thinking only in terms of Parliamentary Government in this country, have suddenly been convinced that this system is unsuitable to Indian conditions. A British Professor in a Missionary College in Upper India wrote a pamphlet and circulated it privately a few weeks ago among his friends and others interested in the separatist problem of India. In this paper he tried to show that in view of the attitude of the minority communities, particularly of the Moslems, the parliamentary system as it is worked in different White countries cannot be experimented with success in India, even on the basis of communal representation. The present writer has not seen the pamphlet itself but the summary which the *Statesman* * published with its full editorial endorsement and approval, appears to suggest that a new form of government should be tried in this country, providing for the disposal of all questions touching communal interests through separate communal bodies. It is further suggested that when the decisions of the different communal councils will be conflicting, they may be coordinated by the second chamber of the ordinary legislature—the second chamber constituted possibly on the basis of the representation of the different communal councils. As there is hardly any question in the country which does not touch in one way or another the interests of the communities as such, most of our affairs, according to the scheme, will have to be decided upon by the communal councils at least in the first instance. Everybody who has any real stake in this country and who is not either interested in communal bickerings or over-zealous in showing intellectual ingenuity, has no difficulty in noticing the almost absurd character of the scheme. It will only involve the country in a communal bog.

The forces of sectionalism have been found to be strong in other countries besides India. The *Statesman* in endorsing the views of the Missionary Professor has gone out of its way to observe that the parliamentary government † which has been successfully experimented in in Europe and America is not suited to Indian conditions. But the editor of the journal has not mentioned the fact that even in the United States, where the conventional type of democratic government has been said to be successfully worked, a hue and cry was actually raised against this type of government only a hundred years ago. Separatist forces were then almost as strong in that country as in India today. The Southern States were declared to be absolutely dissimilar to the northern units of the Federation. In social outlook, in economic needs and in intellectual convictions there was said to be nothing in common between the industrial "free" states of the North and the agricultural "slave" states of the South. Just as the Moslem in India are claimining for themselves a civilization and culture absolutely distinct from the civilization and culture of their Hindu neighbours, so the Southern States regarded themselves as constituting a zone of different civilization and culture. Slavery was an institution which they not only regarded as necessary on economic grounds but which they regarded as virtually a basis of their distinct culture and civilization. They by no means regarded it as only a necessary evil. They had no moral qualms about its existence. They took it as a basic ingredient of their life and culture. They thought that their prestige was bound up with its perpetuity in their own states and with its extension, if possible, to other states.

It was because of this peculiar position of the Southern States that their leaders developed a political philosophy which was as separatist in character as the political philosophy of a group of Moslem leaders in India today.

John C. Calhoun, a native of South Carolina, who became the leader of the southern separatists, had, it is interesting to remember, as chequered a career as that of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the separatist Moslem leader of India. Mr. Calhoun was a man singularly attractive in appearance. But extreme political bitterness and animosity made his body shrunken and his look sharp in the later years of his life. Like Mr. Jinnah he began his career as a great nationalist. Until the twenties of the last century, he was an ardent admirer of the Union and a deadly antagonist of the separatists. But in the twenties he shifted his position and transferred his loyalty. From an ardent nationalist he became the leader of the separatists.

A man of great ability and courage, Calhoun, as soon as he became a separatist convert, proceeded to base his new activities on a philosophy which he enunciated and elaborated with considerable ingenuity. Society, he pointed out, was a collection of groups the interests of which were divergent. In view of

* Issues of March 28th and 30th, 1940.

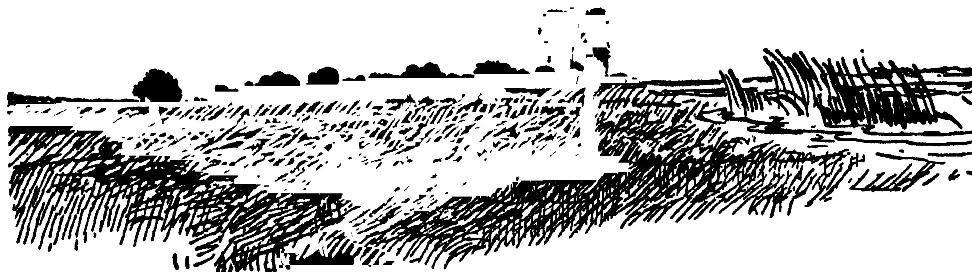
† The phrase is not evidently used in its technical sense but in the sense of democratic government of the conventional type.

this, it was unjust and unwise to make the decision of the majority binding upon the groups. It was quite likely that the decision arrived at by the majority would be favourable to some and unfavourable to the interests of the other groups. The best arrangement, Calhoun pointed out, would be to refer the decision to the different groups and if they accepted it, well and good, if not, it was to go under so far as the dissentient groups were concerned

The demand of the Moslem League for the inclusion, in a number of provincial Cabinets, of Ministers virtually responsible only to Moslem electorate, and the peculiar suggestions of the Missionary Professor endorsed by the *Statesman*, appear to have a family likeness to the principles enunciated one century ago by the great separatist leader of the United States of America. Today we are asked to believe that the democratic government which has succeeded in American and European countries is unsuited to Indian conditions. But what would have been the fate of this democratic government in America if the principles enunciated and propagated with so much tenacity and force by Calhoun and his co-adjutors, were not as vigorously opposed and fought by the Unionists ? It is true that the friends of the Union did not take at first very seriously the absurd demands of the separatists and even tried to conciliate them as far as possible. But the more they tried to conciliate, the louder and sharper became the demands of the other party. The differences ultimately came to a head and civil war became inevitable. We should learn from historical precedents. Matters should not be allowed to came to a head here. Civil war should certainly be avoided. But if it is to be avoided in the future. resistance to the separatist demands should be more vigorous now.

It is easy for British residents in India. who have no vital and permanent stake in the country, to assume an air of pseudo-impartiality and suggest schemes of government which can never stand the scrutiny of practice. Everybody who has studied the system of representative government of the United Kingdom with some care, knows how defective and even out of date it has become. Apart from the Guild Socialists and the reformists of the school of the late Graham Wallace, who have demanded basic changes in the representative organization of the country, there are other mild reformers who have pointed to the unrepresentative character of the House of Commons and demanded some kind of proportional representation to make the representative system more equitable and just. More than two decades ago, the Speaker's Conference was held to discuss and decide upon some better and more equitable kind of representation. But nothing so far has been done in this direction. This is because of the fear that the adoption of proportional representation may result in dividing the House of Commons into a number of groups, none having a majority in the Chamber, and consequently in weakening the tradition of administrative stability in the country. 'Stability', in other words, has been preferred to 'equity'. Why are the Britishers eager to become greater champions of equity abroad than at home ?

In every big country where the population cannot be expected to be very homogeneous and traditions very similar, Government by majority is liable to be opposed by minorities in some phase of its history. If people give way to despair at such a juncture, they lose an opportunity of playing a suitable part on the stage of the world. Optimism and courage are the virtues which have to be sedulously cultivated in such a period. We are now passing through that phase of our history which is disfigured by mutual suspicions and squabbles. It is more important now than at any other time to stick to our ideal. The Europeans in India will do well in helping their Indian brethren to maintain their optimism.



THE THEORY OF TWO NATIONS

By Prof. ABDULLAH SAFDAR

I

The present period in India's struggle for freedom is characterised by an accentuation of differences between the various communities of our country. Many persons, who were previously prominent nationalist leaders and who therefore emphasized only common questions of the national struggle, are, today, resorting to their respective communal camps. No more do they want to know anything about the problems of the common anti-imperialist struggle. The communal question has become the first and the foremost concern of these so-called leaders and their followers.

Consequently, the growth of communalism among the backward section of both the major communities of India, Hindus and Muslims, can no more be ignored; it is a definite phenomenon in the contemporary life of our country. Under the conditions, the duty of nationalists in both the communities is to protect the masses from this general epidemic by bringing against communalism the tried weapon of nationalism, the unity and indivisibility of the mass struggle for national freedom. The more precipitately the wave of communalism advances, the louder has to be the cry of the nationalist for fraternity and unity among the broad masses of all the communities. And in this connection particular firmness is demanded from Congressmen, who want to overhaul the whole national movement on the basis of a healthy and militant nationalism.

It must be borne in mind that the present leadership of the national movement has not proved equal to the task. The Gandhian leadership has definitely failed to solve this question. By emphasizing the doctrine of non-violence and by introducing religion into politics it has only given a handle to the communalist Muslim leaders to give prominence to their specific purely-communal purposes and demands. Consequently, we observe the phenomenon that the leadership of the Muslim League has become one of the greatest obstacles in the further development of freedom movement of our country. By declaring that they have nothing in common with the Hindus in their struggle for progress, these followers of Islam in India are acting contrary to the very spirit of their faith.

One of the finest features of Islam is its great adaptability to circumstances. Islam may be termed Nature's religion. Its fundamental principle is submission to the laws of nature. As it is declared in the Hadis, every man is born a Muslim, which means every man is born subject to the law of nature, though brought up otherwise. Quran teaches :

> "Those who believe Muslims and those who are Jews and the Christians and Sabians, whoever believes in God and in the last Day and does good deeds, they shall have their reward from their Lord and there will be no fear for them nor they shall grieve." (Chapter 2, page 62).

Thus Islam's greatest message is unity of God and the fraternity of human beings. Islam has caused a fusion of races and abolition of distinctions of caste and colour. But Muslims in India, contrary to these tenets of Islam, are swayed by anti-Hindu passions and feelings. Islam teaches pre-eminently toleration, but, unfortunately in India Muslims are known as fanatics. Islam is a highly practical religion, but in India, Muslims live in dreamland. Islam asks its adherents to actively participate in the progressive political movements of their country, but Indian Muslims have no definite political aims and if they, under the advice of their leaders, like Mr. Jinnah, indulge in politics, it is only to obstruct the freedom movement of our country. Islam teaches progress, but the Muslims in India are hopelessly backward in most branches of life. All over the world the Muslims are becoming highly nationalist, cultivating the love of their country, but Muslims in India are running after the mirage of extra-territorial Islamic nationalism.

From the demand of sole representation of the Muslims in India by the League, the leaders of this organisation have already passed to the theory of national demarcation of the Muslims, and from this demarcation they are making a "step forward" to the theory of isolation of the Muslims from the rest of the country and its people. To the present day leaders of the Muslim League must be assigned the responsibility for

conceiving, as a practical proposition, the theory of Muslim Nationalism in India. Of course, as a retort to this theory Mr. Savarkar is also developing the cult of Hindu Nationalism. The fiction of sectional nationalism, though illogical in concept and fantastic in practical politics is thus gaining ground. The present and future of India is conceived as a combination of sectional Indians and not as a composite unity. It has become now customary among our reactionaries and communalists to speak of Hindu and Muslim nations. The Hindu Mahasabha speaks of Hindu nation. The Muslim communalist speaks of the Muslim nation. Imperialists are also busy in propagating this theory of two nations in India. For instance, Lord Morley on one occasion said :

> "Only let us not forget that the difference between Muhammadanism and Hinduism is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith. It is a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief that constitute a community."

It may be mentioned here that originally this theory of sectional nationalism of the Muslims in India was adopted by Sir Iqbal, when he was away from India studying in England. After his return to India he started giving this theory a practical form. As a result of the growth of communalist sentiments among the Muslim intelligentsia, Sir Iqbal altogether forgot his "Tarana-i-Hindi" and composed his "Tarana-i-Milli". Well-known are the following verses :

> "China and Arabia are ours. India is ours. We are Muslims and the whole world is our Native Land."

Now Sir Iqbal began to conceive with confidence the possibility of a worldwide theocratic state (with Kaaba as its centre) in which all the Muslims were no longer divided by the barriers of country and race. The poet who previously felt a great concern for his native land (for instance, his "Taswir-i-Dard," "Indian Children's National Songs", or "Himala"), after his return from Europe began to preach the conception of Muslim nationhood. Addressing the Simon Commission he asked the British Government :

> "Make such a situation that Muslims may not be exploited by the Government as well as by the Hindus. if you desire the permanent safety of the British Empire........ We want protection."

Instead of mobilising the Muslim masses against the Imperialist oppression and slavery, the poet asked protection from imperialism against his Hindu brethren. Previously, in his "Taswir-i-Dard" the poet stated :

> "Ignorant fellow : Think of thy country, a calamity is about to appear, Consultations are being made in the skies about thy destruction."

In Indian Children's National Song, the poet sung :

> "The land in which Chishti disseminated the message of God,
> The Garden in which Nanak sung the song of Unity,
> Which Tartars adopted as their native land,
> Which made the people of Hejaz to leave the desert of Arabia,
> That is my land, that is my land."

But, now after the imperialist war and the collapse of the first non-co-operation movement when communalism began to affect certain section of the Muslim intelligentsia, the poet wrote :

> "The foundation of the fort of our people is not the unity of native land."

In "Tarana-i-Milli" he condemns the growth and development of the spirit of nationalism among the Muslims, because :

> "It divides the people of God into Nations,
> It cuts at the root of Islamic Nationhood."

At present this theory of so-called Islamic nationhood, of two nations in India is being vigorously prop[illegible]ted by the leaders of the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah and other communalist leaders of the Muslims have started their politico-economical activities based upon this conception. In his letters to Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah definitely states :

> "I, however, regret to have to say that your premises are wrong, as you start with the theory of an Indian Nation that does not exist......... Let me say again that India is not a Nation, not a country, it is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations."

The "Two Nations" theory has thus gained so much importance among certain section of the educated Muslims that even the Muslim nationalists to some extent, are being affected by it. For instance, one of the highly learned Muslim nationalists of our country writes :

> "India is a country of diverse communities, which have not only various creeds and cultures, but have also fundamentally different economics with varying influences and effects upon their respective economic development. As an illustration, one may take the Muslims who number about 80 millions, that is, about double the population of the United Kingdom. This community occupies a peculiar position in the Indian economy. Not long ago under a feudal economy it was quite strong and could hold its own against any other community. In the industrial and commercial fields it had not an inconsiderable share but with the advent of modern *capitalism* with its large scale commerce and organised industries, which are conducted more on credit than on cash bases, the community fast began to

loose ground; and it is generally feared that if the present economic forces continue to operate, the time is not distant when the Muslim community as a whole, may be entirely wiped out of the economic state."

The learned writer has further emphasised the point concerning the peculiar position of the Muslims in the Indian economy by referring to the "essentially non-capitalistic or quasi-socialistic creed of the Muslims". According to him the usury which is, "the indispensable basis of capitalism, is categorically prohibited in Islam." Continuing his argument the author says :

"And the Islamic laws of inheritance which lead to greater fragmentation of property than in any other community, and the paucity of credit, in the absence of Muslim banks and bankers, all these combined make it well-nigh impossible for a Muslim to thrive in big business or in organised industry. Sooner or later he must go down before his non-Muslim competitor, who besides all the subjective (from the capitalist point of view) and objective advantages of the usurer, has the culminating advantage of easy and cheap credit."

It is clear that according to the author of the statement, Muslims in India economically constitute a separate nation. We will presently subject this conception to critical analysis. At this stage, it must be noted that even intelligent Muslim nationalists are beginning to fall prey to this theory of "Two Nations" in India. It shows how dangerously contagious this theory has become.

All this seems pathetic in the extreme and that, in a country which for centuries has never been known to be intellectually sluggish or politically lacking in acumen. It must be confessed that such a lack of adaptability on the part of Muslims in India is due mainly to ignorance and lack of capable lead among Muslims. This state of affairs shows that even eminent leaders of Muslims in India do not understand what is meant by the term nation or nationhood. It further shows that serious and comprehensive discussion of this question is urgently required. Consistent nationalists must solidly and indefatigably fight against the communal obfuscation, no matter from what quarter it proceeds.

Whatever the motives of the authors of this theory of "Two Nations" might be, one thing is certain—the objective result of its propagation is to divide the Hindus and the Muslims, who are common participants and sufferers in the same political, social and economical regime. The authors of the theory forget the fact that members of both the communities have common origin and that even their religious practices and views are modified by their common participation in social, political and economic life of the area in which they are at present residing. From the point of view of nationality, the Muslims of these areas cannot be distinguished from the followers of other faiths. However, before we proceed further, we should define our understanding of the term 'nation.' Only then we shall be able to deal properly and scientifically with the question of Muslim nation in India.

What is a nation? Is it a personal matter —as some leaders think—resting largely on subjective impressions? Or is it a mystical, political term which may mean anything, that is to say, is not subject to any definition. Let us analyse these questions.

In our opinion, the following are the main characteristics of a Nation :

Firstly, 'nation' is a historically constituted community of people. In other words, a national community is neither racial, nor is it tribal. The modern Italian nation, for instance, was formed from Romans, Teutons, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs and so forth. The French nation was formed from Gauls, Romans, Britons, Teutons and so on. The same should be said of the British and the Germans and others, who were formed into nations from peoples of different races and tribes. It is clear, therefore, that a nation is not a racial or tribal but a historically constituted community of people.

Secondly, only a stable community of people formed historically can be called a nation It must be borne in mind that not every unit of people constituted historically can be termed a nation. It is an unquestionable fact that the great empires of Cyrus and Alexander could not be called nations, although they came to be constituted historically and were formed out of different tribes and races. They were not nations but casual and loosely connected conglomerations of groups, which fell apart or joined together depending upon the victories or defeats of this or that conqueror. In order that a historically constituted community of people may be qualified as a nation, it must not be a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a stable community of people.

Thirdly, the community of language is one of the main features of a nation. Without the language, a nation is inconceivable. It is evident, therefore, that a stable community lacking a common language can not be called a nation; it will constitute only a political community but not a national community. The first is distinguished from the latter by the fact,

that while a national community is inconceivable without a national language, a state need not necessarily have a common language. The Ukrainian nation in the Soviet Union, for instance, would be impossible if it did not have a common language, whereas the integrity of the Soviet Republics is not affected by the fact that there are several different languages within their borders. It is evident, therefore, that community of language is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

Fourthly, the community of territory is another important feature of a nation. In other words, the community of language in itself is not sufficient for defining a nation, because different nations may express themselves through the medium of one and the same language. Noteworthy in this connection is the fact that while a common language for every nation is an absolute necessity, it is not essential that different nations should have different languages. There is no nation which at one and the same time speaks several languages, but this does not mean that there may not be two nations speaking the same language. Englishmen and Americans speak one language, but they do not constitute one nation. The same is true of the Norwegians and Danes, the English and Irish. The reason why Englishmen and Americans, etc. do not constitute one nation, in spite of their common language, is, because they do not live together, but inhabit different territories. A nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of the fact that people live together for lengthy periods in a common territory. Englishmen and Americans, originally inhabited the same territory England, and constituted one nation. Later, one section of the English emigrated from England to the new territory America, and here on the basis of the new territory, in the course of time came to form the new American nation. Difference of territory led to the formation of different nations. Thus, it is evident, that community of territory is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

Fifthly, community of economic life is another important trait of a nation, because community of territory by itself does not create a nation. This requires, in addition, an internal economic bond which welds the various parts of a nation into a single whole. There is no such bond, for instance, between England and America or between Muslims of India and the Muslims of other parts of the world, and so they constitute themselves into members of different nations. But the Americans themselves would not deserve to be called a nation, were not the different parts of America bound together into an economic whole as a result of the division of labour between them and the development of means of communication and so forth. Hence community of economic life, economic cohesion, is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

Sixthly, the community of psychology and culture also is an important feature of a nation. It should be borne in mind that nations differ not only in their conditions of life, but also in spiritual complexion, which manifests itself in peculiarities of national culture. If England, America, Ireland, which speak one language, nevertheless constitute three distinct nations, it is in no small measure due to the peculiar psychological make-up which they developed from generation to generation as a result of dissimilar conditions of life. This psychological make-up, of course, manifests itself in a distinctive culture common to a nation. It is also right that this national culture or national character is not a thing fixed once for all, but is modified by changes in the conditions of life: but since it exists at every given moment it leaves its imprint on the physiognomy of a nation. Therefore, the community of psychological make-up, which manifests itself in a community of culture, is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

The above are the main features of a nation. Hence a nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.

However, it must be kept in view that none of these characteristics is by itself sufficient to define a nation. On the contrary, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be absent and the nation ceases to be a nation. It is impossible to call a people a nation possessing a common culture or national character, but economically dis-united, inhabiting different territories, speaking different languages and so forth. It is possible to conceive people with a common territory and economic life, who nevertheless would not constitute a single nation, because they have no common language and no common culture or national character. For instance, Norwegians and the Danes speak one language but they do not constitute a single nation owing to the absence of other characteristics. Only when all the above enumerated characteristics are present in a people can we say that it constitutes a nation.

This is in short the scientific definition of a

nation. Of course, there are many other theories, but they have no scientific value. The Austrian theory of a nation belonging to this category, may be mentioned here, because it has many features in common with the views and conception propagated at present in India by the Muslim communalists.

This theory, whose authors in Austria are the well-known sociaslits, R. Springler and O. Bauer, and in India Sir Iqbal, Mr. Jinnah etc., regards community of culture or national character not as one of the features, but the only essential characteristic of a nation. According to these writers and leaders, all other traits of a nation are only factors in its development. It is evident, however, that this theory ignores the fact 'that people possessing one culture cannot constitute a nation if they are dis-united in all other respects, that is, if they are economically disconnected, inhabit different territories, and from generation to generation speak different languages. The so-called national character or culture does not fall from skies, but is the expression of community in its conditions of life. Therefore, it must be clear that not religious rites, but the powerful social, economic and cultural environment that surround the people which determine its character, that is, give birth to a nation. The national character is nothing more than a reflection of conditions of life, a coagulation of impressions derived from the environment. Common religion or common character, therefore, alone is not sufficient to constitute a people into a distinct nation. For instance, what distinguished the English nation from the American nation at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, when the United States was still known as New England? Of course, not national character, and religion, for the Americans had originated from England and had brought with them to America not only English language but also the English national character and religion. Yet, despite this community of character and religion, they at that time already constituted a nation, distinct from England. Obviously, New England, as a nation differed from England as a nation not by its specific national character and religion as by its environment and conditions of life, which were distinct from those of England. It became possible to speak of Americans as a nation because other characteristics were common to those who had made America their home.

The same is true of the Muslims in India and other parts of the world. Territorial, economical, and political differences in the conditions of life of the Muslims all over the world have created different national types of Muslims. In spite of the community of religion among them, we witness the fact of the growth and development of various nations and nationalism among the followers of this religion.

It is therefore clear that there is in fact no single distinguishing characteristic of a nation. There is only a sum total of characteristics, of which, when nations are compared, one characteristic (national character, culture or religion), or another (language), or a third (territory, economic conditions, etc.), stands out in sharper relief. A nation constitutes the combination of all these characteristics taken together.

The point of view of the Austrian School as well as that of the Muslim communalists in India, which indentifies a nation with its national character or religion, divorces the nation from its soil and converts it into an invisible self-contained force. The result is not a living and active nation, but something mystical, intangible and super-natural. What sort of a nation would consist of people, who do not understand each other (since they speak different languages), inhabit different parts of the globe, can never see each other, and cannot act together, whether in time of peace or in time of war? Nobody can formulate any programme of action for such a paper nation. It is evident that social science can reckon only with real nations, which act and move and therefore insist on being reckoned with.

The fallacy of the theory of "Two Nations" becomes clear in the light of this scientific approach. That Muslims in India do not constitute a separate nation is clear from the fact that nowhere in the history of nations and peoples religion alone was the determining factor of the birth, growth and development of a nation and of national states. The actual position of the Muslims in different regions of India shows that the term nation cannot be applied to Muslims there and that, therefore, the phrase "*Muslim Nation*" is misleading.

It is evident that when we speak of religious entities, we thereby divide a nation into the followers of various religions. It is something like dividing the British Nation according to the religions professed by its members. If we divide India according to religion, we will have Hindus, Muslims, Aryans, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Christians, Jews and various other religious groups. It would be absurd to consider these as constituting separate nations. In each and every country there are

the followers of different religions, but they, unlike the Muslim Communalists in India, do not claim to be members of separate nations.

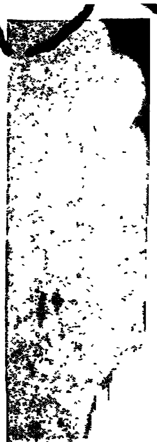
The study of the population, from the point of view of nationality, shows that Muslims in different provinces form an organic part of the various tribes, historical communities and nationalities there and that nowhere do they constitute themselves into separate national groups. In South India, Muslims are members of the historical stable communities like the Andhras, the Tamils, the Malayas and the Kanarese. In the west, they are either Gujaratis or Sindhis, or Mahrattas. In the east, Muslims are either Orias, or Bengalis, or Assamese. In the north, the followers of Islam are Kashmiris, Punjabis, or Biharis, etc.

The underlying economic, territorial, political and social causes, in all these areas, have brought about the amalgamation of the adherents of the different religions into one and the same national entity. This is expressed for instance, in inter-marriages, inter-mingling of customs, and participation in the industrial and cultural life of the country. The Kasbatis of Gujarat, nominally Muslims, marry Hindu wives. The Geakwads of Baroda wear in childhood the symbols of Muslim mourning during the Muharrum festival. Muslims and Hindus, we find working amicably even in crime. We find also Hindu Premiers in Muslim States, and Muslim Prime Ministers in Hindu States. The Hindus and Muslims meet in national and other congregations. They have joined common philanthropic bodies. The Seva Sadan Society, a Hindu organization, has a Muslim branch. The co-operative and economical enterprises have brought the communities together for a common purpose. One and the same clubs, educational institutions, cinemas and other institutions are attended by the followers of both the religious faiths. Even an imperialist, like Amery, observes that communal divisions "have not prevented the fruitful co-operation of Hindus and Muslims in Government of the States, or in innumerable public and private activities in British India."

All these common activities have brought the fusion of members of all the religions, including Islam, into a single national entity. Contrary to the views of the Muslim communalists and also of certain so-called Muslim nationalists, the modern economic conditions are changing the habits of Muslims all over the country, just as they are affecting the life of the other communities. One of the basic precepts of Islam, as mentioned by our learned Muslim nationalist, is not to pay or accept usury. But this ethical idea, which coincided with the primitive needs of the primitive socialist society, runs counter to the modern needs. On this question today opinion is divided according to the class position of the Muslims. One class of Muslims is for holding to old precepts. Consequently, unclaimed interests of the members of this class, on deposits made in the Post Office Savings Banks, amounts to lacs of rupees. But there are other classes who are in favour of distinguishing between interest and usury, and allowing the one and prohibiting the other. Many Muslims are not only members of the co-operative societies, which charge interest, but also occupy responsible positions of Directors and Managers of these concerns. In our own province there are many Muslims in the villages who can not be distinguished from the ordinary Hindu money-lenders. These Muslims courageously take interest without any scruples. Today the class of agriculturist money-lenders in the Punjab villages is rapidly gaining ground. Among this class the Muslim Jat occupies an important position. This section of money-lenders is finding ways of squaring the precepts of religion with the claims of business, though it is also a fact that the Muslim money-lender is the one who breaks his traditional precepts and takes to money-lending slyly. He is also the one who invokes religion openly to express his antagonistic relations against the Hindu Shahukars. It is this cynical and hypocritical use of religion that many leaders fail to evaluate when they approach the communal tension as purely religious.

Of course, it is also correct that the class of Muslim agriculturist money-lenders comprises individuals, who, in order to satisfy their conscience, accept the interest indirectly in service or kind. Thus it is evident that economic forces are proving more powerful than religious forces. Religious principles are giving way to economic advantage. It is an undoubted fact that the incomes of the modern capitalist states are also derived from interest. These governments, through paying salaries to their servants, indirectly distribute this interest among all their employees. Therefore it is evident that all the Muslims, who are government servants, to a certain extent, are compelled to accept interest.

(To be concluded)





C. F. ANDREWS, RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE AT SANTINIKETAN
After a recent photograph by Satyendranath Bisi

C. F. ANDREWS

Some Random Notes

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Most men profess some religion or other, but the number of those who practise what they profess is comparatively small. C. F. Andrews was a man and a brother who lived the faith which was in him. Now that he has left us, we and all the world are the poorer for his loss. But it is wrong to say he has left us. His memory and his example are undying and will continue to inspire all who knew him intimately and all others who may be able to realize what he was by reading what he wrote and knowing what others may write and speak about him.

He came out to India in mature manhood—in his 34th year. With what ideas of British rule in India he came to this country he has himself said in an article which is reproduced in this issue elsewhere. The first personal influence which brought about a change in his attitude towards India and helped in the evolution of Andrews the Lover and Servant of India, Andrews the **Dinabandhu,** was that of the late Principal Sushil Kumar Rudra of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, as Mr. Andrews has himself said in the abovementioned article. Sushil Kumar Rudra was a wholesouled *deshabhakta.* I shall mention only one little fact about him here. He used to subscribe for two copies of the Bengali magazine *Prabāsī,* one for his college and one for his personal use. He asked the manager of *Prabāsī* that the college copy should be addressed to the Principal, St. Stephen's College, and the personal copy to **Babu** Sushil Kumar Rudra. It was an auspicious circumstance that Mr. Andrews came under the influence of such a true Indian. Though the two friends belonged to different races and continents, they were bound together by the deepest and tenderest spiritual affection. They were true brothers. Long after Sushil Kumar Rudra's death, when his first granddaughter was born, Mr. Andrews wrote to me triumphantly and challengingly, "I, too, am a grandfather now!"—for he perhaps thought I was proud of my superiority to him in being the grandfather of many grand-daughters. I still remember, too, Principal Rudra's pained look at finding what scanty creature comforts Mr. Andrews was cotented with at Santiniketan, making a remark to the effect that "Andrews could have, if he chose, filled any gubernatorial office with ease and distinction."

Before Mr. Andrews joined St. Stephen's College it used always to have an Englishman as principal. It was mainly through Mr. Andrews' influence that the College authorities in England decided to appoint Sushil Kumar Rudra as principal. At present also an Indian holds that post.

Mr. Andrews writes in his book *The Inner Life* :

> "Sushil Rudra has lost his wife who had been all in all to him, soon after his youngest child had been born. He had never married again. His three children were still very young. Since I was a bachelor and had no thought of marriage, his children became very dear to me indeed, as if they were my own children, and we shared all joys and sorrows together. The abiding friendship that I had from the very first with Sushil Rudra made all the difference."

Principal Rudra's was not the only influence which made Mr. Andrews an Indian by his own choice. He once wrote to me that he had to a great extent come to agree with Major B. D. Basu's views of British rule in India as expressed in his books thereon.

It may be stated here incidentally that the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland desired that Major B. D. Basu's historical works on British rule in India should be published in America and Britain and that Mr. Andrews should be asked to arrange with some British publishers for their publication in Britain; for, observed Dr. Sunderland, "*Andrews has influence.*" Dr. Sunderland's opinion that "Andrews has influence" was correct; for Mr. Andrews had arranged with a noted British publishing firm for the publication of Sunderland's *India In Bondage,* but the publication was stopped by executive order of the British Government. Mr. Andrews enjoyed the affection of Dr. Sunderland during his visit to America and considered the Indian edition of the latter's *Origin and Character of the Bible* a "valuable work."

Mr. Andrews did not serve India and Indians from a height condescendingly. His

constant endeavour was to become one with the people of India—particularly with the poor, the despised, the downtrodden. He would wear the people's clothes and eat their food. This desire and its following out, coupled with his ceaseless labours and constant travels wherever the cry of distress drew him, for which the Norwegian Indologist and Epigraphist Dr. Sten Konow used to call him the Wandering Christian, shattered his constitution, never robust. The Indian name Dinabandhu (Friend of the Poor), given to him, was quite apposite. It is not intended in this article to tell the story of what he did for the disinherited and the humiliated either exhaustively or chronologically. But many occasions and episodes readily come to mind.

Mr. C. F. Andrews went in 1921 to Chandpur in Assam, where oppressed refugees from the tea-gardens, who were denied transport facilities, were dying in hundreds through a raging epidemic of cholera. He tried his best to rouse the sympathy of the Railways and stemship companies on their behalf, but failed. Later, he wrote a book entitled *The Oppression of the Poor*, in which he told the story of the great Assam tea-gardens strike. The following passage in it gives a true insight into Andrews' attitude to the poor :—

"How wonderful is this spring of freshness that ever wells up from the hearts of the poor! People have often called them the "lower classes"— as though the uneducated were also the unrefined; as though the illiterate were also the unlearned. But it is not so in truth. There is a wisdom and a refinement that come from the very suffering itself which the poor have constantly to bear. Who are we to despise them? . . . . . . There is always a fertile soil in the hearts of the poor which is ready to receive the good seed and to make it fruitful . . . . . I do not believe that the religious and social revolution in India, which is now so close upon us, will be violent in its character. There is an innate love of peace in India that is not present in any other country. It is not in vain that the teaching of the Buddha permeated India for more than a thousand years. But while there may be no ultimate appeal to force and force alone, yet the misery of the conflict will be terrible indeed, if the present almost complete aloofness of the officials from the common people continues and if the same officials set themselves in final opposition to those leaders whose lives are lived among the people and who suffer with the people."

His and his friend W. W. Pearson's visits to Fiji and the agitation set on foot in consequence led ultimately to the abolition of the indenture system and to much improvement in the condition of the emigrant Indian labouring population there—particularly of the women, who had been obliged to lead a life of shame. What part he took in the Indian struggle in South Africa has been narrated by Mahatma Gandhi and himself. He visited East Africa and West Africa on his errand of service and humanitarian mission. One episode connected with his South African work cannot be forgotten. Some leading Indians on one occasion wanted to separate their movement from that of the aboriginal Africans, considering the latter inferior to themselves. Mr. Andrews condemned such an attitude and in consequence came to be looked upon for some time as an enemy of the South African Indians!

He visited British Guiana also. What troublesome negotiations he undertook with the Government of India and what pains he took for the relief of the returned labourers stranded at Matiaboorz near Calcutta! How few of us have even heard of his work for them!

When the woes of Champaran peasants living under Planter Raj was at their height, he was at their side. When Bihar groaned under the unforgettable earthquake, he did his best to help the people. Orissa is a particularly poverty-stricken province liable to suffer time and again from devastating floods. He laboured hard to find a permanent remedy after making painstaking investigations on the spot and wrote much on the subject. He worked also for famine relief in Orissa. Before the Assam Bengal Railway Strike he tried to dissuade the employees from striking. But when the strike actually began and numerous workers found themselves in a helpless condition, he along with other noble souls came to their rescue.

In consequence of the serious and widespread inundations in North Bengal two decades ago, he co-operated with the relief-workers. The particular step with which his name is specially associated is the purchase and use of a tractor for tilling extensive tracts in the inundated region, as the agriculturists there had lost their plough-cattle. Sj. Satish Chandra Das Gupta writes in the Bengali "Rashtravani", how one morning at 7 A. M. Mr. Andrews came from Patisar to the Atrai relief centre walking the distance of 7 miles and, after getting his suggestion of a tractor accepted, talking all the while standing, trudged back again to Patisar another seven miles without taking any refreshments.

The number of persons whom he had helped individually and the reasons and ways of helping them are too many and various to be described at length, nor has anybody sufficient knowledge of these matters. For it was really true in his case that his left hand did not know what his right hand did.

During his visits to the colonies mentioned above he laboured chiefly to do away with discriminatory measures against Indians resident there. But occasionally he rendered other service also. During his visit to Australia he secured favourable conditions for the entry of Indian students into Australian Universities.

Generally he concerned himself with only the humanitarian aspects of Indian and Indo-British problems, avoiding taking direct part in political movements, perhaps the only exception being the active part he took with other professors of Santiniketan in the stormy days of the Non-co-operation movement in severing the connection of the school there with the Calcutta University Matriculation Examination. There is a reference to this fact in Rabindranath Tagore's article on him, as also in a letter written by him (Mr. Andrews), printed on other pages in this issue. But though he (thus) generally avoided Indian politics, he made it quite clear that he wanted India to be independent at the earliest possible opportunity. He added the following postscript to his article on "The World Outlook Today—India" (in the last February number of this Review, page 156 :)

In order to avoid any wrong impression let me add that I entirely agree with Prof. Seeley, when he says that '*prolonged* submission to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration.' I quote from memory. The emphasis there is on the word 'prolonged.' Every year that now passes in India, without the removal of the foreign yoke, is undoubtedly an evil. It is likely to undo any benefit that may have been derived before. This was my main thesis in a series of articles which I wrote, in 1921, called 'The Immediate Need of Independence,' where I emphasized the word 'immediate,' and I hold fast to every word which I then wrote. Nearly twenty years have passed since that date and hope deferred has made the heart sick. Things in India *have* deteriorated, as Prof. Seeley prophesied, and the evil is rapidly increasing. This agony of subjection is eating like iron into the soul, and the strain must be relieved at once.

Mr. Andrews wanted friendship between India and Britain as between equals. This he desired in the interest of Britain as well as of India because he was a great patriot, greater than any British Imperialist. He was one of the heralds of a new age, which is still a dream,—an age of International Amity, human brotherhood, including Indo-British friendship.

Some sentences from his article on Dadabhai Naoroji (in the March number of this Review) may be appropriately quoted here :—

"The issues which were faced by Dadabhai still affect East and West alike, and they are bound up with the future of the whole human race. If Asia and Europe can truly find a common meeting place in India, then the organic unity of mankind in the near future may not after all be an empty dream. But if, on the other hand, in spite of a hundred years or more of close contact, these ties become hopelessly broken, then a blow would be dealt to human brotherhood from which our civilization could not lightly recover."

In the course of the last message which he dictated to Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty after his second operation, which proved fatal, he said :

"God has given me in my life the greatest of all gifts, namely, the gift of loving friends. At this moment when I am laying my life in His hands, I would like to acknowledge again what I have acknowledged in my books—this supreme gift of friendship, both in India and in other parts of the world."

That he had so many loving friends was a blessing indeed both to him and his friends. But that he had so many of them was due mainly to his own wonderful capacity for friendship and his inexhaustible heart affluence. He could and would continue to be a friend in spite of indifference, slights, or even unfeeling unfriendly action on the part of the other party.

Two of his most eminent friends are known to all, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore. They have both written of him feelingly after his death.

He addressed Rabindranath Tagore as his "Gurudev." That implies more than friendship. His sentiment toward the Poet was more than that toward a friend and a spiritual preceptor. It partook of the sacred character of Woman's love of her Beloved in its singlemindedness, its constancy, and its devotion and ardour. To be near the Poet was one of the supreme joys of his life.

Mr. Andrews loved his pupils and they loved and trusted him. He encouraged them to think independently and fearlessly and to serve their fellow-countrymen in all possible ways.

He had the genuine spirit of renunciation and detachment of true sannyasis, though he did not smear his body with ashes or wear ochre-coloured robes. He had no attachment to earthly belongings. The riches of the spirit were his most precious possessions. The Poet once told me playfully in his presence, "Ramananda Babu, if you have anything which you

wish to lose, you may lend it to Andrews!" Mr. Andrews protested against this sugestion in the same spirit.

He wielded a facile pen and wrote many books but did not enjoy the profits derived from them. The money went to some deserving cause or institution or other, his friends supplying his needs.

There are some fundamental differences in the outlook on life and in the opinions of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, though they are great friends. That Mr. Andrews could love and respect both and earn the love and esteem of both shows the breadth of his intellectual outlook, his liberalness and his large-heartedness. These qualities and his 'tolerance' (a word which I use in the absence of a better one) enabled him to have sincere friends among men of all religious communities. A great Musalman friend of his was Munshi Zakaullah of Delhi, whose memoir he contributed to this journal.

His reverential affection for 'Baro Dada'—Dwijendranath Tagore, the Poet's eldest brother, was a most engaging feature of his character. I could tell much of how this affection found expression, but space forbids. I will mention only one small incident. One day going to have his usual tea with the old sage, Mr. Andrews bowed down to him touching his feet, and asked as usual: "How do you do, Baro Dada ?" That day the old sage was in an excitable mood, having read something in the papers which went against the British Government or people. So his response was to the effect that unless all Britishers were driven from India there would be no peace in the country ! Mr. Andrews was not at all upset, but took it quietly. The sage regained his composure in a minute and went on chatting with Mr. Andrews as on other days. Relating this incident afterwards to Baro Dada's grandson, the famous musician Dinendranath Tagore, Mr. Andrews said : "I say, Dinoo, your grandfather is terrible!"

Mr. Andrews came out to India as a missionary professor of a college and was for years known as the Rev. C. F. Andrews. But after some years he gave up the use of the word Reverend before his name. That showed that he was no longer creed-bound and orthodox. Moreover, he did not like a certain kind of Christian Missionary mentality and some missionary methods, against which he wrote openly. But he preached the Christ Ideal by his life far better than numerous orthodox clergymen, and, hence, when a Hindu first suggested that his initials stood for "Christ's Faithful Apostle", it was at once generally accepted as a right interpretation and has continued to be so. Mr. Andrews once wrote to me that he had come to appreciate some of the late Pandit Mahesh Chandra Ghosh's criticisms of some Christian theological views.

Some of the ways in which he served India have been enumerated above. The credit for these services he would often give to the Poet's or the Mahatma's suggestion or direction, not to his own initiative.

While in India he had spent most of his time in its northern parts, particularly in Bengal. But latterly he had been spending much of his time in the South and getting acquainted with all that is good in the character and culture of the people of that part of the country.

It was not possible for British imperialists and Anglo-Indians (old style) to like and appreciate a man like Charles Freer Andrews. Hence, naturally very few Britishers, except the requisite small number of clergymen, attended his funeral service in the Cathedral performed by that true and pious Christian, the Lord Bishop and Metropolitan. At the cemetery also the large crowd consisted almost entirely of Indians of all communities. The Lord Bishop, a few clergymen and a very few lay Englishmen were present there and listened reverentially to the burial service. There the bier was borne to the graveside by seven gentlemen, all of whom were Indians, six being non-Christians.

It is to be hoped a day will come when even British imperialists and Anglo-Indians will understand what a great good fortune and proud privilege it was for them to be represented by a man like Charles Freer Andrews.

In writing the two foregoing paragraphs we must not be understood to claim that we have really appreciated Mr. Andrew's ideals, sacrifice, and services better than his countrymen. There has been no such adequate appreciation on our part.

It is a great privilege of men of independent countries that their minds are not always preoccupied with their own wants and grievances—we are speaking of ordinary times of peace, not of these terrible days of war in Europe—but that they can have some real active sympathy with other people less fortunate than themselves, and they have also the freedom of movement all over the world, including the British dominions and colonies, which we Indians have not. Mr. Andrews made the fullest use of this privilege in a spirit of fraternal service. In

serving India he acted as if he was atoning for the misdeeds of his countrymen here. But whatever the spirit in which he acted, we should always gratefully remember our debt to him for what he was and what he did.

It was characteristic of him that, while dictating his last message in excruciating pain after his second operation, he did not forget the people of the war-torn countries. Said he :

> "While I had been lying in the hospital, I trust that my prayers and hopes have not been merely concerning my own sufferings, which are of the smallest importance today in the light of the supreme suffering of the whole human race. I have prayed every moment that God's Kingdom may come and His will may be done on earth as it is always being done in Heaven."

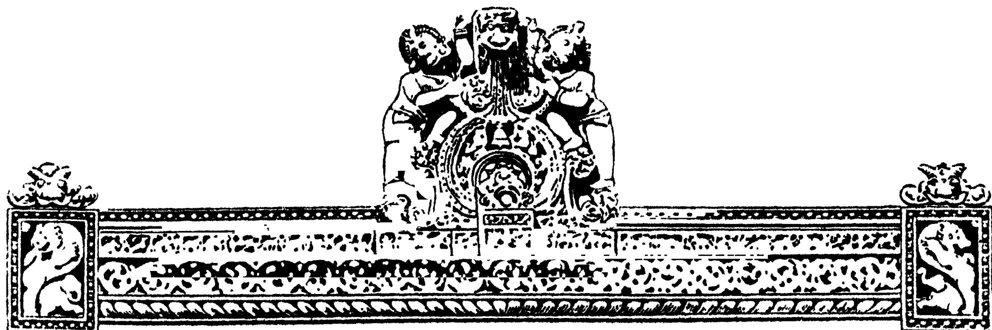
DINABANDHU ANDREWS

[Translation of part of a 5-minute radio broadcast in Bengali from Calcutta station on the 5th April last at 6-30 p.m. by Ramananda Chatterjee.]

. . . . . . The name 'Dinabandhu' given to Mr. Andrews was literally true. To the last moment of his life he had endeavoured to preach the Christ-ideal which he cherished in his heart, not by words but by his life.

We never thought that his death would come so soon. For I remember that up to only a few days before he came to Calcutta for medical treatment I used to see him coming to Santiniketan from Sriniketan on foot and go back walking—covering a distance of about four miles. But it is vain to grieve over what has happened.

He lived his noble life in such a manner as if he was atoning for the sins of his nation in relation to India. But *we* ought not to think of his life and services in that way. We should specially consider in how many ways and to what a great extent we are indebted to him. I am not now referring to my personal debt of gratitude to him. The arduous labours which he went through for India, particularly for the oppressed and humble Indians who live in the Colonies, no Indian ever went through;—only Mahatma Gandhi did similar and greater things for the Indians in South Africa, but he could not do so much for those in other colonies. He was so large-hearted and so liberal that among his intimate friends there were Hindus, there were Musalmans, there were Jainas, there were Buddhists, there were Jews and there were Christians and Parsis. Persons belonging to all the various religious communities in Calcutta joined in his funeral service today and perhaps, if the public had received previous intimation, so many would have been eager to join that the gathering would have reached unmanageable proportions. He has now been blest with the peace which he longed for. He has not been able to see that amity between independent India and independent Britain which was the desire of his life, established during his lifetime. But whenever this friendship between a free India and a free Britain becomes a reality, then undoubtedly his soul in heaven will enjoy supreme bliss and peace ineffable.



CHARLIE ANDREWS

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE lifeless body of our beloved friend Charles Andrews is at this hour being laid to rest in the all-deavouring earth. We try to steel ourselves to endurance in this day of sorrow by the thought that death is not the final destiny of life, but we find as yet no consolation. Day after day, in the countless familiarities of sight and speech, love, the nectar of the gods, has filled our cup of life to the brim. Our minds, imprisoned in the material, have grown accustomed to depend on the bodily senses as their channels of communication with each other. When these channels are suddenly blocked by death, the separation is felt as an intolerable grief. We have known Andrews for long years, and in a rich variety of ways. Now we must accept our fate—never again will that dear human comradeship be possible. Yet our hearts grope yearningly for some assurance of hope and comfort in our loss.

When we are separated from a man with whom our relationship touched only the necessary business of life, nothing remains behind. We accept the ending of that relationship as final. The gains and losses of material and secular chance are subject to the power of death. But the relationship of love, infinite, mysterious, is not subject to the limitations of such material intercourse, nor cabined and confined in the life of the body. Such a rare companionship of soul existed between Andrews and me. Coming unsought it was a gift of God beyond all price. No lesser explanation on the human plane will suffice to account for it. One day, as if from nowhere, from one who was till then a complete stranger to me, there was poured out upon me this generous gift of friendship. It rose like a river from the clear spring of this Christian Sadhu's devotion to God. In it there was no taint of selfishness, no stain of ambition, only a singleminded offering of the spirit to its Lord. The question in the Kena Upanishad came into my mind unbidden:

By whose grace was this soul sent to me, in what secret is rooted its life?

Rooted it was, I know, in a deeply sincere and all-embracing love of God. I should therefore like to tell you of the beginning of this friendship. At that time I was in London, and was invited to a meeting of English men of letters at the house of the artist Rothenstein. The poet Yeats was giving a recitation of some poems from the English translation of my *Gitanjali*, and Andrews was present in the audience. After the reading was over I was returning to the house where I was staying, which was close at hand. I crossed at a leisurely pace the open stretch of Hampstead Heath. The night was bathed in the loveliness of the moon. Andrews came and accompanied me. In the silence of the night his mind was filled with the thoughts of *Gitanjali*. He was led on, through his love of God, into a stirring of love towards me. Little did I dream that day of the friendship in which the streams of his life and mine were destined to be mingled to the end, in such deep intimacy, in such a fellowship of service.

He began to share in the work of Santiniketan. At that time this poor place of study was very ordinary indeed in outward appearance, and its reputation was very small. Yet, its external poverty notwithstanding, he had faith in the spiritual purpose to which it was dedicated, he made it a part of the spiritual endeavour of his own life. What was not visible to the eye he saw by the insight of love. With his love for me he mingled a whole-hearted affection for Santiniketan. This indeed is characteristic of true strength of character, that it does not rest content with a mere outburst of emotion, but finds its own fulfilment in superhuman sacrifice for its ends. Andrews never amassed any wealth : his was a spirit freed from the lust of possession. Yet many were the times, (how many, we can never know) when, coming to know of something the ashram lacked, he found, from some source, sufficient for our need. Over and over again he begged from others. Sometimes he begged in vain, yet in that begging he did not hesitate to humiliate that "self-respect" which is the world's ideal. And this, I think, was what attracted him with special force—that even through a weary time of poverty Santiniketan strove faithfully for the realisation of its inner vision.

So far I have spoken of the affection of Andrews towards myself, but the most unusual

thing about him was his devoted love of India. The people of our country have accepted this love; but have they realised fully the cost of it to him? He was an Englishman, a graduate of Cambridge University. By language, customs, culture, by countless links, the ties of birth and blood bound him to England. Family associations were centred there. The India which became the object of his lifelong devotion was far removed in manners and customs from his own physical and intellectual traditions. In the realisation and acceptance of this complete exile he showed the moral strength and purity of his love. He did not pay his respects to India from a distance, with detached and calculating prudence: he threw in his lot without reserve, in gracious courtesy, with the ordinary folk of this land. The poor, the despised, those whose lives were spent in dirt and ugliness—it was these whose familiar life he shared, time and time again, naturally and without effort. We know that this manner of life made him very unpopular with many of the ruling class of this country, who believed that by it he was bringing the government into contempt, and they became his bitter opponents; yet the scorn of men of his own race did not trouble his mind. Knowing that the God of his adoration was the friend of those whom society despises; he drew support and confidence from Him in prayer. He rejoiced in the victory of his Christian faith over all obstacles whenever by his agency any man, Indian or foreign, was freed from the bonds of scorn. In this connection it must also be said that he many times experienced unfriendliness and suspicion even from the people of our own land, and he bore this unmerited suffering undismayed as part of his religious service.

At the time when Andrews chose India as the field of his life work, political excitement and activity were at their height here. In such circumstances it can easily be understood how exceedingly difficult it would be for an Englishman still to maintain quiet relationships of intimate friendship with the people of this country. But he remained at his post quite naturally, with no doubt or misgiving in his heart. That in this stern test he should have held unswervingly to his life purpose is in itself a proof of his strength of soul.

I have (thus) had the privilege of knowing two aspects of the nature of my friend Andrews. One aspect was in his nearness to me, the very deep love with which he loved me. This genuine, unbounded love I believe to have been the highest blessing of my life. I was also a daily witness of the many expressions of his extraordinary love for India. I saw his endless kindness to the outcasts of this land. In sorrow or need they would call him and he would hasten to their assistance, throwing all other work aside, regardless of his own convenience, ignoring his own ill-health. Because of this it was not possible to tie him down to any of our regularly organised work.

It would be a mistake to think that this generous love of his was confined within the narrow limits of India. His love for Indians was a part of that love of all humanity which he accepted as the Law of Christ. I remember seeing one illustration of this in his tenderness for the Kaffir aboriginals of South Africa, when the Indians there were endeavouring to keep the Kaffirs at a distance and treat them with contempt, and imitated the Europeans in demanding special privileges for themselves. Andrews could not tolerate this unjust spirit of aloofness, and therefore the Indians of South Africa once imagined him to be their enemy.

(At the present time when a suicidal madness of destruction seizes our race, and in uncontrolled arrogance a torrent of blood sweeps away the landmarks of civilised human society, the one hope of the world is in an all-embracing universal charity. Through the very might of hostility arrayed against it there comes the inspiration of the God of the age. Andrews was the embodiment of that inspiration.) Relationships between us and the English are rendered difficult and complex by their attitude to the privileges of race and empire. An Englishman who in the magnanimity of his heart endeavours to approach us through this network of artificiality, finds his way obstructed at every step. To keep an arrogant distance between themselves and us has become a chief element of their pride of race. The whole country has had to bear the intolerable weight of this indignity. Out of this English tradition Andrews brought to us his English manhood. (He came to live with us in our joys and sorrows, our triumphs and misfortunes, identifying himself with a defeated and humiliated people. His attitude was absolutely free from any suspicion of that self-satisfied patronage which condescends from its own eminence to help the poor. In this I realised his rare gift of spontaneous universal friendship. A poet of our country once said:

> "Man is truly lord of all,
> Higher than man is naught."

We quote this saying when it suits our convenience, but it is doubtful whether any other

race equals us in our practice of confusing the dubious accretions of communal tradition with the teachings of pure religion, and thereby dishonouring its essential truth. That is why, I must claim even in the face of ridicule, I have established in Santiniketan a little place of welcome for all men. Here, from a foreign land, I gained a true man. In this ashram he was able to give his whole heart to the work of reconciling men. This was my highest gain, a gain which is imperishable. Time after time and in place after place his conscience drew him into the field of political struggle, and sometimes too the peaceful atmosphere of our ashram was disturbed by his activities. But he soon realised his mistake, and to the very end he guarded the ashram from intoxication with the heady wine of politics.

This, finally, is what I would say to you who live in the ashram, in solemn confidence, at the very moment when his lifeless body is being committed to the dust—his noblest gift to us, and not only to us but to all men, is a life which is transcendent over death itself, and dwells with us imperishably.

Memorial service at Santiniketan, April 5, 1940.
Translated from the original Bengali by Marjorie Sykes.
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RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Some Personal Reminiscences

BY C. F. ANDAEWS

[In the memorial service at Santiniketan Rabindranath Tagore has said how and where Charles Andrews and he met for the first time. The same story was told by Mr. Andrews himself in the following article on Rabindranath Tagore in *The Orient Illustrated Weekly* of December 11, 1938. In it incidentally he also narrated the story of his own evolution as a lover of India.]

IT would be difficult to describe in adequate terms the debt which I owe to Gurudev, Rabindranath Tagore. Let me try to explain, in this week's *causerie* for *The Orient Illustrated Weekly,* some small fraction of what that debt has been: for it has changed the whole course of my life in India and made me able to understand her people.

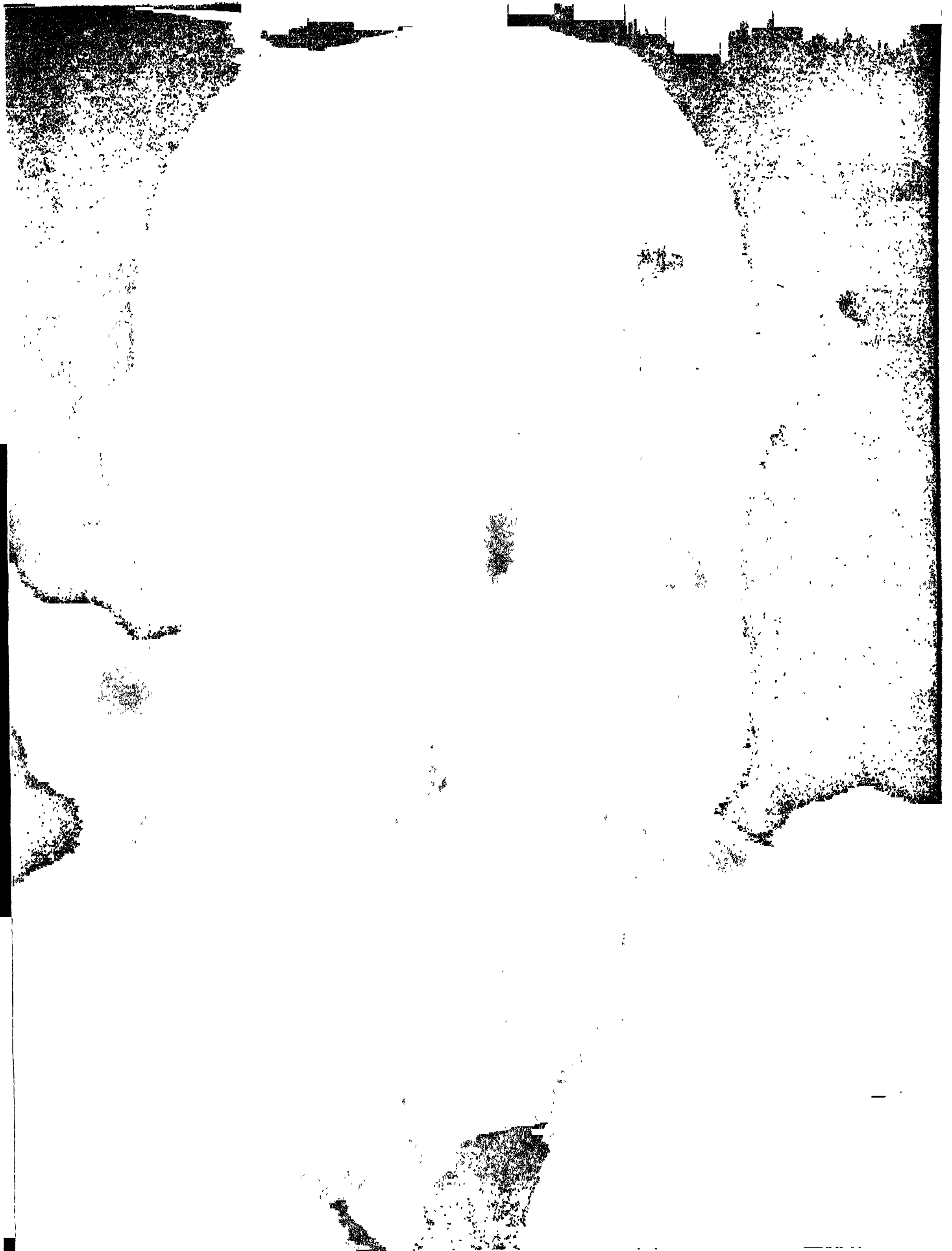
The first great reaction came before I met Tagore himself; and it happened in a remarkable manner through reading those translations of his writings which appeared from time to time in *The Modern Review*. Every word, which he thus gave to the Press, seemed to have its powerful effect on me and made me long to see the author.

A MERE GRIFFIN

I had only recently come out to India, and had received in England the conventional views about this country which most educated Englishmen at Oxford and Cambridge possess. In my own case, there was also an inherited tradition from my father who was a strong conservative of the old school and believed with all his heart that by a Divine Providence Great Britain and India had been brought together, and that it was Britain's greatest duty to send out the best of her sons to rule over the Indian Empire of which Queen Victoria was by divine right the Empress. It is strange now to look back on those old, one-sided beliefs, which were honestly held, almost as a sacred creed. The intensity with which they were grasped made up for a great deal in the narrowness of their outlook. For it is obvious, today, that the note of 'patronising', which lay behind any such creed, must have in time become abhorrent to the Indian people themselves and destroyed any value which they originally had. This, indeed, is exactly what happened !

THE 'PATRONISING ATTITUDE'

This note of 'patronising' had to be entirely obliterated in my own case if sincerity and reality were to come into the perspective of Indian affairs. Here, Susil Kumar Rudra, the Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, who was the first and greatest among my Indian friends, did me an inestimable service. As a true friend, he pointed out to me this bad habit of mine of assuming a patronising attitude, when I ought really to be understanding how



very far from my father's own idea of perfection the administration of India by the Civil Service had been: how there was a haughtiness and arrogance in this very idea of one race being set to rule over another, as if the race that ruled was 'superior' and the race that was ruled over was 'inferior'.

A Study in Economics

Susil Rudra also pointed out to me, as a master of Economics (which was his own special sphere of learning) how greatly India had suffered from the commercial exploitation of its foreign rulers. This was again, strangely enough, a new fact to me. For I had actually considered before, that the benefit of British rule had been on the side of India and I had never considered how much the commercial and economic interests of Great Britain had been advanced owing to the occupation of India and through the complete direction of her industrial policy.

The Evolution of A Lover of India

A second influence was that of Ramananda Chatterjee, the Editor of *The Modern Review*. From the first day that it was published, I used to be one of its most enthusiastic supporters and readers. Also, from time to time, the editor kindly allowed me to contribute an article. All this, going on year after year, formed an admirable training for me in getting rid of that old conceit about the perfection of British rule with which I had started, owing chiefly to my home upbringing.

Tagore's Influence

Without all this preparation, I should not have been able to appreciate, immediately and instinctively, Tagore's writings, when I first came across them in *The Modern Review*. But with Principal Rudra by my side, it was not difficult to do so. Whatever I read (and it was only a very small amount) at once struck me as coming from one who had a perfectly balanced mind and a depth of vision far beyond that of anyone I had read before on the Indian problem. He also had evidently a style as a writer which even in an English translation was manifest.

A Fearless Critic

Also he was so pre-eminently fair and impartial. He dealt with his own countrymen as fearlessly as he dealt with the English. I was especially struck by a long article he had written on the Hindu Social System,—quite fearlessly pointing out to his own countrymen how Caste had led to a stratification of that Society, which had now reached such an advanced stage that, unless its fetters were broken and elasticity returned, it would end in nothing less than death. Here was a leader born in one of the noblest Hindu families of the land, Brahmin originally by caste, pointing out in this utterly fearless manner the evil at its root. I quoted the whole passage in a book, which I had written about this time,—before I had even met Rabindranath Tagore personally,—which was called *The Renaissance of India*.

At Santineketan

This volume had been written for a group of missionary societies in England and America, as a book for study circles, and it still bore upon it the mark of that patronising spirit from which by this time I ought to have been emancipated. But my complete freedom from it was not to come, until I had left St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and gone to live at Santiniketan Ashram, under the guidance and leadership of Rabindranath Tagore himself.

Meeting with the Poet

The way that led up to this was remarkable. Susil Rudra and Rabindranath Tagore were both together in England during the year 1912. It was then also that I first met the Poet. I have often told how H. W. Nevison took me one evening to the house of William Rothenstein, the artist, at Hampstead, in the North of London. W. B. Yeats, the Irish Poet, was reciting to a few people, who had been invited, the English translation of *Gitanjali* which Tagore had written during a recent illness, while he was convalescent. The beauty of the imagery and the language quite overcame me, and I could hardly say anything when I was introduced to Gurudev by Mrs. Rothenstein, so deep was my emotion. That evening marked a complete change in my life.

If I were to ask myself, what was the greatest of all the attractions in Rabindranath Tagore, that drew me at once towards him and captured my imagination, I should say without any hesitation that it was the *conjunction* in him of a great love of truth and beauty. This has fashioned his whole character and disposition. As Matthew Arnold said of another Poet,

"He saw life steadily and saw it whole."

Not Quite an Ascetic

Tagore is not naturally marked out to be an ascetic,—depriving himself of the glory and

the colour of life. He has taken with joy the cup of life which was put to his lips by his Creator, and has thanked God for all the perfection which he had seen about him. As he



C. F. Andrews
After a recent photograph by S. N. Bisi

once expressed it, he has gathered the beauty of Nature around him 'with both hands.'

The 'Plato of our Age'

It is very difficult to explain all that this means, but a single expressive phrase of Romain Rolland about him seemed to me to give that inevitable word to describe him, for which I had all along been searching. Romain Rolland himself is a great poet and artist, and therefore he is able to speak and write as an artist. He wrote to me, in a letter, that Tagore was the "Plato of our Age." The moment that phrase reached me, it struck me with its complete accuracy. The very face of Plato, which we find among the Greek statues, has a singular resemblance to that of Tagore, with its massive forehead and its clear-cut sensitive outline. But, as with Plato, so with Tagore it has not been merely the outward form and expression that have won my allegiancee. It has been rather the inner illumination which has shone from him and moulded his speech, so that his thoughts always came out from the depth of truth. They have been coloured by his own mind with a radiance that made them easily understood by those who loved his genius, however profound they might be. That has been his great poetic gift, the gift of luminous expression.

Nobel Prize Winner for Literature

I remember well the time, long ago, when he had first been greeted as the world's highest literary genius, in 1913, after the Nobel prize had been awarded to him in Europe. This award was made on a simple translation of some of his own Bengali poems, which he had called *Gitanjali*, meaning "Song Offerings." This Nobel prize naturally marked him out as the most famous literary artist at that moment. Therefore everyone was showering upon him congratulations. All kinds of engagements and meetings were being proposed in his honour. The whole of India was ringing with his praises.

Tagore's Embarrassment

But when I reached Santiniketan, he greeted me with a strange sense of the burden of his new found greatness. He told me, with an undertone of sadness, that it would never now be possible for him again to live in his own little corner of the universe, and sing the songs which he had composed more for his own heart's joy than for publication. Now things would be

different. There was almost a melancholy in the tone of his voice as he said to me, " All these things embarrass me."

PUBLIC PLAUDITS OF LITTLE SIGNIFICANCE

This humility, inherent in his greatness, was entirely natural to his own character; for he has never been one who has been swayed by the applause of the unthinking multitude. The crowd means little to him. He has indeed always frankly enjoyed appreciation—no great artist can ever live without it. It is the very breath of life to all who write and sing and paint pictures. But the appreciation which Tagore has ever longed for has been that of those who can truly understand his deepest and finest thoughts. No mere applause of the crowd has been able to give him so much satisfaction as a single letter from a friend, who can truly enter into the fullness of his own mind. All those who know him intimately realise this trait in his character and understand what true appreciation means to him.

GENUINE APPEAL

I have tried, in this manner, to give something of the impression of Rabindranath Tagore, as an artist, which appealed to me from the very first moment when I met him at Hampstead in London. When I mentioned just now that 'truth' and 'beauty' were combined in his life and thought, I have been regarding first of all the broad and deep wisdom of his mind, representing truth, and then along with this, that touch of unique poetic genius, representing beauty, the conjunction of these makes a living whole, luminous and complete.

Here Plato, in Greek antiquity, is surely his nearest companion and equal,—that was where Rolland's apt comparison came in. For the perfect beauty of the mind of Plato, the poet-artist, illumines his ideas in a way that even the best thought in the mind of Aristotle, the man of science, was never able to reach. The greatness of the latter is quite of another kind. Plato, in his own sphere, reigns supreme.

In the same way, there are in India today scientific minds and intellects, which are very great indeed, but Tagore, in the illumination he gives to his greatest thoughts, reigns supreme. For his thoughts are not abstract and logical, but concrete and full of imagination.

ENCHANTED

When I had first heard (as I have related earlier in this article) the Irish poet W. B. Yeats reciting Tagore's *Gitanjali*, the effect upon me was immediate. It carried with it all that I have been trying, with such difficulty, to describe. It was not merely the beauty of the thought, but also the perfect rhythm of the



C. F. Andrews (*left*), W. W. Pearson (*right*) and Mahatma Gandhi (*centre*)

language that enchanted me. I remember well how I went out from Rothenstein's house on to Hampstead Heath, and there in solitude, under the light of the moon, walked up and down, hour after hour, thinking and dreaming about what I had heard that evening. The beauty of it had so entranced me that its effect made even the thought of sleep impossible.

COLLECTING HIS PROSE WORKS

That, then, was my earliest introduction to Rabindranath Tagore, and this first impression has remained with me ever since.

Lately, during my stay at Santiniketan, before I came South, I have been collecting together Tagore's prose works with a view to bringing out a collected edition similar to the

volume which Macmillan's have already published, containing his poems and plays. As I have read over once more his different essays in *Sadhana, Personality,* and *Creative Unity,* I have constantly realised afresh that his extraordinary lucidity, when defining the most difficult spiritual thoughts, is due to his supreme poetic imagination and his power of symbolism, which make him able to picture the most abstract themes in concrete terms.

INDIA BLESSED

Surely, India has been blessed in our own times beyond all other nations of the world, in having at the same time two men of the highest genius, so different in temparament and character as Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. It would be very difficult to find a parallel to this in any other country. There has been also an atmosphere responsive to both.

It is now more than twenty-five years since I first met Tagore on that memorable evening at Hampstead. This implies that more than a quarter of a century has now elapsed from that date to this. Yet I can assert with the utmost conviction that the reverence and admiration which I felt towards him on that first evening so many years ago have both increased with every year that I have known him. Nothing has occurred, from that day to this, to diminish in the least degree the estimation of his genius which I made at that first meeting, while everything has tended to increase it.

MIND STILL YOUNG AND VIGOROUS

The amazing thing to me has been, that while his body has become weaker, his mind has remained as clear and luminous as ever. His powers of imagination have not in any way decreased and he has grasped the new thought of the day with all the faculties of youth. No one is more truly abreast of his times both in the scientific and in the artistic world. His latest efflorescence has been in the realm of painting and he has shown again here his complete mastery of his materials. He has also published a Child's Book of Science. May both his life and that of Mahatmaji be spared yet for a long time to come !

A MEMORIAL TO KAVI NARMAD UNVEILED

BY R. G. GYANI

KAVI NARMADASHANKER was a great socio-reformist poet of Gujarat in the last century. He was born at Surat on the 24th of August, 1833 and died on the 25th of February, 1886 A.D. Looking to the orthodoxy of the Hindu Society of his time, he must be considered a great hero and pioneer of social reforms of his time. Both by his action and by his writings he sent round a thrill to his contemporaries. During his own life time there were more who opposed and hated him than those who appreciated and followed his spirit. The result was that he lived and died as a poor man. But now, his poetry is fully understood and the writings are appreciated in their true meaning and spirit, and his deeds and actions are considered to be illustrative of great courage and firm determination to uproot the evils of society. A social wretch of his own times is now worshipped as a national hero. So, naturally the whole of Gujarat expressed her indebtedness to the courageous lead and inspiring poetry that Narmad gave to the people of his motherland in 1933 by the celebration of the birth centenary of the great Poet. Since then a Memorial Committee was formed at Surat who have, out of their other activities in memory of Narmad, accomplished one, *i.e.*, of erecting a statue in the Victoria Garden at Surat. The unveiling ceremony was performed by Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Ex-Home Minister of the Bombay Government at 5-30 p.m. on Sunday the 10th March, 1940.

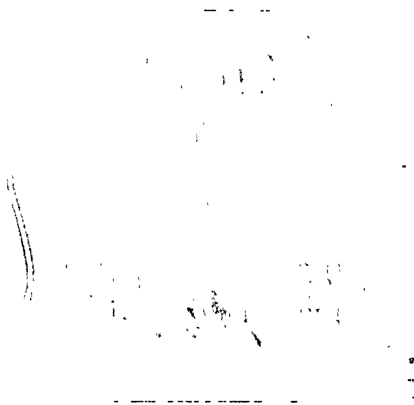
Now, as regards the statue, it is a fine piece of Art executed by the young and enthusiastic artists Mr. Yusufally D. Merchant and Kantilal D. Kapadia of the Kapadia and Merchant Art Studio in Bombay. The figure is adapted from a contemporary portrait of the Poet wherein he is depicted as engrossed in brooding over the various social evils, the problems that worried him and trying to find out a solution—a really characteristic pose. Under the elbow of the Poet is carved a social demon as being crushed and subdued. All the four sides of the pedastal are decorated with bronze plaques full of meaning and everlasting inspiration. The front plaque is "Veer Narmad," *i.e.*, "Narmad the Brave" and the dates of his birth and death, as well as a line from his well-known

poem predicting that "Even the enemies would sing of thy courageous truth and amiable yet



The bronze torso of Kavi Veer Narmad
By Kantilal B. Kapadia & Yusufally D. Merchant

resolute character." Amidst all these Gujarati characters is carved in low relief an old-styled Indian lamp with flames of light dancing to and fro. In the centre below are seen a pen



Kavi Veer Narmad Memorial—the front panel

and a rose which were his symbols of love and heroism. The two side panels give an artistic expression of his life work. One of them depicts fetters in the legs of the society being broken in spite of the sharp obstacles intervening. This scene is enclosed in Ajanta style of



Kavi Veer Narmad Memorial—side panel

the niche commonly known as the "Chaitya Windows." Around this again are seen the flames of heart-burning. The other panel is also enclosed in similar niche surrounded by



Kavi Veer Narmad Memorial—side panel

offshoots of inspiration wherein are enclosed the hands of the Poet shedding light over the vast surface of water and at the same time offering the lamps, which can be interpreted as his works—which are still the guiding lamps for the society of Gujarat.

This, in short, is the description of what the Narmad Memorial Committee has been able to give to the motherland of the great Poet and which would stand as a glowing tribute to the memory of that illustratious Poet and undaunted reformer of Gujarat,—Narmad.

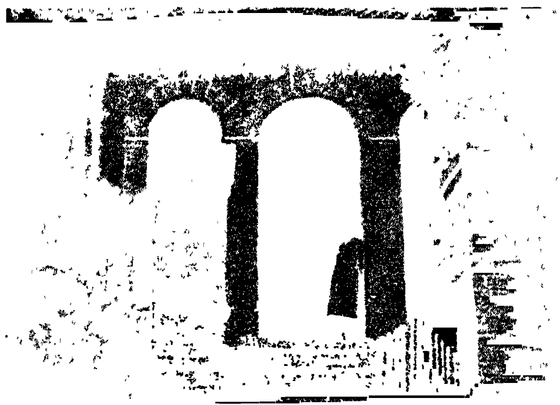
THE CO-OPERATIVE HEALTH SOCIETIES UNDER THE VISVA-BHARATI

By Rai Bahadur SUKUMAR CHATTERJEE, M.A.

Among the many problems relating to rural India, the problem of medical relief of the masses residing in the interior villages is one of supreme importance, which almost baffles solution. Allied to it, and equal in importance and equally difficult of solution, are the problems of health education of the ignorant masses and of the prevention of diseases.

The importance of these problems has been recognised by the public as well as by the Central and Provincial Governments. Various methods have been adopted and experiments tried at different times and in different parts of India, but it cannot be said that the result has anywhere been quite satisfactory.

Let us take the case of our own province, Bengal. Without going into the history of medical relief in the province, we find that today the people in our villages are served mainly by dispensaries managed or subsidised by the local bodies, *viz.*, the District Board and Union



Health Co-operative in Yogoslavia

Boards. Some of these are assisted by the Government under the thana and village dispensary scheme. There is also a sprinkling of privately-owned dispensaries, with or without aid from public funds.

This arrangement cannot be regarded as satisfactory. In the first place, there is a limit to the ability of the state or of local bodies to provide for the medical relief of the people. Secondly, those who are conversant with the actual working of these institutions will agree that, with the exception of a few persons actuated by a rare spirit of service and devotion to duty there is a general tendency among the doctors to neglect the ordinary patients, to leave them to be treated by the compounder with "stock mixtures", and to devote more attention to the substantial people in order to build up a lucrative practice.

The medical officers in charge of the village dispensaries have no concern with preventive work. For this purpose, there is a separate department with the Director of Public Health at the top, a District Health Officer in charge of the work in each district and a Sanitary Inspector in charge of each thana. When the department was reorganised on these lines, at the insistent demand of Dr. Bentley, the then Director of Public Health in Bengal, great things were expected and it was hoped by many that the millennium was near at hand. But these expectations were not realised. The health education of the people continues to be sadly neglected, while the Sanitary Inspector has his hands quite full with the problems of big villages and trade centres, the checking of adulteration of food, the control of epidemics, the collection of vital statistics, *mela* duties, not to speak of the maintenance of office records and submission of periodical reports and returns. His actual contacts with the life of the people in his area are few and far between, and the place he occupies in the normal life of the villager is so small that, for all practical purposes, he does not exist. Of the private medical practitioners, the less said the better. They are concentrated in the towns and principal villages and few people in the country-side are rich enough to avail themselves of their services.

What then is the remedy? How is the poor villager to get proper medical advice during illness, to obtain reliable medicine at a reasonable cost, without being served with the stock mixtures from charitable dispensaries or fleeced by unscrupulous dealers? What should we consider to be a satisfactory arrangement for the



The mud house of the Adirapara Health Society with the Doctor's quarters above

organisation of preventive measures and for the inculcation of those principles, which, aiming at the improvement of individual and collective health, play such an important part in the civic life of the people ?

State aid is necessary and is in fact essential. But it can never reach the individual and cannot be effective unless these individuals are eager to help themselves and are organised for that purpose. It is here that co-operation comes in, for it is only one step from organised self-help to co-operative effort.

In different countries and in different spheres of the economic life of man, it has been demonstrated over and over again that, by organised united effort on co-operative method, persons of limited means are able to secure for themselves the advantage which, individually, they could never hope to obtain.

Ever since the Institute was established at Sriniketan the workers had found themselves up against the Disease Problem for which they were puzzled to find an effective solution. The area in which an experiment in intensive work was started, was formerly very healthy and prosperous but had been devastated by malaria. Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, its first Director, attributed the decay of Birbhum to the three M.s, Malaria, Monkeys and Mistrust. In narrating the early reminiscences of the Institute, both Gurudev and the late Mr. Andrews referred to the extremely unhealthy conditions against which the first band of workers had to fight and which shattered the iron constitutions of many of them.

The late, Dr. Harry Timbres, who was attached to this Institute in its earlier stages, tried an experiment in charity. At the Benuri centre, where he established himself, he used to give to the people of the surrounding villages not only free treatment and medicine but also free diet to those who were in need of it. It was found, however, that, notwithstanding what Shakespeare has said to the contrary, this charity did not bless the recipients. This was also the experience of our workers in other places, and, early in the history of the Institute, it was decided that, in solving the problems of rural life, outside charity should be reduced to the minimum and that effort should be directed to developing conditions favourable to the growth of self-help and combined action on the part of the villagers themselves.

At the same time, investigation of the problems of rural medical relief and prevention of diseases, soon made it apparent that the ordinary methods adopted for their solution by the Government and the local bodies were defective and in the long run, ineffective. Their attention was accordingly drawn to the methods adopted in other advanced countries and it was eventually found that the health co-operatives



The District Health Officer, Birbhum at the Margram Health Society

in Yugoslavia were organised on a system which, with certain modifications, might be tried in our country with a fair chance of success. In 1932, the first health society was organised on these lines in the outskrits of the town of Bolpur, an important station on the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway, and a centre of inland trade. This was subsequently registered under the Co-operative Societies Act.

The Bolpur-Bandgora Co-operative Health Society Ltd. has now completed the 8th year of its existence. With some outside assistance in the initial stages, it has now a membership of 190 and is entirely self-supporting. The last annual audit, conducted by a Government auditor, shows that it earned a profit of Rs. 394-4 in 1938-39. Through the generosity of a member of the famous Sinha family of Raipur (Lord Sinha's family) and with a small assistance from Government, it has constructed a masonry building for the dispensary.

Encouraged by the success achieved at Bolpur, six societies of a similar type were organised in course of four years from 1936 to 1939. The general scheme of these organisations, in broad outline, is given below.

The society operates over an area of two to three miles radius from the centre. It is started when at least 100 subscribing members are enlisted. In order to be self-supporting, a membership of about 150 to 200 would be required, but it is expected that, if it functions properly, people who hesitated in the beginning, would gradually be convinced of its benefit and join in.

These members are required to pay an annual subscription of Rs. 3/- or Rs. 4/- per family. In return for this subscription, the members are entitled to free medical advice at the dispensary, and to obtain the services of the Medical Officer at their homes at the concessional rates of four annas per visit during day and eight annas during night. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the minimum rate for the visits of doctors of the type employed by the Societies, in Bengal, is Re. 1/- in the immediate vicinity of their place of residence, while for seeing patients at a distance a higher fee, together with the actual cost of conveyance, is charged.

With the amount raised by this annual subscription, the society is able to employ a whole-time medical officer. These are ordinarily passed students of recognised medical schools, holding diplomas granted by the State Medical Faculty of the province.

At the outset, the villagers are required to provide a suitable room for locating the dispensary and a house for the doctor to live in. Thanks to the gradual migration of the leading people from the villages to the towns and cities, it is not difficult to obtain such accommodation at the central village of the area of operation, generally free of cost.



The Medical Officer, Sriniketan, examining patients in a village. The Health Society Doctor is also seen

Funds for the initial equipment of furniture and appliances and for the first stock of medicine have to be supplied by some central organisation. In the case of the health societies organised by this Institute, such money as the Institute was able to spare for this purpose, was supplemented by a grant from the Government.

The medicine is sold to members at cost price, ordinarily at one pice per dose or one anna per phial. In the case of non-members, the ordinary bazaar price is charged, so that societies doing a considerable business with non-members have been able to earn a handsome profit from the sale of medicine. The members enjoy a very substantial advantage, considering the price which is generally charged for medicines in the market.

With the money obtained by the sale of medicines, the society is able to replenish its stock. This is usually done once a year by means of a consolidated indent sent from the central organisation to which the society is affiliated. This is a further application of the principle of co-operation, which ought to secure additional reduction in the cost-price of medicine, the benefit going ultimately to the members.

It has been mentioned that, in most village dispensaries, the medical officers generally develop a tendency to neglect the ordinary patients for the sake of the income they expect from private practice. It is therefore a general rule that the income from call-fees goes, not to the doctor, but to the society. A nominal fee, generally two annas for each case, is also charged for injections. The income from these two sources is ordinarily sufficient to cover the pay of a compounder.

The annual budget of a co-operative health society may therefore be analysed as follows :

RECEIPTS

1. Annual Subscription of Members—150 × 4 = 600/-
2. Sale of Medicine.
3. Call-fees and injection-fees.

EXPENDITURE

1. Pay of the Doctor 40 to 50 × 12 = 480 to 600.
2. Purchase of Medicine.
3. Pay of the Compounder—10 × 12 = 120.

According to the original conception of the health societies, the medical officers in charge of them are expected to devote as much attention to preventive work as to purely curative work by treating cases of illness among the members. Some difficulty has been felt in this respect as the curriculum of the medical schools of the province, and for the matter of that of the medical colleges, does not include a training in public health and preventive measures.

It should be possible for every health society to obtain the expert advice of the Dis-



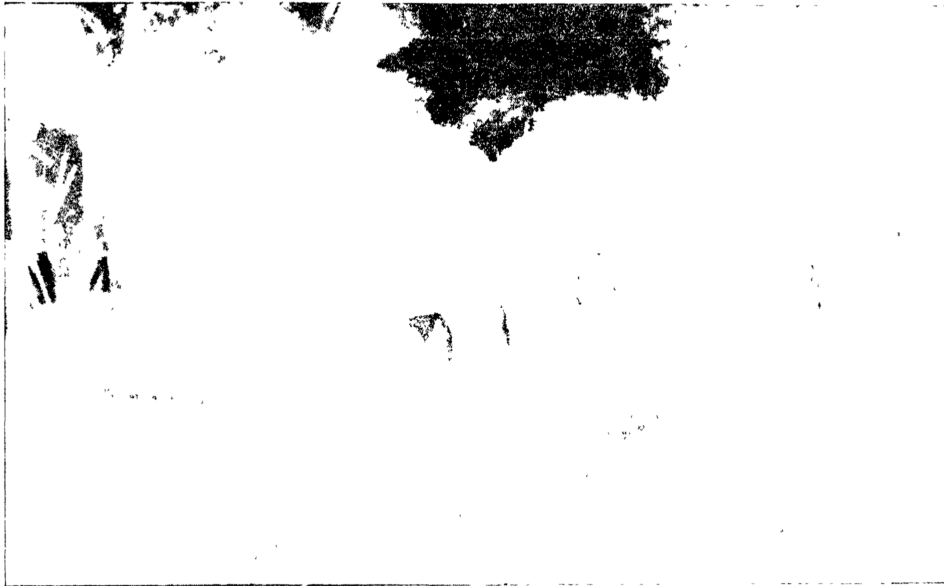
Cleaning of jungle by members in Bandgora village

trict Health Officer and his assistants regarding the programme of work for each village included in its area. Admittedly, the Sanitary Officers in charge of the thanas have often more work on their hands than they can conveniently deal with, especially when an epidemic happens to break out. They should therefore be glad if any village is organised to fight disease and to adopt preventive measures; and, so long as the total number of such societies in a district is not very large, there seems no valid reason why the District Health Officer himself should not visit each society once a year in course of his tours and help them to framing a practical programme of work.

In actual practice, every intelligent and educated man knows what is required to improve the health conditions of his village and its surroundings. The drains should be repaired so that the surplus water during the rains may be discharged in the shortest time. Undergrowth of shrubs and unnecessary trees around the homesteads should be cleared. Shallow pits should be filled up and water surfaces should be kept free from weeds. Sources of water supply should be protected from pollution. Vaccination should be insisted upon.

It is, therefore, not so much a scientific pragramme or preventive action as the active participation of the people in actually carrying out the programme which is wanted in order to improve the sanitary condition in our villages. Every individual villager should understand the ordinary rules of health and follow them intelligently. In this direction, the doctor employed by a health society, unlike the private medical practitioner or doctors in charge of the so-called charitable dispensaries, can do a good deal. During the busy season, when there is much illness among the members, the doctor has little time to think of anything else. But in every locality, there is a season when the general health is fairly good. In the district of Birbhum, where we are working, there is little illness during the summer and early part of the rains. During this period, the doctors are expected to meet small groups of people, members and non-members, and to impress upon them the need for the observance of the health rules. He can, at the same time, take the spleen index in selected areas and prepare a list of people who will need his attention when fever-season arrives.

It is true that, in order to be effective, the preventive measures might in some cases require considerable expenditure, and that it may often be difficult to secure the co-operation of the entire body of villagers without which no substantial improvement can be made. But after making all possible allowance for these difficulties and drawbacks, an earnest medical



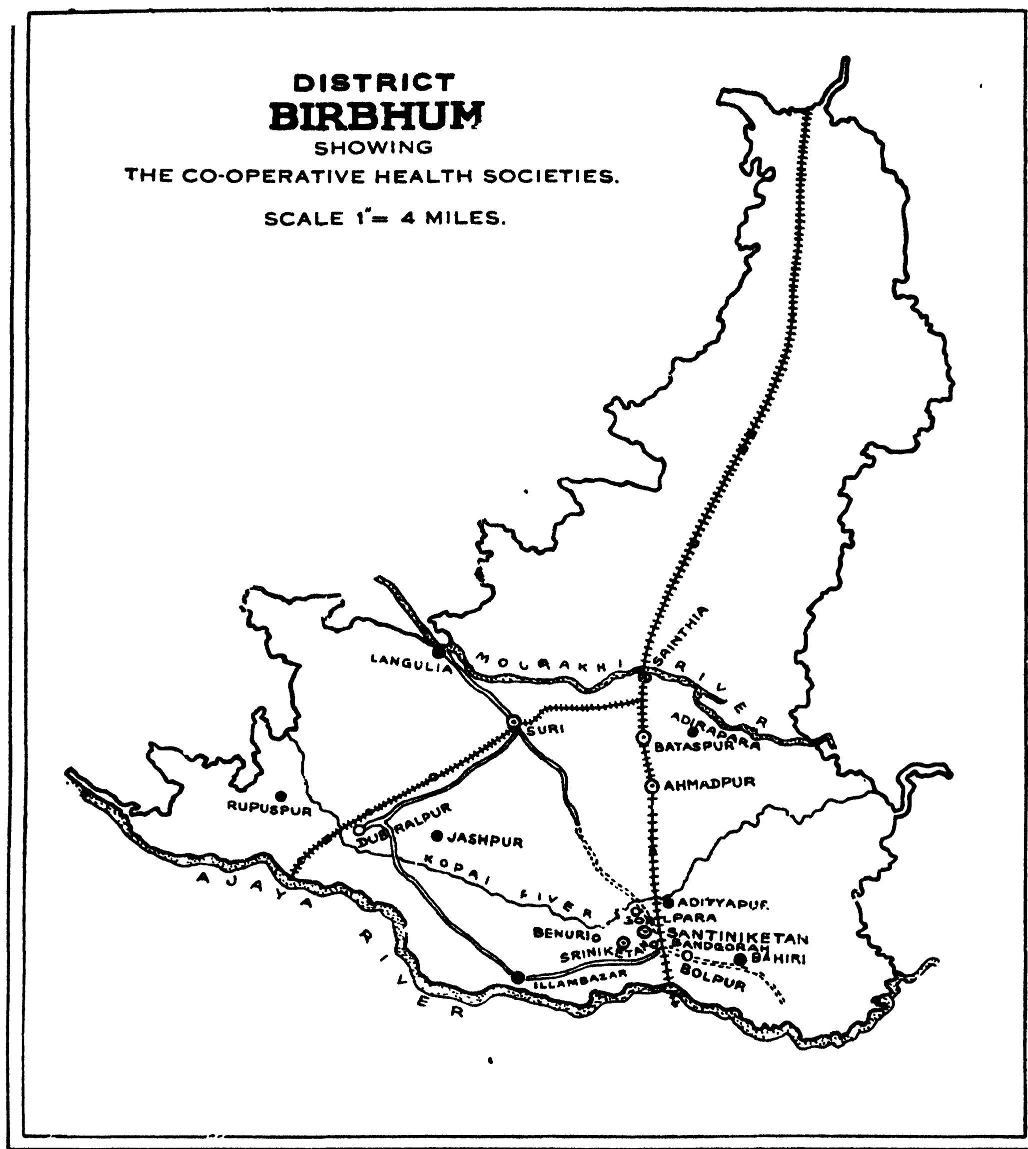
Repairing drain in Bhubandanga village (under the Bolpur-Bandgora Society)

officer can do much to improve the sanitary condition of the village and to prevent diseases. This has been demonstrated in the case of three societies where medical men of the right type were available.

It should not, however, be supposed that the record of work of these societies has been one of uninterrupted plain sailing or of steady progress. None with any actual experience of constructive work in our villages will labour under the delusion that a good plan of work has only to be explained to the people to be adopted by them. The history of the co-operative movement in India is a painful record of the difficulties which have to be faced before the ignorant and illiterate villagers can be made to understand how their interests will best be served. We also know, to our great humiliation and sorrow, how even among the educated and enlightened people who are in charge of big organisations like the Central Banks, petty jealousies and party factions exercise their disruptive influence. The small organisations with which we are concerned had their usual share of of these troubles. Of the total number of seven societies which were organised by this Institute two had to be closed down after a brief period of existence. In one case, the place was badly chosen, as a District Board Dispensary had already been in existence and the medical officer in charge of it had an experience and reputation which the man placed in charge of the health society lacked. It is well-known that a feeling of want must precede the formation of a co-operative society. In this case, there was no want and the effort to impose an organisation on the village naturaly ended in failure.

In another case, the doctor was accused of siding with one of the two influential parties in the village. At the same time, he was subjected to the insidious propaganda of an unqualified doctor who had hitherto enjoyed a practical monopoly of practice in the village and whose earnings had been affected with the starting of the health society.

The movement has not yet spread outside the limits of this district, because the organisers have not deemed it desirable to publish the results for general information before gaining a sufficient experience of the working of the societies which they started. In other words, the scheme was considered to be still in the laboratory stage. But within the district itself, the movement was propagated in a manner which is very striking. When the famine relief operations in the district were closed in 1936, the President of the Relief Committee, a member of the Indian Civil Service, had to think of the best manner in which the balance of the funds remaining unspent in his hands could be utilised to the best advantage of the people. After considering all the suggestions which were



placed before him, he advised the Relief Committee to devote the major portion of the money in starting health societies on these lines of those under the Visva-Bharati.

His suggestion was accepted by the Committee, but he did not rest content after such acceptance. He took an active part in the organisation of the health societies, visiting the villages himself, explaning the scheme to the people, and enlisting members. After the organisation, he continued to give his personal attention to the minute details of their working. In order to appraise properly the value of his services, it may be mentioned that he was employed here as the District and Sessions Judge and it was no part of his normal duties to improve public health or to ameliorate the condition of the people.

Six health societies, at Jashpur, Rupuspur, Chauhatta, Panchra, Sekedda and at Bhandirban, owe their existence and success to his untiring energy and selfless devotion. When,

at last, he was transferred to another district, the management of those societies were taken over by the District Magistrate, who not only supervised the working of the centres started by the District Judge, but has within the brief period of one year, organised four new centres at Margram, Khandagram, Jajigram and Jatra with the balance of the Relief Fund, supplemented by the money contributed by the grateful public to accord a fitting farewell to a popular Judge. A reference to these facts may be considered irrelevent to the subject under discussion, but they may be of some interest to show that, even in these days of hide-bound administration, it is possible for an official of the Government to render service of permanent value to the people, if he is inspired by the proper spirit.

Working on a common field, and in furtherence of the same cause it has been gratifying to the workers of this Institute, to act in close co-operation with both these officers. The Chief Medical Officer of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction visits the health societies under the Birbhum Relief Committee, as far as his work permits, and gives advice and guidance to the doctors in charge of them. The doctors, in their turn, refer all technical matters to this Institute and attend our periodical meetings and conferences, when points of common interest are discussed and notes compared.

With their own limited resources and within a small area of operation, it would hardly have been possible for this Institute to try this experiment on the wide scale which the fortunate circumstances mentioned above have made possible. There are today in this district 14 health societies in actual operation, the position of which will appear from the district map.

The volume of experience gained by the working of these societies over a period of eight years seems to justify the conclusion that the problem of medical relief for the masses of this country can be effectively solved only by the application of the co-operative method. The details of that method in relation to this particular problem have now been worked out, the system in which the accounts and other records are to be kept has been standardised, and the advantage and disadvantage of different methods have been thoroughly investigated.

In the meanwhile, although the workers of this Institute have never sought publicity for these societies, preferring to wait until they were perfectly sure of their ground, they have naturally attracted a good deal of attention from an ever-widening circle. Some time ago, the position of these organisations was examined by Dr. A. C. Ukil, a leading medical practitioner of Calcutta, and his observations were published in the Health Number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* in April 1939. When the Chief Minister of Bengal visited the district in September, 1939, the Magistrate took him to see the Health Society at Jashpur and the following remarks were made by him in the Inspection Book: "I had the privilege of visiting the Jashpur Health Society this afternoon. The Institution owes its inception to the brilliant and inspiring ideas of the District Judge, Mr. B. K. Guha, I.C.S., in translating the basic principles of co-operation into actual practice. The Society has not only become self-supporting, but is gradually acquiring financial stability by building up a reserve fund. The best compliment I can pay to the Institution is by declaring my intention of introducing similar institutions in other parts of the Province."

Similarly, the Hon'ble Minister for Co-operation was taken to Khandagram, another society started recently by the District Magistrate in a remote village, and he expressed great satisfaction at the progress made within a period of six months.

Where disease, in various forms, prevails, it not only exacts a heavy toll of mortality from the people and temporarily incapacitates a much larger number from performing the hard manual labour on which their subsistence depends, but also saps their mental and physical energy, drying up, as it were, the fountain-heads of their life and strength. Because they are wanting in health, strength and energy, they cannot produce sufficient wealth to satisfy the barest needs of human life in respect of food and clothing. And because they are so poor, they can not pay for medical treatment and medicines and get rid of their diseases. A vicious circle is thus established.

The question then arises, at what point in this interwoven maze of intricate problems which confront the rural worker, should action be started? The experience gained of this Institute has been that the attack on rural problems should begin simultaneously on all fronts, and that the educational, economic, health and cultural problems should be tackled at the same time. This is the fundamental idea with which this Institute has been working for the last decade and a half.

There was a time when the supply of qualified medical men was far below the demand. But, during recent years, considerable progress has been made in the establishment of medical

schools and colleges from which a large number of fully qualified young men are coming every year. There is, however, no place for them in the villages which the richer people have deserted and where the poor are becoming poorer year after year.

These doctors, therefore, try to settle and build up their practices in the towns, big villages, important trade centres, fighting shy of the remote villages where there is much illness but no money. In this sphere, as in every other sphere of man's life in the present-day world, we find over-production and mal-distribution. Here also, co-operation offers a remedy by uniting the people who need those services and enabling this corporate body to pay for what they need. Whether, in this as well as in other fields, the co-operative solution is the real remedy, it is yet too early to predict. It is possible that, in regard to the actual details, further experience will necessitate some changes in the method of work. In this connection James Lucas in his well-known book on Co-operation in Scotland makes the following pregnant remark regarding the progress of human efforts :

> "He who thinks that any one formula contains the final solution or that any system of Government or of Economics is the ultimate, beyond which there is no other, deceives himself. There can be no finality to progress........ The goal is ever before us but is never reached. Our line of march is towards a horizon which ever flies before us."

Whatever may be the ultimate solution of the Disease Problem in India, it may be mentioned that so long as the State can not find sufficient money to provide every person with efficient medical treatment and so long as an alternative method equally effective is not found, the health societies on these lines may be tried by those who desire that the millions of Indians should become healthy and prosperous. Co-operative workers, official and non-official, have so long confined their activities mainly to the sphere of rural credit. It is time that they turned their attention to the other aspects of rural life among which the problems of health and medical relief occupy a prominent place.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

THE unexpected and untimely death of Dr. Miss C. Minakshi, M.A., Ph.D., (lately Assistant Professor of History in the Maharani's College for Women, Bangalore), which happened on the 3rd March last, removes from the world of scholarship, a trained and talented person who had carved for herself a niche in the Temple of Learning. Dr. Minakshi, occupied the status of a specialist in the field of researches into Ancient Indian Culture,—a field which has hardly attracted our lady graduates. Taking her M.A. Degree in 1931, Dr. Minakshi was awarded the University of Madras Research Studentship in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology, were she worked for three years obtaining her Doctorate in 1936 with a thesis on "the Administration, and Social Life under the Pallava," published by the Madras University. On the merit of her Doctorate Degree she was awarded a Research Fellowship by the University, working on a thesis entitled "Buddhism in South India". She also contributed a Memoir on the Historical Sculpture of the Vaikuntha-perumal Temple, Kanchi, due for publication by the Archaeological Survey of India. Her place in the field of researches into Indian Culture will be difficult to fill up in the near future.



Dr. Miss C. Minakshi, M.A., Ph.D.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE DOCTOR'S VIEW OF WAR : *Edited by H. Joules, M.D., M.R.C.P. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 122. Price 3s. 6d. net.*

The evil effects of war have been studied by sociologists, philanthropists and by religiously minded men for a long time past but I believe this is the first time that a number of medical men have combined to give a joint opinion on the deplorable results of a modern war. The book, under review, is a contribution from nine members of the medical profession supported by suggestions, views and criticisms of a score or more of their colleagues. Prof. John A. Ryle of the University of Cambridge in his foreword to the book pertinently observes "While even the clergy are not averse from invoking the Almighty to steel the hearts of soldiers and to confound the enemy, the doctor, with all the impartiality he can muster, pursues the task for which he was trained, and to him, in a manner and a measure shared by none, is given the occasion to contemplate the unhappy wreckage and to reflect upon the madness and futility of man's inhumanity to man." Although the writers of this little volume are not pure pacifists the suggestion to refuse to fight or to assist in aggression in any way is looked upon by them as an ideal worthy of consideration. The authors make the following observations in this connection : "The success of non-violent resistance, however, depends entirely upon a universal acceptance of the ideal and method. Its effect may be ruined by a single act of retaliation." This is Gandhism pure and simple. As practical measures towards the realization of their aim the authors recommend that the medical man should take more interest in the foreign policy of his country and that the medical associations of the different countries should combine and meet in a conference and should make known their views to all parties concerned. The various state regulations in regard to war should be critically debated in medical associations. Although the doctor of the future should be prepared to give his services to the State, the authors are of opinion that he must not allow himself to be exploited as a helpless cog in the mechanism of war. The book deserves to be widely read.

G. Bose

ELEVENTH HEALTH NUMBER OF THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE, 1940 : *Edited by Amal Home. Price 8 annas.*

Alike in its get-up and in its contents this Eleventh Health Number of *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* is a splendid and very useful publication. The printing, particularly of the plates, is quite satisfactory. The many articles on various diseases and on hygienic and sanitary problems are not merely of academic interest, but are of practical utility also. The ordinary weekly issue of the Gazette which is incorporated with the Health Number contains an interesting editorial article on the late Mr. C F. Andrews with a fine recent portrait of that great friend of India.

X.

SKETCHES OF A TOUR ROUND THE WORLD : *By P. C. Mozoomdar. Second Edition. Published by the Navavidhan Publication Committee, 95, Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. Pp. xii+174, with a Portrait of the Author. Cloth, Gilt-letters. Price Re. 1.*

The first edition of this very interesting and instructive book of travels appeared in 1884 when the present writer was a college student. Its republication is welcome. In his tour round the world, the author was inspired by a serious purpose, not by the idle curiosity of the sight-seeing globe-trotter. But it must not be thought that the book is, therefore, dull reading. It is decidedly not so. The style is charming. The author is chatty and tells many a good story about men and things. Ceylon, Egypt, Malta, Gibraltar, Great Britain and Ireland, America and Japan become real to the reader as he follows the narrative.

Journalists in India who are in the bad habit of indulging in personality will find the article on the American Newspaper edifying. The author met many men and women of distinction and gives pen pictures of them : *e.g.*, John Bright, Max Muller, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe (Author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*), F. W. Newman, Cardinal Newman, President Arthur, Professor Tyndall.

D.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF WILLIAM GILPIN : *By William Templeman. Published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois. (1939). Pp. 536. Price $3.00.*

This is not a dry and uninteresting inquiry in the life of a historical personage but a sympathetic and entertaining characterization of a man who did so much in so many different walks of life. The writer makes his hero live. He handles the enormous mass of material at his disposal with a masterful hand and the result is a picture both historical and attractive. The author's interest in William Gilpin commenced with the study of the picturesque, of which he was an international figure. But delving in the complex life of his

hero, the writer soon discovered other aspects of his life and work which were equally interesting and very much worth recording. As a result we have informative chapters on Gilpin as a schoolmaster and as Vicar of Boldre in addition to his contribution to the study of the "picturesque." In all these fields, Gilpin is seen to have developed great originality and was rightly admired by his contemporaries. He was an eminently practical man, not a mere dilettante. His interest in the poor of his parish stirred him to develop methods of help which would be the admiration of social workers in our own time.

The writer devotes a whole chapter to Gilpin's work as a schoolmaster. He joined the Cheam School in 1752 and, after a short time as a teacher, he took the school off the hands of its principal and became principal and proprietor. He applied himself to the improvement of the Institution and within a short time it had become so popular that there was a long waiting list of applicants. One of the innovations he introduced was a jury of twelve boys the work of whom was to inquire into the violation of the rules of the school and to apply punishment. The system of fagging was unknown in his school. He abolished corporal punishment. Fines have to be paid out of weekly allowance money. A sum of fifty pounds a year was thus gathered from about eighty boys, which was the maximum accommodation of the school.

Gilpin's main concern was to fix in the young mind ideas of love of law, order and liberty. As he himself says, his purpose was to give young landholders, tradesmen and public officers "some little idea of uprightness and utility in their several stations: in short to give them a miniature of the world they were afterwards to enter; and of that attention to honesty and good morals which ought to regulate their lives."

As an artist he holds a place of importance in the history of art. "His drawings are held in high esteem. In the picturesque, Gilpin is unquestionably an Oracle." "He may be regarded" says a critic, "as the classic of landscape; and has certainly contributed more than any other person to the general diffusion of that refined taste for rural beauty which characterises his age and country."

The way in which he spent his youth is worth repeating. He travelled over all the mountainous parts of Cumberland and Westmorland: "And I know not that I spent three weeks, in what I may call so delicious a manner. It was all enchantment; during the whole time I was in a delirium of rupture : mountains, lakes, rocks and woods, in an infinite variety of combinations, were continually displaying themselves before my eyes in the day—and rising again to my imagination in the night....... And this constant look out, as it may be called, after beauty in every natural object, gives us a quickness in finding various sources of it which are lost on the common observers."

P. G. Bridge

A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF HINDU INDIA (From 300 B.C. to 1200 A.D.) : *By Panchanana Raya, B.A.* (*1939*).

This is the worst travesty of Indian history that we have ever come across. The author is ignorant of the elementary facts of Indian history and absolutely lacking in critical spirit. Here are some of his conclusions taken at random :

(*a*) The Markandeya Chandi depicts the war between the Nagas, Sens and Guptas as gods on one side and the Shakas and Kushons as Asuras on the other side.

(*b*) The Capital of the Imperial Guptas was at first at Pataliputra, but later on they shifted the capital to Gaur in North Bengal.

(*c*) The original branch of the Gupta family (founded by Sri Gupta) became known as the Maukhari family.

(*d*) The Sura Kings ruling in Radha were the direct descendants of the Imperial Guptas.

(*e*) The Sena Kings (Byaysen, Vallalasena) ruled at Delhi.

(*f*) Vallalasena married his Chalukya Queen's adopted daughter with the Chauhan King Someswar of Ajmere and the issue of this marriage was the famous Prithwiraj.

None of these astounding statements, which can be multiplied at will, is supported by any evidence. The author apparently believes that whatever he says, is *apta-vakya* and requires no proof for being regarded as true. The saddest thing is that even a book like this comes out with the blessings of a Registrar of a University who is filled with admiration for the author's industry, scholarship and critical acumen !

ANCIENT INDIA (From 900 B.C. to 100 A.D.), Vol. II : *By Tribhuvandas L. Shah.* (*1939*).

The first volume of this series was reviewed in the April issue of this journal and the observations made therein about the utter incapacity of the author to write a historical treatise are fully borne out by the present volume. The hopeless ignorance of the author and his utter lack of critical insight are illustrated in almost every page of this ponderous volume. The book does not deserve serious consideration as a work of history. We repeat our request to the friends and well-wishers of the author to restrain him from continuing a task which can bring nothing but ridicule upon him and discredit upon Indian scholarship.

R. C. Majumdar

A STUDY IN CONSCIOUSNESS : *By Annie Besant. Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Pp. 313. Price Re. 1-12.*

This is a study of the growth and development of Consciousness and is a very valuable contribution to the science of Psychology,—not empirical psychology, as it is taught in Colleges and Universities but real psychology entering into the depth of the problem of the unfolding of consciousness. Although the book is very modest in its aims and does "not pretend to be a complete exposition," it has been eminently successful in introducing the reader to all the important and fundamental problems. In the first part of the book, an attempt has been made to give an idea of "the beginnings" of the solar system and of the view of the theosophists regarding the Logos, the Monads and the Steps of Evolution. The relation of consciousness to self-consciousness, *i.e.*, how and when consciousness becomes self-consciousness is discussed and the philosophy underlying the Laws of Harmony and Discord is fully explained. It is shown that there is no gulf between spirit and matter. "The 'gulf' appears when we think of a 'spirit' wholly immaterial and a 'body' wholly material, *i.e.*, of two things neither of which exists. There is no spirit which is not matter-enveloped : there is no matter which is not spirit-ensouled."

In the second part, the book discusses the nature of Desire, Emotion and Will and offers hints and

suggestions which are of immense help to genuine students of psychology. Those who study the development of consciousness with a view to learn how to unfold the latent consciousness in themselves will be benefitted greatly by the perusal of this book. The discussion on the methods of ruling the emotions (pp. 249-54) is specially useful and illuminating. "The Ego needs points to draw him upwards, for the upward way is steep and an attractive object above us, towards which we can strive, is an aid impossible to overestimate...... This form of emotion is what is often called hero-worship...... Blessed indeed are they who have in themselves the hero-nature and hence recognise their close kin.... No better Karma comes to a man than to find the hero who may bear him company to the entering; no sadder Karma than to have seen him in an illuminated moment, and then to have cast him aside, blinded by an imperfection he is outgrowing."

N. K. Brahma

HOME AND VILLAGE DOCTOR : *By Satish Ch. Dasgupta. Published by Hemprabha Devi, Khadi Pratisthan, 15, College Square, Calcutta Crown 8vo. Pp. xxiii+1416. Price Rs. 5.*

This book is written for the lay public by an author who is himself a layman. It seems to be in the fitness of things that the task of reviewing it should fall also on a layman. Let there be no misunderstanding : I have no pretensions to medical knowledge even of the amateurish kind. I do not presume to judge the facts stated in this book,—they are beyond my province. The preface mentions that many competent medical men have helped in making up this book. Many eminent physicians and surgeons have praised it highly. I also know the author as a man of wide experience interested in diverse subjects and thorough-going in whatever he undertakes. So I accept his facts and recipes without comment and proceed to state how the book strikes an ordinary layman.

It is a dense volume of over 1,400 pages which impresses the buyer with the feeling that he is getting his money's worth. It has been written at the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi and is intended for the householder and village worker lacking medical qualification but intelligent enough to train himself to be of as much use as possible in circumstances where professional aid is not available. The book begins with a chapter on elementary anatomy and physiology and passes on to nutrition, hygiene, nursing, home treatment of symptoms, pregnancy, accidents, cheap remedies and care of the patient in diseases of various kinds. There are many illustrations and an exhaustive index at the end.

In many circumstances one has to treat a patient without professional aid just as in a fix one has to act as lawyer, mechanic or even as astronomer. There are such books as 'Every man his own Lawyer' and 'The Home Mechanic' which have a definite utility although they cannot turn an amateur into an expert. The need of medical books suitable for the layman is even greater particularly in a country like ours where the art of healing has too much medieval trend and is the favourite pursuit of the faddist and the quack, and where proper medical aid is scarce in the villages. The author of 'Home and Village Doctor' has taken care to warn the reader that 'it is not intended to replace the qualified doctor but to aid people in preserving health and in getting cured in simple cases where the aid of a qualified doctor cannot be had or is beyond the means of the sufferer.' It is reassuring to find that the author does not make a fetish of simples or so-called household remedies but relies largely on well-tried modern drugs. The preface mentions—'Medicines are relied upon only to a limited extent and cheapness in treatment even at the cost of efficiency has been the aim.' The author does not hesitate to prescribe powdered aconite and nux vomica in place of standardized tinctures. I believe this attitude is perfectly rational considering that the system advocated is mainly intended for conditions where economy is essential.

The book is remarkably cheap for its mass of information and should prove to be of much service to the householder and village worker.

Rajshekhar Bose

THE SIKH STUDIES : *By Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar. Published by the National Publications, Lahore. 1937. Pp. 319.*

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, the poet, patriot and politician of the Punjab, hardly needs any introduction in the literary circle here and abroad. It is however, not unlikely that in these days of specialisation in every branch of science and literature, there may be a few specialists of the sort too busy with the right eye to know anything about the left—who would wonder what business a poet might possibly have with historical studies. The author clears up his position in the preface of his book.

"I was asked to write a small book that should tell of the Sikhs and their religion not in a cold and formal manner but just in a manner as one may be able to read it on a holiday. *The Sikh Studies* are compiled to meet such a demand." The author has worthily fulfilled his task and we may confidently say that no holiday leisure can be better utilised than with this interesting and instructive book. It is a good piece of literature as well as an accurate history sound in spirit and brilliant in treatment.

Sardarji's book is divided into three sections, *About Religion, Social and Political, Stories and Poems,* consisting of 18 essays, 4 stories and three poems. The style of the Tiger Chief of the Punjab breathes fire all through. A perusal of this book leaves the impression that no political bondage can chain the spirit of a brave man. We, however, do not share the political bias and missionary zeal of the writer which in spite of laudable restraint on the part of the author peep out here and there. We only wish that every Sikh, nay every man, should strive to become an Akali of the author's imagination :

He loves as brothers all the men,
As sisters women fair;
He humbly works to serve the world
And all receive his care.

* * *

A wealthy man can buy him not,
Nor beauty can deceive;
In truth he toils for weak and low
He toils from morn to eve (p. 319).

Sardar Sardul Singhji's book ought to be available in translation to our countrymen who cannot enjoy the original English text.

Kalika Ranjan Qanungo

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL (From the Earliest Times to the Muslim Conquest), Vol. I : *By Pramode Lal Paul, M.A. The Indian Research*

Institute Publications, Indian History Series, No. 2. Calcutta. (1939). Pp. 158.

By a singular irony of fate, historical research in India has been always almost exclusively concerned with the history of Kings and their dynasties. Scholars have hardly ever thought the people of the country worthy of their consideration. They are not interested in what the people of Bengal, for instance, thought, did and strove for, in the successive periods of history. It is hoped that the history of Bengal projected by the University of Dacca will be a history in the true sense of the word, *i.e.*, a history of the *people* of our country. The work of Mr. Paul too is essentially a dynastic history. There is of course a pretty long chapter on the administrative system; but even in this chapter, he has only tried to show how the princes ruled their dominions, not how the people were ruled. The author has nothing to say about the great revolution in the cultural and religious life of Bengal which marked the transition from the Buddhist Palas to the Brahmanical Senas. But, in fairness, the author cannot be blamed for not doing what was never attempted before him. He has modestly followed the tradition of Indian historiography, and in the usual way has given out various ingenious suggestions.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

RURAL BENGAL: *By H. S. M. Ishaque. Published from Serajganj (Pabna). Pp. xii+183+xi. Price Rs. 2.*

In 1936 the author, who is a member of the Indian Civil Service and was at that time the Sub-Divisional Officer of Serajgunj inaugurated a scheme of rural development in the area under his charge. The present work contains a history of his activities in this direction together with some suggestions on economic and educational reforms with special reference to the problems of rural Bengal. He has attempted to throw some light on what he considers to be the real problems and to indicate the possible lines of improvement in a concrete manner. As far as the problems are concerned he has rightly made an intensive study of those confined to his own area though he has utilised his experiences elsewhere for purposes of generalisation. Incidently I may point out the great importance of such studies.

The book under review contains ten chapters dealing with several aspects of rural development including agriculture, cottage industries, education, sanitation and others. The author has devoted a few pages to the problem of rural indebtedness. Unfortunately it has not received as much space as its importance demanded. There cannot be any doubt that this is the central problem of rural welfare. Apparently the author could not undertake a more exhaustive discussion of all the issues involved in the problem; his idea has been to give more or less a general survey of all the problems of rural reconstruction with special emphasis on a few of them. A general survey tends at times to be sketchy and generalisations based on such survey are apt to be hasty and not always well founded. Some of the schemes proposed by the author may be open to those charges. The real fact is that each of the several chapters of the book might have been developed into a complete volume itself. But the author is not unaware of the fact and he has purposely set him to a general discussion of the problems.

The chapter on education, however, is a fairly lengthy one. In it the author has discussed the various aspects of mass education, including education of girls and mother and adult education. The educational programme he has outlined is ambitious but it has the advantage of being simple. How far it is practicable yet remains to be seen. At one time when the author was in Serajgunge the adult schools in that area numbered by thousands. The subsequent history of those schools and to some extent of other institutions brought into existence by the enthusiasm of the author amply show the truth of the remark of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy who has written the foreward to the book. There he says that "there appears to be an inherent weakness in this kind of work (*i.e* rural reconstruction work) *viz.*, that a great deal depends upon the personality and the drive of an individual officer who inspires and directs the operations." If that be so and experience unfortunately shows that it is so the blame lies not with men like Mr. Ishaque who with unbounded enthusiasm inspire and organise ambitious projects nor even with the people (as Mr. Suhrawardy would have us believe) but with the State whose duty it is to look to the well-being of the masses. We doubt if the problems of rural reconstruction would be solved by voluntary efforts alone as we doubt if rural reconstruction can be carried in a piece-meal manner. It is fine to speak of self-help; but there are circumstances where self-help is not possible; and fine talks on self-help should not be allowed to divert our attention from the fact of the failure of the State to come to the help of the people who would not have required any help if they could have helped themselves. The problem of rural reconstruction is closely interlinked with various other wider economic and political problems whose solution is certainly beyond the ability of the villagers. Let us also not delude ourselves with the idea that a few more schools, and agricultural farms, co-operative societies would solve the problems of rural India. One is reminded of the failure of Mr. Brayne's wonderful schemes. But even as things are at present., there is, as Mr. Ishaque suggests, much scope for consolidation of efforts and co-ordination among the agencies already in the field. There should be more education, cottage industries must be reviewed, agriculture is to be improved and villages should be made healthy and habitable. For those who would undertake such activities Mr. Ishaque's book offers many valuable and stimulating suggestions. They should examine his schemes and 'give them a fair trial.' So though we may not accept all his suggestions, approve wholeheartedly all his schemes and agree with his analysis of the problems, and though in our view some of his ideas of co-ordination may not be acceptable and others unworkable yet we cannot fail to appreciate the man who offers these to us, one who has the advantage of being a practical worker inspired by generous sympathy, close understanding and unbounded enthusiasm which is seldom seen in those belonging to the heaven-born service in a benighted and god-forsaken land.

A. N. BASU

TOWARDS DRY INDIA: *By "Atreya": with a foreward by Mr. S. Satyamurti. Dikshit Publishing House, Thyagarayanagar. Madras. 1938. Re. 1-4.*

Temperance movement had found a congenial soil in India about eighty years ago, when the English education was largely responsible both for the movement and for the cause against which the movement was directed. A fillip has been given to it in modern times by Mahatma Gandhi who ever since 1920 insisted that prohibition must be one of the reforms to be taken in

hand by the Congress as soon as it assumed office. It was included in the demands placed by him before the Viceroy in 1930. But the drink evil brought in a large revenue, and total and immediate prohibition was not to be thought of. A three years' limit was accepted, counting from July 14, 1937 by which time prohibition would be in practice in provinces administered by the Congress.

The book gives a resume of these facts leading to the introduction of prohibition in Madras and the Salem experiment. The Madras Prohibition Act is cited in full in the appendix, and the book will be of considerable help to those who want to study the movement towards Dry India from its inception,—the movement which has again come before the public eye since the inauguration of Prohibition in Bombay, and about the success of which no immediate pronouncements would be safe, though the progress would undoubtedly be an immense boon to the people.

P. R. Sen

THE HISTORY AND HISTORIANS OF BRITISH INDIA : *By Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 1-107. Price Re. 1-12*

The monograph under review embodies two lectures delivered last year by Sir Shafaat Ahmad as Shrimant Savaji Rao Lecturer, in course of which he has pointed out the abundant materials and the varied subjects for research in Portuguese, Dutch, French and British Indian history.

The first lecture comprises a multitude of topics within the scope of its survey. It begins with the advent of the Portuguese in India and ends with the French defeat in the Carnatic. The second lecture surveys the entire range of Indian history from Clive to Willingdon. In both the lectures the author has attempted a critical appraisal of the prime sources and authorities for each succeeding epoch.

It should be made clear that the author has not set himself to writing a narrative of events but has indulged freely in comments and observations only on some of the striking events and personalities in the long panorama of Indian history from Albuquerque to Irwin. The ambitious title given to this book therefore might be deemed misleading.

The work, though small, has merits of its own. It is full of many illuminating observations on the Portuguese decay, the collapse of the French Power, on Job Charnock, Clive and others; though, on the point of the decay of the Portuguese, we think Sir Shafaat should have more forcibly pointed out the baneful influence exercised by the encouragement of marriages between the Portuguese and the Indians. The monograph bears proof of the author's learning and extensive study in the history of the period, but there are a few statements and conclusions which savour of over-emphasis, *e.g.*, the Portuguese contributions, *viz.* the introduction of a few words and that of improved methods of warfare, can hardly be said to be "*solid* and considerable" gifts to Indian civilization; because they did not affect much Indian life and thought. Similarly, without unpinging in any way upon the greatness of Edmund Burke, we think he has been over-extolled when it has been remarked that he "created that tradition of humanitarianism and philanthrophy which blossomed forth in the abolition of slavery and defence of oppressed nationalities."

The language used in the estimate of the authorities has also sometimes jarred on our ears, *e.g.*, "we may dismiss as *worthless* the malicious gossip of Caraccioli" or "Gleig's life is *worthless.*" Again, a modern English historian might laugh in his sleeve at the glowing compliments paid to him.

More information and materials were desirable on the topic of "a dim conception of an English dominion in the 17th century" which has been combated here but is vouched for by the well-known statement directing the President and Council to "establish such a politic of civil and military power and create and secure such a large revenue as may be the foundation of a large well grounded sure English Dominion in India for all time to come." (India Office Records).

N. B. Ray

SUVARNADVIPA, Vol II, Part II : *By Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Modern Publishing Syndicate.*

This part deals with the cultural history of the Malayasian group of islands, whose political and military narrative has been already given in Part I. The present volume is a learned and comprehensive survey of the legal system, economic and social conditions, religion, literature and a detailed treatment of architecture and sculpture of the above region. The social and cultural evolution in the Hindu colonies has been studied in the comparative method with close regard to the ideals and concepts prevailing in the mother country. The amount and nature of Indian influence have been assessed with great caution and discernment and the whole account is based on exhaustive use of Arabic, Chinese and Sanskrit evidence as well as the writings of Dutch scholars. The Indian origin of the Wayang has been ably discussed in a learned Appendix. While supporting Dr. Coomarswamy's observations on the general affinity of the architecture and sculpture of this region with those of the Gupta period, the author suggests that the main inspiration radiated from Eastern India in successive phases, and notes the undoubled influence of the Pala school. Regarding the art of Eastern Java, he accepts the theory of indigenous origin but proposes to controvert in a later volume, the theory of Dr. Bosch, that "it was the creation of indigenous people who followed the principles laid down in the Indian Shilpa Sastras." The utility of the book is vastly enhanced by a large collection of plates, so long available only in costly Dutch works. This volume, we are sure, will uphold the reputation which Dr. Mazumdar has justly acquired by his hitherto pubilshed volumes on the Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East What might, in less skilful hands, have degenerated into a bold analysis of merely antiquarian interest, has been redeemed by the vitality and compelling interest of a mind, scholarly, trained and always on the alert. His book should serve as a finger-post to a new field of fruitful research for Indian students.

Ramesh Chandra Mitra

TRENDS OF AGRICULTURE AND POPULATION IN THE GANGES VALLEY—A Study in Agricultural Economics : *By B. N. Ganguli, M.A., of Delhi University.*

Professor Ganguli has made a useful study of the region known as the Gangetic valley, which has been from time immemorial a cradle of Indian civilization. Its fertility had attracted the Aryans to make it their home.

There is no doubt a definite relationship between the size and distribution of occupations of the population in a given area and the geographical conditions of that area. Professor Ganguli has shown that every region has its optimal point of population dependent upon natural factors and he wishes to discover "exact methods in the treatment of aglicultural economic data" which appears to be rather too ambitious at the existing stage of knowledge of Indian Agricultural economics.

Professor Ganguli has made a systematic and detailed study of the Gangetic valley by dividing it into certain well-defined regions. In each region he has examined the density of population in relation to extension of cultivation, double cropping, water supply and crops. He comes to the conclusion that there is a remarkable correspondence between a high density of population and extensive double cropping. He finds a large number of signs of extreme pressure of population on the soil and still the increase of population continues.

Professor Ganguli's book is crammed with facts, which are both of great interest and value to the economist and the statesman but the significance of the facts has not been clearly brought out nor are the conclusions prominently stated. It is decidedly not a book for the lay reader. It is more of a source book which may be used with advantage by students of Indian agricultural economics.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE : *By Abul Hasanat, with a Foreword by Sir Hari Singh Gour Published by the Standard Library, Dacca. Pp. 915. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The relation of the criminal to society has always been a subject for considerable argument and discussion. How far the conditions of society are responsible for the criminal, or how far are his evil traits inherent in himself and not subject to the influence of environment? Criminology as a science is a modern development; the scientific study of crime really began with Lombroso in the latter half of the 19th century. Modern science realises that crime, like disease, has natural (which includes physical, physiological, psychological and sociological) causes or determinants. It is not necessary to assert that criminality is disease, but what is necessary to premise is that criminality has its natural determinants which go to produce it in a given case.

The criminal is an individual; criminality is a social phenomenon. To justify mass-treatment of criminals, or to adopt particular measures against widespread criminality, we must ascertain the cause or causes and its or their predisposing factors.

It is a happy sign of our times that busy police officials like the author—he is a Superintendent of Police—have turned their attention to the study of this highly important subject. His treatment of this vast subject is necessarily sketchy, but he has succeeded well in introducing the subject to the lay reader. The discussion of some aspects of the problem, such as female and juvenile criminality from want of the relevant statistics and necessary information, appears to be unreal. The author has not discussed the problem of the greater criminality (about 24 per cent) of the Bengalee Muhammadans. It is full of information, and not the least part of it are the author's own shrewd observations based on actual experience. On the whole the book is a good introduction to the subject.

J. M. DATTA

BUTTER FAT (GHEE)—ITS COMPOSITION, NUTRITIVE VALUE, DIGESTIBILITY, RANCIDITY, ADULTERATION—ITS DETECTION AND ESTIMATION : *By N. N. Godbole and Sadgopal. Published from the Department of Chemistry, Benares Hindu University. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 4.*

The book gives general information regarding the composition and nutritive value of ghee as compared with other fats and oils. There are some observations regarding comparative merits of cow's ghee and buffalo's ghee—the seal being in favour of cow's ghee.

Nowadays, interest has been roused in the matter of testing ghee. Those interested in adulteration have shown also uncommon shrewdness in availing themselves of the scientific investigations about ghee tests and in formulating ghee adulteration so as to evade detection by laboratory tests.

Ghee differs materially from province to province, from season to season and breeds to breeds of cattle. On account of these variations which are rather wide, it is difficult to lay down a general standard. The Government has laid down some standard tests and specified some ranges within which the results must remain for a sample to be classed as pure ghee. The standard, however, is an arbitrary one and the same standard cannot do for all provinces. In fact an exception has been made in favour of Kathiawar. Pure ghee of Kathiawar would be classed as adulterated if judged by the general standard. The Central Government has begun the work and we hope that standards for each provinces of origin will have to be made.

The difficulty of the matter is enhanced by the fact that the cow's ghee gives one sort of results and buffalo's ghee another But if the two ghees are mixed then the variation extends to so very wide a range that adulterated ghee may easily pass off as pure mixed-ghee.

In this confusing state of chemical knowledge the authors have attempted to evolve something more definite. They have emphasised the importance of *a* and *b* values and have indicated a new use of the Butter-refractometer in which they have detected such colour fringes as may differentiate ghee from its adulterants.

Laboratories interested in ghee analysis will find the book full of suggestions and valuable information. The lay public will also learn much about ghee and its adulterants and its rancidity and its method of prevention from the useful book.

SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

HINDUTVA : *By Swatantrya-Vir Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Published by the Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, New Delhi. Pp. 184. Price annas twelve only.*

The subject-matter of the book is more or less apparent from its title The question is often asked who is a Hindu? And the apparent diversity of races and creeds is pointed out as only shewing that a Hindu cannot be defined. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar gives the lie direct to this proposition and presents to all concerned a clear-cut definition which is derived from India's past history and tested in the light of contemporary facts and proved to be true.

A distinction is drawn between Hindutva and what is ordinarily called Hinduism. According to our author, the two are not identical. Hinduism is more or less a sectarian name, implying a religious or spiritual creed or a system of dogmas. But "Hindutva embraces all the departments of thought and activity of the whole

Being of our Hindu race" (p. 6). A Hindu is one who accepts India—the land from the Indus to the sea—as his father-land and his holy land and accepts the whole of its culture with all its ramifications as his own. Hindutva is thus wider than Hinduism.

The author's name itself is a sufficient guarantee that we have here a powerful and effective exposition of the subject he has taken in hand. The reviewer need say no more.

THE RELIGION OF JESUS : *By Joseph Cornelius Kumarappa, M.A., B.Sc. Published by the Hindusthan Publishing Co., Ltd., Rajahmundry. Price 4 annas only.*

This is a very small booklet in which the essentials of Christianity are stated and stated quite well. The summary attempts to define the correct attitude of a true Christian towards material possessions, other religions and the State. What should a Christian do when he sees political wrongs being committed? "Conscience", says our author, "cannot be locked up in steel cases at our convenience". And "to say that any religious man can promise to keep out of politics is to make a play-thing of religion. Can a trained bacteriologist say he will promise to have nothing to do with the sanitation and hygiene of the village in which he lives?" (p. 30).

True to these principles, our author protested against the atrocities committed by the police upon the volunteers of the non-co-operation movement of 1930 in India and sent out an appeal to Christians and Missionary bodies. The official Christian attitude in this matter is expressed by the reply that the Lord Bishop of Calcutta gave to this appeal. We have in it an example of the obeisance that the church pays to the state. This whole correspondence given in the appendix to the book deserves to be read and re-read.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE : *By Prof. Madhabdas Chakravarty, M.A., Sankhyatirtha. Published by the author, 111, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

A comprehensive, reliable and well-balanced history of Sanskrit Literature is yet to be written. The singular value of Prof Chakravarty's *Short History of Sanskrit Literature* as a manual for the students of Sanskrit Literature lies in the independent and impartial treatment of the subject-matter of the book. The subject have been methodically arranged and Prof. Chakravarty has availed himself of the fruits of modern and up-todate researches on many topics. The reader may not accept the conclusions of the author on all disputed questions but he will always admire his logical and reasonable approaches.

This book is mainly intended for College and University students and undoubtedly they would find it immensely useful. Even the well-equipped reader will find much in this book that is thought provoking.

J. C. Bhattacharjya

MODERN HINDI LITERATURE : *By Dr. Indar Nath Madan. Published by the Minerva Book Shop, Lahore. Price Rs. 5.*

A systematic and comprehensive survey of Modern Hindi Literature. The author limits his treatment to Poetry, Drama, Novel and the short story only, as these forms best reflect the various tendencies in present-day Hindi Literature. The book gives not only a clear exposition of literary tendencies, but also a searching criticism of what is being written under their influence. The book was originally submitted as a thesis for Ph.D. Degree of the Punjab University. It is a valuable contribution to the study of Modern Hindi Literature.

Balraj Sahni

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

BRAHMASIDDHI : *By Acarya Mandana Misra, with Commentary by Sankhpani. Edited with Introduction, Appendices and Indexes by Mahamahopadhyaya Bidyavacaspati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. and a Foreword by Vidyasagara Vidyavacaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Madras). Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. Price Rs. 7-12.*

Mandana was great not only as an Acarya but also as one who showed the way of applying the dialectical method of the Buddhists as a weapon for strengthening the position of Advaita Vedanta : and his Brahmasiddhi is not merely the earliest of the four great works, which form the Siddhi literature of the Advaita School, but it is also the book in which Mandana showed himself at his best as a dialectician; hence it is in the fitness of things that this important work on Advaita Vedanta should be edited by one of the great teachers of the Hindu philosophy of our days.

The introduction of the book under review covers fifty-six pages in all; and it is divided into four sections, two of which will be considered to have added materially to our knowledge of the history of the Vedanta philosophy; one of these two has been devoted to the unravelling of the personality of Mandana; while the other contains a critical estimate of his contribution to Indian philosophy.

Mandana is popularly identified with Suresvara, the great Vartikakara as well as the favourite disciple of Acharya Sankara; this popular view has been vigorously supported by Dr. P. S. Sastri in the foreword of the book; but from the evidence furnished by the writings of Mandana himself and of others, as well as from the divergence of views which has been shown to exist between Sankara, Suresvara and Mandana on certain fundamental propositions, the learned editor has justly concluded that Advaita Vedanta Mandana cannot be equated with Suresvara, the disciple of Sankara, but that he was a rival of Sankara himself as a teacher of Advaita Vedanta.

Isanchandra Ray

BENGALI

BHARATER SHILPA-KATHA : *By Sri Asit Kumar Haldar. Published by the University of Calcutta.*

This is a popular handbook telling the story of the Indian Arts of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting from pre-historic times down to our own days. It presents to the reader a mass of information of educative value in an attractive manner. The Bibliography will be of use to those who wish to study the subject with some degree of thoroughness. The index facilitates reference to particular topics, places and persons.

The book could and should have been more effectively illustrated. It is to be regretted that many of the photographic reproductions are too small to be educative or attractive. The transliteration of some names is inaccurate. Some words have been used in

an ungrammatical form, and some sentences, too, are open to criticism from the grammarian's point of view.

The book covers so wide a field that no detailed criticism of its matter can be attempted in a brief notice. The author would do well to revise it thoroughly for a second edition.

ACHARYER PRARTHANA, PART II (1879-1881) : *Published by the Publication Department of the Keshub Chunder Sen Centenary Committee, 95, Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. Pp. xii+400. Price Re. 1.*

This volume includes more than 250 prayers of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen. Spiritually thirsty souls will find them inspiring. They will derive strength and solace from them.

UTSAB : *Published by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. Pp. 156. Price four annas.*

This book contains the discourses and sermons—some in condensed form—delivered after divine service in the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Hall of Worship during the last Maghotsab anniversary festival, by Barada Kanta Basu, Sisir Kumar Datta, Aparnacharan Bhattacharya, Mrs. Sushila Basu Bhabasindhu Datta, Nirmal Chandra De, Bipinbihari Chakrabarti, Sris Chandra Das, Mrs. Hemlata Sarkar Srinath Das, Mathuranath Nandi, Abinas Chandra Lahiri, Ramananda Chatterjee, Sitanath Tattvabhushan Surendra Sasi Gupta, Subinay Ray Chaudhuri and Mrs. Labanyaprabha Das. Three of these are by the first-named gentlemen. The book also includes Satis Chandra Chakrabarti's radio talk on "Our Country and the Brahmo Samaj" broadcast from the Calcutta station.

The book makes elevating reading.

BIKRAMPURER ITIHAS, VOL. I, SECOND EDITION : *By Jogendranath Gupta. Published by Sudhangshushekhar Gupta P. 651-A, Mahanirvan Road, Calcutta. Demy 8vo. Pp. xxx+370+28. Cloth-bound. 39 Illustrations and two Maps. Price Rs. 6.*

The first edition of the first volume of this important work was published thirty years ago. The second edition has now appeared in an enlarged form.

At present Bikrampur Parganas is a part of the district of Dacca in East Bengal. But old Vikrampur covered a larger area and was a much more important region than now. It produced men of great distinction in those days and even in modern times some of the most distinguished persons of Bengal and India were born in Bikrampur Parganas.

It is of this region that the author has told the story from the earliest times, stopping in this volume with the Mussalman conquest. He has laid under contribution all available literature on the subject and has, in addition, made independent investigations, travelling all over the region and making way to comparatively inaccessible parts.

The volume is divided into nine chapters, dealing with, (1) Banga-desha (Bengal) and Bikrampur, (2) Physical features and Fauna and Flora, (3) Population, Castes and Creeds (4) Ancient History, (5) Independent Kingdom of Banga and its capital Srivikrampur, (6) Independent Varman Kings of Bengal and their capital Srivikrampur, (7) Independent Sena Kings, Vijaya Sena, Vikrampur, (8) Last days of the Sena Period and Mussalman Conquest, (9) Capital Srivikrampur and Rampal. There are three appendices.

The work is an important and scholarly contribution to the history of Bengal and India.

D.

PRATHAMIKA (A BOOK OF POEMS) : *By Sj. Nripendranarayan Ghosh. Published by Sj. Mohitlal Gangopadhyay from Alapani Rasa-Chakra, Rajdia, Dacca. Price Re. 1, Re. 1-4 and Re. 1-8.*

This modest volume of Bengali poems, though not very remarkable in itself, bears some evidence of the writer's talents. Some of the poems sparkle occasionally, but fail in sustained brilliance. The translation of Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" is commendable in its first half. There are signs of immaturity, but considering that this is the first venture of the poet, we may expect for him a bright future.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEA

VEDANTA SOPAN : *By Prakash Chandra Singha Roy Nyayabagis. Published by the Author from P205, Lansdowne Road Extension, Ballyganj, Calcutta. With an Introduction by Dr. S. C. Mittra, M.A., D.Litt. Pp. 74+8. Price 8 annas.*

The author has written about half a dozen books on Hindu Philosophy and Religion both in English and Bengali. In this book, he gives a short introduction to the philosophies of Sankara, Ramanuja, Nimbarka, Ballava, and Madhwa in the light of their commentaries on the Brahmasutras. In a Chapter of the book devoted to comparative survey of Hindu and Western philosophy, the writer draws a line of comparison between the philosophical doctrines of Sankar and Perminides, although the two great philosophers have a distance of over a thousand years in time and that of about four thousand miles in space. He also shows therein the points of similarity between the Vedantists of India and the philosophers of the west like Plotinus, Spinoza, Schelling, Hegel and Berkeley. Some choice verses of the principal Upanishads are appended in the book with Bengali renderings.

In the present age which brings into close contact diverse schools of philosophy all the world over, such books, written on the basis of comparative study, are of immense value; but the book under review, I am afraid, falls short of the mark on account of inadequate presentation of the subject-matter necessary for a clear understanding.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HINDI

PRACHYADARSHANSAMIKHSHA : *By Sadhu Shantinath. Obtainable from the Author, C/o Oriental Book Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona. Pp. 457. Price none. Only six annas postage.*

At the bottom of the title-page, the price of the book under review is mentioned as "nishpakhsh vichar," or dispassionate, non-partisan thinking. This gives a clue to the character of the author's intention to present to the reader the pros and cons of his thesis, which is to bring together within the covers of one single volume all the arguments that are usually advanced to prove as well as to disprove such truths as are expressed in terms like God, Soul, Salvation and *sadhana* or spiritual discipline. He expects as a reward of his life long labours, which extend over three decades of earnest inquiry and experimentation, that the healthy spirit of non-conformity born of intellectual robustness, will be fostered among the educated people. His book is

both a battlefield and a bouquet of ideas on the most dominant and dynamic values of life. And as such it will be found stimulating and suggestive, by all those who desire to raise their minds above the daily half-truths and hearsay, to which so many of us often fall a victim with fatal (fatal to independent thinking) facility.

GURDIAL MALLIK

MANANIYA SHRIMATI PANDIT: *By Rai Durga Prasad Rastogi. Published by Rastogi Prakashak Bhawan, Prayag. Price Re. 1-8.*

An interesting life-sketch of Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit, Ex-Minister Local Self-Government, United Provinces. The author, believing that a person can be best understood in his or her own particular environment, effectively reproduces that environment and sets Mrs. Pandit moving in it. We are in this way enabled to appreciate fully the domestic, political and journalistic activities of Mrs. Pandit.

TULNA: *By Pt. Jayant Ram, Headmaster, State High School, Chamba State, Punjab. Published by the Author. Price 6 annas.*

A small book in which the author compares Western Materialism with Eastern Spiritualism and makes a strong plea for a return to the latter. Science, he says, can at best understand the ever-changing material world, but it is the spiritual quest of man alone that can comprehend the eternal unity which underlies all external appearance. And man can only comprehend that unity through living in accordance with the moral precepts laid down by the ancient sages of India.

BALRAJ SAHNI

GUJARATI

PARSIKA: *By Jehangir Manekji Desai, M.A. Printed at the Purohit Printing Press, Ahmedabad and the Muslim Gujarat Printing Press, Surat. Cloth cover. Pp. 241. 68. Illustrated. Price annas twelve (1938).*

Mr. Jehangir Desai belongs to that band of Parsi writers, who think it a great pleasure and honor to write correct and cultural Gujarati. This collection of his verse writings,—in spite of blemishes and shortcomings in language, expression and phrases—fully justifies the opinion that Parsis when they seriously make up their mind to do so, do write as well as their Hindu brethren. The subject of the verses is entirely Zoroastrian. He has written on the religion of the Parsis, their history, their great men and their humour. He has composed verses and given notes at the end comparing the names of Hindu Vedic gods with those of Parsi Holy men for instance, Bahman=Brahma, Ardibehesht=Vasishtha and so on, thus betraying knowledge of Sanskrit. Mr. Desai deserves encouragement.

SIR HORMASJI KAVASJI DINSHA JIVAN CHARITRA: *By Ambelal N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate. Printed at the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. (1983). Cloth cover. Pp. 220+4. Illustrated. Price Rs. 5.*

Mr. Joshi has written this life story of one of the best known and philanthropic citizens in the first rank in Bombay, and respected alike by all the varied communities of that cosmopolitan city, for his generous and genial nature, so well, that within the period of one year, a second edition has had to be printed. The amount of labour and assiduity that he has brought to bear in the task is remarkable. For every statement or incident narrated, he has quoted his authority, cited chapter and verse. The thirteen chapters that deal with the account of Sir Hormasji and his family are replete with detailed information. Sir Hormasji deserved a fine biography writer and he has got him in Mr. Joshi.

K. M. J.

KANNADA

SABDAMANIDARPANA, A GRAMMAR OF OLD KANNADA BY KESIRAJA WITH THE COMMENTARY SUTRANVAYA-RATNA-MALE OF LINGANARADHYA: *Edited by Shri H. C. Iyengar. Published by the Madras University. Total pages 622. Royal 8vo. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Earlier Kannada right from the 6th century to the 14th is usually described as Hale-gannada (old Kannada), that which is earlier still, being called Purvada Hale-gannada. Later and modern Kannada is called Hosa-gannada (new Kannada). The *Sabdamanidarpana* is a very systematic and an exhaustive grammar of old Kannada written in Kannada verse along with a gloss by the author himself, which is rather unusual. The method of treatment is a happy and judicious blend of the Paninian and Aindra Schools. It was written in the 13th century (Kesiraja lived in 1260 A.D.). It was a distinct advance and an improvement on the then existing works on Kannada grammar, namely, Kavirajmarga (which is a work on poetics also, 9th century) of Nripatunga, Shabdasmriti, and Bhasabhusan both of Nagavarma (12th century). Kesiraja may be said to have written the last word regarding the special characteristics of Kannada and his remarks are original. His industry is also remarkable in so far as he gives us a list of about a thousand Kannada roots and some other difficult words. Dr. Burnell while writing about the Aindra School of grammarians rightly remarks, "the great and real merit of the *Sabdamanidarpana* is that it bases the rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute; in this way it is far ahead of the Tamil and Telegu treatises which are much occupied with scholastic disputations.

Some two editions of this book are already available, the last being printed in 1920. The main feature of the book under review, however, is that for the first time it publishes the Vritti of Linganaradhya, a great scholar who lived in the 17th century, at any rate before 1724 A.D. So far, only the gloss by Kesiraj and one by Nittoor Nanjayya had been published. At the time of printing this book, only one palm-leaf copy of the Vritti was available at the Madras Oriental Library, the scribe being Cheluvaraya who completed the manuscript on 7-5-1724 A.D.

The book has been made very useful by a scholarly preface and the addition of nine appendices and indices so indispensable to scholars.

This publication is undoubtedly a very valuable (at the same time cheap) addition to the books which are necessary for a thorough study of Kannada language and literature.

R. R. DIWAKAR

SOME LETTERS FROM MR. C. F. ANDREWS

[It is a matter of great regret and grief to me that most of the letters which Mr. C. F. Andrews so very kindly wrote to me have not been preserved. The few which could be found are printed below. It is much to be regretted that the dates of all the letters were not fully noted down when received.

None of the letters addressed to me is of earlier date than September 1919, nor most probably of any later year than 1922.

I wish to draw attention to Mr. Andrews' affection for his pupils, so manifest in the letters.

Another indication of the human side of his character, apt to be lost sight of because of the many important public affairs in which he took part and the various serious public problems he had to tackle, is to be found in the letter in which he speaks of his mother with such reverential affection. One feels that the seeds of the best in him he inherited from his noble mother.

Two of the letters were written to Sj. Akshay Kumar Ray, a former teacher of Santiniketan.

The footnotes are mine.

Ramananda Chatterjee.]

7 Ferozpur Road.
Lahore, Oct. 1, 1919.

My dear Ramananda Babu,

I sent these two money orders in one M.O. to you, as I did not know Prankristo Babu's[1] right address. I am afraid I cannot myself decipher the name of one of them and I have lost my own note about it. I *did* acknowledge it. I think you had better put down 'name indecipherable' if you and Prankristo Babu can do nothing better.

Here in the midst of the Panjab I have thought much of Mooloo[2] and how his heart at all times went out like a quickly leaping flame of fire at the thought of the suffering of his own people. He would listen as I told him about Fiji with his eyes fixed on my face. I have been feeling strangely his presence here in what I have seen.

I have now at last a permanent address for some weeks and if you can get through with the proofs of the Fiji Report I returned I shall be so glad. If there is nothing else to ask about, could you get it bound up in a cover with

FIJI INDENTURED LABOUR
A SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT
By
C. F. Andrews
Sept. 1918

on the cover. There is no need to refer to me about the binding or anything else.

Then I would wish you to send out *from your office* if possible to all the newspapers you can, including leading vernaculars. I would like 50 copies sent at once to me in Lahore for distribution. I will let you know about the rest.

With very dear love
Your affectionate friend
C. F. Andrews

Things here are *worse* than I ever imagined!

Bolpur
Jan. 13.

My dear Ramananda Babu,

I have been very tired with these journeyings. I have been twice asked by the Government of India to come up to Delhi about Fiji. The news is as black as possible and I see no remedy. I have refused to go out under Government, for I value my independence. But it *may* be necessary for me to go on my own account independently in order to help the Government Commission which is now proposed.

I hope to write on the East African Despatch. I am afraid the Editor of 'Young India' has lost his balance completely. I am also hoping to write further about Gurudev and to let you have it immediately.

Will you tell Krishna Kumar Babu[3] that the impression made by Mulu's memory or presence (I know not which to call it in words: for words are such imperfect vehicles) was one of recognition, as though he were near me and I felt strengthened. I seemed to see him, or almost see him: for it was not objectively distinct. There were no definite words spoken, or message given, but a joy came and a sense of strength.

1. The late Dr. Prankrishna Acharya, a distinguished physician of Calcutta, who was at that time honorary treasurer to a famine relief fund.

2. Mooloo or Mulu, the pet name of Prasad, a former pupil of Santiniketan, who died in September, 1919.

3. The late Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, Editor of the *Sanjibani*, and a great religious and social reformer and political leader.

Perhaps that is all that I could say, by way of explanation. But I have often, when I have thought of it, remembered the words—"Asato mā sad gamaya, tamaso mā joytir gamaya, mrityor mā amritam gamaya, avir avir ma edhi." For it *did* seem, as if a veil had been withdrawn. You will understand how sacred a call it was to me and what a strength and encouragement.

I am so hoping that I may see you again on Thursday morning next week. You will see how I had to retract my words spoken too hastily in Bombay to the students. It was difficult, but I had to do it.

With much love

Your affectionate friend
C. F. Andrews.

Bolpur
Aug. 8.

My dear Ramananda Babu,

Gurudev *specially* wishes these letters published in the next issue. They should be published separately from the two other letters which you had from me before. Those might be headed simply TWO LETTERS FROM RABINDRANATH TAGORE. These should be headed "Letters from the Atlantic". I hope there will be room for both. Gurudev feels that he can make his own position clearer through these letters than in any other way.

Would you note that in the first of this series he uses the peculiar word 'childness' deliberately. It should *not* be written 'childishness' as that has a different meaning. They are a wonderful series. The whole of these letters must one day be published.[4] I have, I believe, more than a hundred.

I am coming with Gurudev to Calcutta on Aug. 15 and shall hope to see you.

Your affectionate friend
C. F. Andrews.

Thank you *so* much for the new copies of *Prasad*.[5] I have already given many away and they have been *very* greatly appreciated. It is very wonderful what this little book has done in awakening young minds to a new ideal.

Bolpur
Sept. 14.

My dear Ramananda Babu,

These letters have now been corrected and are ready for the Press in such portions as you may think best each month.

Thank you for what you have written to me in your second letter. Yes, I have often heard stories of the same kind as that which Prabhāt[6] told you, which go to show how much Mulu is still remembered. Dhirānanda[7] is today the captain of the school chosen by the boys themselves and their choice is a good one. I truly believe that the change to a spirit of service came into his young life through his friendship with Mulu. I have at once sent a copy of *Prasad* to Mr. [Edward] Thompson. I am sure he will be grateful for it.

With my kindest love

Your affectionate friend
C. F. Andrews.

Bolpur
Sept. 15.

My dear Ramananda Babu,

It was so good of you to send me a wire. The Poet first got a bad chill of an influenza type and it then came on to me. But I have thrown it off quickly, though it has left me very weak. But I shall be able to travel all right. I hope to start on Saturday for East Africa *via* Bombay.

I want to write to you about * * * translation. I feel very strongly that the English is insipid and I should not myself recommend its publication. I think it is a great mistake to have English translations made by any but the Poet himself or Suren,[8] who so fully knows the Poet's mind that he can take liberties. Because *literal* translation is always hopeless. There is the difficulty. I would add that I thought Pearson's translation of *The Hidden Treasure*[9] remarkably good. Of course I am only judging the English. I do not know if you could let * * * know my opinion. He is evidently thinking of translating somewhat largely and it would be a pity for him to have disappointment. It is *not*, of course, that the English is incorrect. It is not that. It does not

4. Published later under the title *Letters To A Friend*.

5. A Bengali book, now out of print, containing reminiscences of Prasad or Mulu contributed by Rabindranath Tagore, C. F. Andrews and other teachers, and some school-fellows of Mulu. Mr. Andrew's contribution was in English.

6. Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, Librarian of Visvabharati.

7. Dhirananda Ray, nephew of the late Prof. Jagadananda Ray of Santiniketan. He was a friend and class-mate of Mulu.

8. Surendranath Tagore, the Poet's nephew.

9. Published in *The Modern Review*.

read interestingly as a piece of literature. It has a translation flavour. That is what I mean.

Our social service workers under Nepal Babu[10] have finally severed working under the Congress direction and have become a part of our Ashram. They are such noble fellows. They very greatly touched me last night by coming in a group and asking me for a copy of *Prasad* for each one of them. They told me they had heard Mulu's name among the villagers and had known in their own experience about what he had done. They would get, they said, inspiration from his life. I cannot tell you what joy that gave me!

With much love

Your affectionate friend
C. F. Andrews.

Bolpur
Feb. 4. [1921 ?]

My dear Ramananda Babu,

I have read through very carefully indeed your articles on the Non-co-operation movement and about "The most humiliating common factor". I have written to Mahatmaji about the fulfilment of obligations in the case of those boys whose parents have paid fees for many years and honestly wish their boys to go on up for the Matric. Here, in Santiniketan, we have abolished now the Matric and Jagadananda Babu is with us: indeed the vote was practically unanimous: but I have insisted that we should fulfil every clear obligation to a parent or guardian.

I agree with you entirely that raising false hopes by promising Swaraj *within a year* is wrong. I don't like it and never did like it. I have told this to Mahatmaji. I also agree that the lawyers who framed the Congress Resolution let themselves off very lightly and threw the brunt on the students. I think you have made that point very definitely indeed.

But we are now faced with not 'a what might be' but 'a what is' and I know your whole heart is one with me in prayer and longing that this wonderful sacrifice which the students have made, some of them so seriously, some of them light-heartedly, may not go to waste. We are anxiously awaiting the arrival of Nepal Babu here with a batch of students to train for village workers and also for some Visvabharati students. I want to ask you to be on the look out for any students of either kind who may wish to join us and who may be able to pay a very moderate fee. Our Visvabharati fee (all inclusive) is now Rs. 25 a month but in special cases I would reduce it. Our Village Training Class will make its own food arrangements and cooking and live hardily and will therefore be much less expensive. I want to get devoted men and we can take 20 for each department (20 Visvabharati and 20 for Surul).

I cannot tell you how often I have been thinking during these days what Mulu would have done, how he would have leapt forward joyfully to the path of sacrifice. I have not had that same experience that I told you about before, but the memory of him has been constant and when I saw his photograph in one of the boys' rooms over his bed the other day the tears came to my eyes.

Your affectionate friend
C. F. Andrews.

Could you find a place for this[11] in the March number. I would like about 20 proofs if possible.

C. F. A.

Bolpur
June 3, 1922.

My dear Ramananda Babu,

I was very deeply touched by what you told me of your dream about Mulu. It is a strange thing that I have been thinking of him so often since I came back to the Ashram this time and have been passing the Santal village on the way to Surul. Elmhirst[12] at Surul has been doing among the Santals just the work that Mulu would have so much loved to undertake, and it is now wonderfully flourishing. The whole village life in this neighbourhood is awakening and the boys of our Ashram have been taking part in it as they never did before. There is a wonderful depth in that saying recorded of Christ as being said by him:

"Except a corn of wheat fall to the ground and die it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth *much* fruit."

I seem every day here to see something of that 'much fruit' which can only come when the seed has been sown deep. I left my copies of *Prasad* in safe hands when I went to East Africa and they have been given away. A young new student about 12 years old, a Bengali boy, came to me a few days before the holidays asking for a copy of *Prasad*. I found him a copy at last, but I wonder if you could let me have

10. Professor Nepal Chandra Roy, now retired.

11. Some article which cannot be identified now.

12. Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, well-known friend of Visva-bharati.

some more copies for next term. I think that book itself has helped the good seed to grow.

Yesterday I was at Surul seeing the opening of their new year. They are a wonderful family, and it is very striking that the only two original ashram boys *of the younger generation* were playmates of Mulu-Dhirānanda and Phrin, the boy from the Khasia Hills. And Elmhirst says they are both as good as gold. I have written a long letter—but what you said touched me very deeply.

With much love

Your affectionate friend
C. F. Andrews.

Could you let me have the *proof* of the new series of "Letters from abroad"? Gurudev asks for it.

It is the same Datta, but he has not yet accepted the post: the news was premature.

C. F. A.

Sydney,
June 1, 1917.

My dear Akhsay Babu,[13]

I have been thinking about you so much again that I cannot help writing also to you. I have felt so very much this absence from the ashram and it does not seem to get any less.

You will remember how deeply touched I was when I first knew you by your little offering of flowers at the foot of my Mother's portrait on the Table in my room. I want to tell you something about her which has recently given me much joy.—I think I told you once how she had felt most deeply the sufferings of the Indian women in South Africa about which I had written to her. And then in her last illness she urged me to go out to them and not to come back home first to see her. I had always felt after that, in a peculiar way, that she was present with me in this great struggle: and when I went out to Fiji before, I felt this very much indeed. Now this is what gave me great joy. On my Mother's Birthday itself this year which I was keeping and remembering out here in Australia the news came from England in the evening that on this very day Mr. Chamberlain had declared publicly in the House of Commons that the Indian indenture system would not be revived, even after the war, but that it had come finally to an end. It seemed to me so very beautiful indeed—almost as a message from God—that on my Mother's own Birthday the very last step in abolition of indenture should be taken.

I have told this in letters to many whom I love and I felt that I should like to tell it to you also.

Your affectionate friend
C. F. Andrews.

Bankipur,
January, 13, 1917.

My dear Akhsay Babu,

I do not know whether this will reach you in time before I get back—but if it does not still, it does not matter. It is just to tell you what joy you brought into my life, by the knowledge that you loved me, at a time when I was very full of anxiety and doubt as to what I should do.

I had been out to Fiji and there I had seen the terrible wrongs done to our Indian women and in the last few weeks I had been hearing the news that the system of indenture was to go on for another 5 years before these evils should cease.

This seemed to me to be unbearable and I wondered what I ought to do. Now at last, in answer to those who have prayed for me and loved me, God has made the way clear before me, and I can see I must speak out, whatever happens, and tell the truth of what I have seen. I have a great hope that the victory of humanity will be accomplished and that this very year will not close before the whole system is abolished.

I am coming back to the Ashram early on Monday morning. Will you tell Narbhoop[14] that I will most gladly take the new Matriculation Class in English at 12 o'clock after the morning meal if they can come to me then instead of at the 3rd period.

If this reaches you tomorrow will you give my love to all the little boys in your Dormitory and say I hope to bring them some new games if I probably can.

Your affectionate friend,
C. F. Andrews.

Please give my love also to Tejesh[15] Babu.

13. Srijut Akshay Kumar Ray, now retired, was a teacher of Santiniketan.

14. A (former) Gurkha pupil of Santiniketan. Old Teachers and Old Boys of Santiniketan may remember that he shot and killed a leopard in a village near Santiniketan and, himself getting clawed in the encounter with the animal, had to remain in hospital for some weeks.

15. Tejesh Chandra Sen, a teacher of Santiniketan.

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS

By The Metropolitan of India and Lord Bishop of Calcutta

As I think of Charles Freer Andrews, who has today been taken from our midst, David's memorable words upon hearing the news of Abner's death come into my mind, "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel." He mourned the death of the leader of the military forces but while we mourn the passing from our midst of one who was indeed a true Prince among men, his greatness lay in his splendid achievements as a peace-maker, not as a military chief.

To our shame we own the strength of racial prejudice with which many Europeans have regarded the peoples of the East. A sense of the essential superiority of the white man over his darker neighbour, has been one of the strongest decisive forces between East and West. In Charlie Andrews no vestige of this feeling ever found any place in his relation with the people of this country to which he came out some 34 years ago. To him all men were the children of the One Heavenly Father, Whose love included all without distinction, and the opening words of the Lord's prayer were to him intensely real as he acknowledged his kinship with men of every race or language. We hail him today as one who in his own life loved his neighbour as himself and displayed those qualities of humility and meekness which make the true peace-maker breaking down the barriers of racial and social prejudice. Surely, it is a fact of supreme significance that India's two greatest men of modern times, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, have found in Charlie Andrews the devoted friend and eager co-operator in their efforts to promote unity.

This trait was manifested in that sympathetic understanding which he displayed in regard to the customs and ways of the peoples among whom he lived and worked. We know how easily our own upbringing and traditions tend to warp our mind when we are brought face to face with ways and customs which are strange to us and seem sometimes uncouth. He had a wonderful way of getting beneath the surface of things and discovering in the sources from which they had been derived, something which made them intelligible and frequently revealed in them a purpose of good which time had dimmed, but which might be recovered and readjusted to changed conditions. His own upbringing had trained him to take this sympathetic outlook on life. He was a member of a family which numbered thirteen and in the give-and-take of family life, he had developed the humanities which served him in such good stead in his intercourse with peoples of many races.

A man of more than average ability, having been both a scholar and Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, he brought to bear upon the problems which confronted him in the course of his championing the cause of those whom he felt to have been wronged, a keen intellect, but it was his largeness of heart and breadth of affection which was his outstanding characteristic, and there were occasions on which he allowed his natural sympathy to lead him to a decision which a fuller knowledge of the facts sometimes revealed to be unwarranted. But when he had fallen into such an error his natural honesty made him anxious to acknowledge his fault and make such amends as were open to him. He was a man of outstanding moral courage. His opinions did not always commend him to those whose actions he was challenging, but fearlessly and undeterred by threats, which on occsaions were translated into violence, he witnessed to the truth, and strove for the removal of the injustice which he exposed.

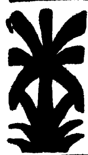
India was the land of his adoption and it was the cause of oppressed Indians that he especially championed. Africa was the first field he visited where he made his own the cause of those who in the first instance had been recruited from India for the sugar industry in that country, and had by their thrift and industry acquired for themselves a position which threatened vested interests. Denied all rights of citizenship, their cause was taken up by Mahatma Gandhi, who found in C. F. Andrews a kindred spirit and a loyal fellow helper. I recall hearing how in those early days he won over a leading newspaper of Cape Town by the convincing reasonableness with which he presented his case, as later Sir Srinivas Sastri, the first High Commissioner for India in Africa won the unstinted admiration and attention of those who had denied both to Indians in the past.

Mr. Andrews paid repeated visits to Africa in this cause, and in General Smuts he found a statesman more open to the appeal of justice and righteousness than is sometimes the case.

But not to Africa alone did his love for the downtrodden and oppressed Indian lead him. Kenya, British Guiana and Fiji were visited, and wherever he went he won the affection of those he sought to help. He had learnt the secret of winning those whose minds have been warped and embittered by the hardness of their lot. 'It is not enough to give them things, you must give them yourself.' said Mr. John Meakins, a kindred spirit like C. F. Andrews who has now entered into rest. Andrews gave himself wholly to those whom he sought to serve, he held back nothing, and in doing so he has won a responsive affection which is the only reward he coveted.

Talking with him over his life, just a week ago, he was saying that the question he kept asking himself was whether he had been absolutely loyal to Christ, his Lord and Saviour. And he said, "I find comfort in recalling that it was a Hindu who said that he saw in my initials, C. F. A., the title he gave me, 'Christ's Faithful Apostle.' I, for one, have seen in him one who seemed to me, to reveal as very few do, the character of the Master whom he sought to love and serve. If all of us Europeans had lived as near to Christ as Charlie Andrews, we too should have won the same unstinted affection that is his meed.

[Radio talk broadcast from Calcutta station on 5. 4. 40.]



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Realisation of Truth

In the course of his article in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* on *Satyam*, which was originally delivered as a lecture in China in 1924, Rabindranath Tagore observes :

Life is rebellious. It grows by breaking the forms that enclose it, the forms that only give shelter for a particular period, and then become a prison if they do not change. Death is the last fight of freedom of this born rebel always trying to break the form that has gone wrong. In our society wherever that spirit of rebellion, which is the spirit of life, is completely checked, the tyranny of form becomes supreme; there words become more sacred than spirit, and custom than reason. We do not serve Truth by passively clinging to it with our habits, but by deliberately relating all our movements to it as the centre, thus attaining both rhythm of control and freedom of spirit.

It is true that he who wants to realize truth, not merely through self-control, but also through freedom, is assailed by dangers and difficulties; but as a brook finds its voice more fully as it trips over its bed of flints and stones, this very resistance brings a richer music into his life. For those who are in love with a serene slothfulness, with whom every movement in the direction of active creative effort weighs as an offence against the ancient dignity of tradition, their being is smothered under exuberant growths of disease and distress, poverty, insult and defeat. They are punished with the deprivation of freedom because they try to keep Truth fettered.

I have said that life is rebellious. Some of our Eastern school-boys may at once jump to the conclusion that this rebellion must take form in imitation of the West. But they should know that while our dead custom is plagiarism from our own past life, imitation would be plagiarism from other peoples' life. Both of them constitute slavery to the unreal. The former, though a chain, at least fits our figure; the latter, for all its misfit, is just as much a chain.

Life frees itself through its growth and not through its borrowing.

It will never do for the Orient to trail behind the West like an artificial appendix, sweeping with it the soot-laden dust, and vainly trying to imitate its gesture of lashing the sky in defiance of the divine. For humanity this will not only be a useless excess, but a disappointment and a deception. For if the East ever tries to duplicate Western life, the duplicate is bound to be a forgery.

The West no doubt has overwhelmed us with its flood of commodities, tourists, machine guns, school masters, and a religion which is great, but whose followers are intent upon lengthening the list of its recruits, and not following it in details that bring no profit, or in practices that are inconvenient. But one great service the West had done us by bringing the force of its living mind to bear upon our life; it has stirred our thoughts into activity. For its mind is great, its intellectual life having in its centre intellectual probity, the standard of truth.

The first effect of our mind being startled from its sleep is to make it intensely conscious of what is before it; but when the surprise of awakening has subsided, then comes the time to know what is within. We are beginning to know ourselves. We are discovering our own mind.

I have no doubt in my own mind that in the East our principal characteristic is to set a high price not upon success through gaining advantage, but upon self-realization through fulfilling our *dharma*, our ideals. Let the awakening of the East drive us consciously to discover the essential and the universal meaning in our own civilization, to remove the debries from its path, to rescue it from its bondage of stagnation that produces impurities, to make it a great channel of communication for all human races.

Great Indians' Messages to the P. E. N.

When Madame Sophia Wadia started for Europe to represent the India Centre at the P. E. N. International Congress early in September, she was the bearer of messages to the Congress from five of the present-day leaders of India. But owing to the outbreak of the war, the Stockholm International Congress was never held. The messages of the President and the Vice-President of the P. E. N. India centre, as published in *The Indian P. E. N.*, are reproduced below :

From DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE
President of the P. E. N. India Centre

I am glad that I can send a greeting to the P. E. N. Congress in the name of the writers and thinkers of India. In these days of critical anxiety and crude physical display it would be strange if we were not sometimes tempted to lose faith in the moral and intellectual forces for which we stand. Yet it is vital that that faith should live and grow, and I pray that the writers of my own country, with its deep and ancient intuitions of the fundamental unity of life and reality, may play their part in its rekindling. Living literature is a vivid apprehension, a unifying interpretation, of the ever-widening world of human interest. An Indian scholar in a recent book expresses his belief that the modern age demands of literature "an orchestration of manifold aspects of experience." How can we meet that challenge, satisfy that need? Our apprehension is our own, shaped by the tides of personal and national circumstance; sincerity here is the first and difficult condition of our service to men. But

the problems of human freedom and social well-being which stir in all our lands are at bottom the same, and our service will be the poorer if we withhold from each other the effort to understand. May your Congress be therefore an experience, transcending national barriers, of the ampler way of life,—the honest witness to your own seeing, the ready humility to understand that of others.

From SRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU
Vice-President, The P. E. N. India Centre

In this terrible hour when the whole world trembles on the very edge of disaster, a grave and heavy burden of responsibility rests on the men and women of all races and cultures who are endowed with the noble gift of vision and the sacred gift of words.

It behoves them to stand together in a fearless and invincible unity of purpose to affirm, interpret and sustain the great ideals and principles of equity, liberty and human fellowship which alone are the authentic and enduring guarantees of civilization, progress and peace.

Sanskrit Writers of the Mughal Period

The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries form a very splendid chapter in the history of India. Neither the students of Indian history nor those of Sanskrit literature know very much today about this splendid chapter both in the history of Sanskrit literature and Indian History. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma observes in *The D. A. V. College Union Magazine*:

The period of less than two centuries (1526 to 1707 A.D.) has bequeathed to us writers whose works are still traceable in the various libraries of the world in MSS. or in print. Incidentally the number of the Sanskrit works of the period is decidedly larger than that of the Persian works written during the same period in India. The comparison with Persian literature brings us to the spheres of influence of Sanskrit and Persian during the period. Persian was the language of the court circle no doubt, but being learned in its literature was not an essential equipment for admission therein. Sanskrit, on the other hand, was the language in which Hindu law was written, ceremonials were performed and religious dissertations carried on. It was the language of Hindu scholarship and religion.

An original and therefore a remarkable series of works written during this period concerned history and biography.

We have *Amar Kavya* (MS in the Bani Vilas Library, Udaipur) by Ranchhor Bhatta, who wrote in the second half of the seventeenth century. He gives us here an account of the history of Mewar uptil the coronation of Maharana Raj Singh. In his *Raja Prashasti* he again takes up the same theme but this time his attention is mostly fixed on Maharana Raj Singh, his patron. The third important work in this class is the biography of Karm Chandra, a Jain official at the court of Akbar. The fourth work *Sarvadeshavrittantasangraha* has come down to us in a unique MS preserved in the India Office, London. It is a history of the Mughals uptil the end of Akbar's reign. Its authorship is ascribed to Mahesh Thakur. Though not strictly a history but of much historical interest is the *Hir Saubaghyam* by Vimal Muni which describes the visit of Jain monks to the court of Akbar.

The *Chaitanya-charitamrita*, a biography of Chaitanaya, the founder of the Vaishnava culture in Bengal, is an anonymous work of which there is a MS in the India Office Library, London. It is divided into 3 parts describing the early life, the ministry and the last days of Chaitanya. It was composed in 1615 A.D.

The second group of Sanskrit writers to which attention should be drawn are the jurists of the period.

Anantadeva's work on the celebration of various religious ceremonies was written between the years 1545 and 1575 A.D. Another authoritative work is the *Nirnayasindhu* of Kamlakara Bhatta written in 1612 A.D. This is his most famous work. His interpretation of the various delicate points of Hindu Law has been accepted as authoritative by the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta. So is his *Vivadatandava*, another exposition of the Hindu Law supposed to have been his last work.

Nanda Pandit is another voluminous writer on Hindu Law. Fourteen works of his have been traced in various hands so far. Nilkantha Bhatta named his greatest work on law after his patron Raja Bhagwant Dev Bundela and called it *Bhagavanta Bhaskara*. The Saraswati Vilasa of Partaparudradeva of Cuttack is the work of a royal author who ruled in Cuttack from 1497 to 1539. Another great jurist was Mitramishra who wrote during the years 1610 to 1640 A.D. His great work *Viramitrodya*, parts of which have been printed, has been recognised as an authority on Hindu Law by the Privy Council for those territories which usually follow the Benares School of Hindu Law. Raghunandan Bhatta wrote between the years 1520 and 1575. His commentary on the law of inheritance and gifts as expounded by Mitakshara has been recognized as authoritative by the Calcutta High Court. Vaidnatha Dikshita who wrote towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century is the author of *Smritimuktaphala* which has considerable vogue in Southern India on questions concerning the law of property.

The Mughal period further saw the flowering of the Bhakti movement.

Many important works were written in Sanskrit. The most important of these writers are Sanatana, a disciple of Chaitanya himself, Rupa Gosvamin, Jiva Gosvamin, Vishva Nath and several others.

Rupa Gosvamin who lived from 1523 to 1619 was a voluminous writer. Some 37 of his works are still extant. These include besides works on devotion two dramas, an anthology of verse, and a work on dramaturgy. Vithaleshvara born in 1515 is reputed to be the author of some 54 works most of them on Bhakti. Vishvanath wrote in 1705 a commentary on Bhagavata Purana with a view to strengthen the hold of the followers of Chaitanya in the learned circles. Sanatana Gosvamin was a brother of Rupa Gosvamin. His *Bhaktirasamritasindhu* treating of various aspects of devotion was written in 1541-42. Appa Dikshita wrote between 1549 and 1613. He waged a war against the Vaishnavas and wrote various works on devotion to God Shiva. Goda Dvinedam wrote an account of Vaishnava devotees in 1554. Jaimani was a disciple

of Chaitanya himself and wrote one work on devotion. Another disciple of Chaitanya was Prabodhananda Sarasvati, one of whose works is dated 1563.

Jivagosvamin, nephew of Rupa Gosvamin, explained the philosophy of the Bhagvata Purana in a commentary on it wherein he explained such portions as had not received the attention of a famous predecessor of his in this work; he is the author of several other works on grammar, astronomy and devotion.

Astronomy also attracted several writers.

Dhundiraya wrote about the year 1600. Divakara is another great writer on the same subject. His first dater work is a commentary on a famous work on astrology and was written in 1625. Nilakantha is another great astrologer. Some of his works were written in 1587. Mahidasa was interetsed in astronomy as well as astrology. He wrote in 1687 a commentary on the Lilavati, the famous Sanskrit treatise on mathematics, besides several works on astrology. Vishvanatha Daivajna wrote about the year 1632. He was an astronomers' astronomer. He further tried to explain certain portions of the Suryasiddhanta, the great Hindu work on astronomy.

The period saw a great advance in grammatical studies.

Among the Sanskrit grammarians of the period, Bhattoji Dikshita (1575 to 1650) occupies the most prominent place. Author of some 37 works—out of which 9 are on grammar—he is best known as the author of the most widely used manual of Sanskrit grammar today, the *Siddantakaumudi.* Varadaraja wrote his *Laghukaumudi* which is an equally famous and as widely used elementry manual of grammar.

The daily duties, the occasional rites and the various religious ceremonies naturally occupied the attention of more than one writer.

Narayana Bhatta, the jurist, interested himself in many other subjects as well. Nilakantha Chaturdhara made a brave attempt at reconciling the account of the origin of the world as given in the various Puranas with that given in the astronomical work Suryasiddhanta.

Besides these works several other writers busied themselves in writing on many religious problems of the day.

Purananda Paramhamsa wrote in the second half of the sixteenth century. His main theme visible through a dozen works was the worship of the goddess Kali. Brahmananda Bhatta tried to argue with all and sundry about the effect of using ashes, rosaries of Rudraksha and devotion to god Rudra. He wrote probably in 1554. Bhasurananda of Benares wrote in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Vijnanbhikshu wrote after 1525 Vedantist commentaries on 8 of the well-known Upanishads besides writing on the Gita.

We have a large number of works written on medicine as well.

The *Bhavaprakasha* of Bhavamishra is supposed to have been written during this period. Shiva Datta Mishra wrote in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and discussed therapeutics and materia medica.

Besides several dictionaries in the usual style, written either as commentaries on Amarakosha or independently, certain works in lexicography were the peculiar product of the age.

Vihart Krishna Dass wrote under Akbar a Parsi Prakasha in which Persian words were explained in Sanskrit. Vedanga Raya under Shah Jahan undertook the same task on a limited scale and explained the Persian and Arabic terms used in astronomy and astrology in Sanskrit. Sadhusundaragani early in the seventeenth century explained Sanskrit words in Prakrit.

Science and World Progress

In the course of a speech, as quoted by *Science and Culture*, at the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay, Sir M. Visvesvaraya says :

Science is responsible for the progress made and the high standard of living attained by people in several Western countries. The present-day world progress and civilization are almost entirely due to science and to industries and commerce based on science. India, too, though lacking in power of initiative, has shared in this progress to the extent permitted by her political condition.

In the middle of the last century, universities in Europe gave instruction in natural philosophy along with law, theology, medicine, teaching and the humanities. Natural philosophy was grouped under three main heads, physics, chemistry and biology. In a recent publication entitled *The Romance of Research,* science is described as the father of present-day progress and natural philosophy as its grandfather. Natural philosophy includes physics, the source of energy; chemistry, the source of matter; and biology, the source of life and living things. Other branch sciences have sprouted from these. Today it is said that these main sciences have fathered a long list of descendants. Amongst the more important branches of applied science may be mentioned civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, chemical technology, geology, mining, physiology, psychology and many more.

Means of communication like telegraphy, telephone and the wireless, aeroplane, automobiles, steam engine, elctric power and light, help individuals to travel speedily, to communicate with one another in business pursuits and thereby to do much work in less time. Methods of warfare have been considerably modified and the arms and ammunition of present-day manufacture have a more deadly effect. Aeroplanes enable people to travel at a rate of 200 miles an hour. The journey across the continent of America is accomplished in 16 hours and that across the Atlantic in about 33 hours. Now-a-days, the journey from London to Bombay takes only about 27 hours.

The primitive nations supply their own wants by manual and animal labour but modern nations have multiplied their capacity for economic activity by their knowledge of science and the liberal use of machinery.

England and America have enormously increased the working power of their population by substituting inanimate for animate power. The benefits they are deriving is estimated as equivalent to the output of

work of 30 slaves per head of population. In India, the corresponding equivalent is not 20 or 30 units as in those countries, not even two or three units but only about 1½. This will give some idea of the small amount of work done and of the low capacity of our countrymen, for producing wealth.

Turning to benefits from biology, it may be said that within the past 300 years, the average expectation of life in England has doubled. The present estimated duration of life in England and Germany is about 55 years while in India it is only about 27. This is also a clear proof of the economic poverty of our people.

The Prospects of Progress

Progress should always be envisaged in terms of the upward trends of new regions, new races, new classes and new forces. The eventual fall of the Aryan as suspected by Lapouge and Ammon does not and need not necessarily spell disaster to mankind and world-civilization. Culture is constantly being enriched or rejuvenated with new values. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar writes in *The Aryan Path* :

No doctrine appears more dominant in the social thinking and constructive statesmanship of today than that established by Lapouge in *Les Selections Sociales*. In his message—that (1) the annihilation of the Aryan is inevitable; (2) all the forms and processes of contemporary civilization are but cumulatively heading towards regression and decay; and finally (3) progress cannot be considered the rational conclusion from the data of world-history—contemporary philosophy, sociology and politics find a challenge as well as a problem.

The thinkers who in recent years have preached mankind's regress are legion. From Spengler's *Decline of the West* has come the formula that the West is headed for decay. Romain Rolland has popularized the notion that Western civilization is doomed. In the Italian demographist Gini's analysis of "the parabola of evolution," the European races are all exhibiting senescence, with the exception, perhaps, of the Italians and the Slavs. American sociologists are not immune to this decline-cult and some of them are anxiously discussing the question with reference to the decline in the natural fertility of the Eur-American population. Indeed, in the *milieu* of the present European war the prospects of progress in world culture are naturally being discounted in many circles in both East and West.

All through the ages there has existed a type of mentality that is interested in viewing the world from a pessimistic angle.

So far as modern Eur-Asia is concerned, all the different processes of social metabolism involved in race-mixture, race-submergence and race-uplift have been going on until we find that physico-anthropologically the modern Indian's affinities with the ancients of his land are perhaps as problematic as those of the modern European with the ancients of his continent.

The world-process in group metabolism is visible under our very eyes in Bengal.

In the social economy of Bengal there are some thirty tribes known as "aboriginals" constituting a diversified group of a million and a quarter and representing some three per cent of the total population. The "big three" of these "primitives," namely, the Santals, the Oraons and the Mundas, are statistically responsible for nearly two-thirds of this number. But while the "big three" alleged higher "castes," the Kayasthas, Brahmans and Vaidyas, numbering something over three millions, have, during the last forty years, grown 137 per cent, the "aboriginals" have grown 319 per cent. The rate of growth is phenomenal, pointing as it does to extraordinary differential fertility."

This numerical growth, important in itself acquires a fresh significance when one observes that the "aboriginals" are today more "Hindu" than "tribal" or animistic in religion. Nearly 66 per cent of the "big three" primitives are "Hindu." Furthermore, as a qualitative transformation the Hinduization of the "aboriginals" is interesting in another respect. The Hinduized aboriginals form a part, nearly 12 per cent, of what are generally called the "depressed classes" of "Hindu" society.

We understand, then, that some of the "aboriginals" of yesterday constitute to a certain extent the "depressed" classes of today. In other words, the social metabolism which acts as a force in Hinduization hides the facts of or prepares the way for race-fusion and race-assimilation.

The "qualitative" aspect of social metabolism does not stop here.

Among the "big three" alleged higher "castes," the Kayasthas were, during the last four decades, just below the Brahmans in number. But they have been increasing until today they outnumber the latter. In forty years, while the Brahman has grown 24 per cent, the Kayastha has grown 58 per cent. To what is this growth of the Kayasthas due? Not entirely to "relative" fecundity or "natural increment," *i.e.*, surplus of births over deaths as in "differential fertility." A great deal is to be accounted for by invasions from other castes whose upward trends have been manifest for a long time. The non-Kayastha, perhaps one of the "depressed" of yesterday, has grown into the alleged high caste of today. And in this, again, is registered not only a vertical social or class mobility but a racial transformation as well. From the "aboriginal" to the alleged "high caste" Hindu, the gap may be great, but bridging the gap is sure and firm, even though slow. Social "stratification" is not as rigid here as Ammon would have us believe in *Die Gesellschaftsordnung* (Social Order).

Altogether, the Bengali people is expanding, although it is undergoing a profound social metabolism, *i.e.*, a radical change in "class" character and "racial" make-up.

The transformations that have been going on in Eur-America today, because of the pressure of the Slavs upon the other races, apparently belong practically to the same category as those in India. As for the "quality" of "hybrids" or their capacity to carry forward the torch of civilization, eugenics is still discreetly inconclusive, unless the exponent happens to have a conservative reform scheme on the anvil. But history announces that, notwithstanding the doctrine of Lapouge, races may come and races may go but civilization goes on for ever.

Rural Reconstruction in Mysore

Rukn-ul-Mulk S. Abdul Wajid, Revenue Commissioner in Mysore, writes in the *Indian Farming* :

The improvement of the villages in the state in respect of sanitation, water-supply, communications, education, agriculture and industries has come in for special attention from 1914. A number of village improvement committees were appointed throughout the state and a system of weekly labour for tidying up villages, mending village roads and other purposes of local improvement was instituted. A good deal of useful work was done by these committees. The Mysore Local Boards, and Village Panchayat Act of 1918 was passed with the object, among others, of placing Village Self-government on a statutory basis. With a view to making better provision for the administration of village affairs by the villagers themselves and thereby developing the spirit of self-government in the rural areas of the state, the new Village Panchayat Act of 1926 was passed and was brought into force on 1 February, 1927. Every village in the state, whether Government or *inam*, has a panchayat or forms a member of a panchayat formed for two or more villages.

As regards village panchayats he says :

It is a little over 12 years since the new Village Panchayat Act came into effective operation in the state, and during this period 11,845 village panchayats have been constituted to administer local affairs in rural areas. During this period, the panchayats have done much by way of constructing drinking water wells, approach roads and village halls, arranging for medical aid, street lighting and village scavenging and providing village libraries and other amenities. Thirty-six village panchayats have constructed maternity wards in their villages, while 23 have arranged weekly visits of sub-assistant surgeons. Some of them are interesting themselves in the development of agriculture in that they have assisted in the distribution of improved agricultural implements, popularization of new seeds, etc., besides the maintenance of breeding bulls to improve the breed of cattle. Improved agricultural implements are used by 456 village panchayats and 301 have maintained breeding bulls. Besides undertaking to manage village schools, tanks, village forests, *topes* and muzrai institutions, some of them have been taking a good deal of interest in the formation of parks and rearing fruit trees. Parks have been laid out by 162 village panchayats, 145 are rearing fruit trees, and 815 have planted fruit and shade trees in their villages. Most of them have planted economically useful trees in their parks. Eight hundred and six village panchayats have maintained either libraries or reading rooms. One hundred and thirty-eight villages have been provided with electric lights for street lighting, 41 village panchayats have availed themselves of electric power for agricultural purposes, and 22 for industrial purposes. Three radio sets have been supplied, one for use in Tumkur district and the other two for the Kolar district.

Indian Materialism

According to Dr. K. B. Krishna, very few Indian scholars have taken to the study of Indian materialism. In an article in *Triveni* he points out :

The subject of Indian Materialism has not attracted the attention of Indian scholars save one. The few books that we have on this subject are due to European initiative. It was in the year 1828 that Wilson for the first time spoke of Indian materialists almost in a casual manner. He calls Charvakas advocates of materialism or atheism. In the year 1837, Colebrook dealt with the subject of Hindu Materialism. On that occasion he wrote that, for want of an opportunity of consulting an original treatise on this branch of philosophy or any connected summary furnished even by an adversary of opinions professed by Lokayats, he was unable to give any sufficient account of their doctrines. After this, 'Sarvadarsana Samgraha,' an opposition work of the 14th century A.D., was discovered. This work gives an account of the Lokayata System from the point of view of the writer, a Vedantist. Cowell translated somewhat roughly this work in the year 1862 and published it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Since his writing Muir wrote an article on Hindu Materialists.

Muir gave large extracts from a few later texts illustrating materialistic tenets.

In 1873, Cowell contributed an Appendix to the collected works of Colebrook. He mostly emphasised there the theory of knowledge held by the Lokayats. We know of no other work since then till 1899. In that year Rhys Davids, the great Buddhist scholar, sketched the history of Lokayata with a different interpretation. He used this word Lokayata in the sense of "nature-lore," and supported this meaning by many extracts from Sanskrit and Pali sources. This brought to light the question of Buddhist materialists. This work has cleared the ground a good deal. In the same year 1899, Hillebrandt gave a short sketch of Hindu materialism. He cited Muir in his work. He did not seem to be aware of the work of Rhys Davids. Max Muller in the same year referred to the Lokayats. In the year 1907 an Italian, Pizzadalli, published a work on this subject. This is the first systematic work published in the form of a book. The previous writers showed the way in the form of articles. In 1908, a French scholar, Suali, wrote of materials for a history of materialism in India. He confined himself to, and largely drew his material from, a later text of the sixth century A.D. This article is valuable for the large extracts he made from the text.

Not till 1916 do we again hear of any other writer on Hindu Materialism.

Garbe has given a brief sketch of Lokayata, not adding much to what was known already. Poussin gave a sketch of Hindu Materialism in the same year. He confined himself largely to Ajita Kesa Kambalin. In support of his statements he has given valuable Buddhist sources. Even at this stage, when the nationalist movement was at its zenith, we do not hear of any Hindu writer dealing with Materialism. Up to this time it must not be thought that there were no other European writers who referred to Materialism. There were many, and they referred to Indian materialism in a small manner. The next important work was by an Italian scholar, Tucci, in 1923. It is significant that some Italian scholars have taken to the study of Indian Materialism. Some others have

taken to the study of Culture and Political Science in ancient India. The next general work is that of Shastri. The date of publication is not known. He mentions Tucci. It must have been after 1923 and around 1928. He wrote an article in 1931 dealing with some aspects of materialism. He is the only Hindu writer on this topic.

We see that this important phase of Hindu thought has been only casually noticed by European enquirers.

I now understand that a work on 'Indian Materialism' in Russian has appeared in Moscow recently. At Sun Yat Sen University, Moscow, Thalheimer gave a lecture on 'Indian Materialism' in 1927. (A. Thalheimer: 'Introduction to Dialectical Materialism,' chapter on 'Indian Materialism,' pp. 102-115).

What is "materialist thought"? Broadly speaking, it is the view that upholds the primacy of matter to other things.

Any attempt to define "Materialism" and seek for such a thing in the history of India is not only absurd but futile. Because materialism has changed in content at every epoch in Indian history. Materialism is also the natural born son of India. Given the conditions, the classes, the ideas, and institutions of the Vedic period, materialist thought is bound to appear. Attempts to define that materialism is as old as philosophy and not older, in this light, are also futile. In India it arose at definite stages of social development. The incomplete incoherent Vedic cosmologies, the hedonistic priestodom, the Vedic ceremonials and the philosophical tenets of the day led to the birth of materialism. Materialism in the early stages of Hindu culture took the form of Naturalism. It was a protest against the Supernaturalism of the day. This took several forms at that stage. It took the form of free-thinking. It took a sceptical form—yet free-thinkers and sceptics were not materialists.

Of the many negative movements against Supernaturalism, Lokayata is one. It combined in itself all the features of the free-thinking and the sceptic movements of the day. At a later stage it became agnostic.

Buddhists and Jains were agnostics. They wore materialist pants. Agnosticism led in turn to Atheism. At each stage materialism depended on the knowledge of Sciences. It made use of the then obtainable knowledge of Physics, Astronomy, Logic and Psychology. Its theory of knowledge bore all the defects of the sciences of the day.

Lokayata came to be confused with Nastikas, with all heretical movements later.

Hence we have to treat Lokayata in a strictly historical sense without losing sight of the conditions that gave birth to it.

At another stage it came to be regarded purely as a theory of sensations.

Sensations were regarded as the only source of knowledge. A view is held that a materialist is one who has to do with that which may be touched, handled, seen or otherwise perceived through the senses. This was viewed purely from the point of view of the "physical" inquirer.

At a still later stage, it took a hedonist character.

Roughly, materialist thought in India may be divided into various phases.

1. Naturalism, against Supernaturalism, coupled with free-thinking and Scepticism, represented by Anti-Vedins, Upanishadic and post-Upanishadic materialist thinkers.

II. Agnosticism, represented by some aspects of Buddhism and Jainism.

III. Atheism, represented by early Sankhya.

IV. Sensationalism, represented by a sect of Lokayats. One may speak of atomic or mechanical materialism here.

V. Hedonism, represented by the last stage of Lokayata.

Much of the materialist thought in India is of a protestant character because it has been intensely practical and was the product of practical needs. But not all protestant thought is materialist thought. The Indian phase of materialism, because of its concrete nature, has at all times taken a stand against supernaturalism, against magic, above all against Brahmins, their practices, and their philosophical tenets.

Materialist thought in India is one branch of thought expressing the relations between men and men, men and things, conditioned by time and space, having for its starting point the world as it is, as it exists. In the words of Russell, we may regard materialism in India historically, as a dogma set up to combat orthodox dogma. Despite the wishes of the protestants, nothing less definite than a dogma enabled them to fight the dogmas they disliked.

Measles

The following extract is taken from an article in *The Oriental Watchman & Herald of Health*:

Measles usually comes in winter, and, usually, in the guise of the common cold. It kills three to six out of every one hundred attacked. The victim first comes down as with a common cold—running nose, sneezing, red and watering eyes, and fever.

It is during this disguised state, when the disease is least suspected, that measles is most contagious; and by the time it is diagnosed it has already spread to many individuals. In about four days the distinguishing marks, red spots, begin to break out. They are first seen on the forehead, the cheeks, the temples, and about the mouth, and soon the spots appear elsewhere on the body. These often merge into one another to form large blotches. At times there is some itching When the rash fades, the skin begins to peel in small bran-like flakes.

As soon as the first signs appear—coughing, sneezing, running of the nose, watering and redness of the eyes—a doctor should be called. Since there are many diseases that have spots similar to those of measles, it often requires one especially trained to determine the true nature of the illness. Even before the doctor arrives, the sick child should be placed in bed in a room alone, with only the nurse in charge. He should certainly not be allowed to go to school or to mingle with other children, as it is during this time that measles is most contagious. Discharges from the nose, ears, and mouth should be collected on tissue paper or rags, and should be burnt, since these contain the

infecting virus. Droplets from the mouth sprayed out during coughing and talking also spread infection.

Unless the disease is exceptionally mild, he should be kept in bed at least ten days, and many times it is necessary to keep him there longer.

The eyes are red and watery, and are pained by bright light; hence they should be protected. Dark glasses will protect the eyes, and then fresh air and health-imparting sunshine can come in.

A baking soda sponge bath often helps to relieve the itching.

Modern Warfare

In surveying the developments so far observable in the present war in *The Indian Review*, T. K. Venkataraman says :

While Napoleon's cannon had only a range of 600 yards, some modern cannon have a range of 75 miles and the variety of shells fired by them is also enormous. These form only developments of what took place in the last war. But in close fighting, there is an increasing tendency for the automatic pistol to displace the rifle and the bayonet.

Aerial warfare is now very important. They could drop huge explosive bombs which could shatter concrete and steel structures or incendiary bombs which could destroy cities by conflagration. They could also spray poison gas or drop gas-bombs and destroy or maim human beings and animals. The atrocious possibilities of this deadly weapon are imaginable, though happily not so far put into effect. Defensive equipment devised to counteract this peril from the air includes the "black-out," because of which most of the localities in the combatant countries are involved in permanent darkness at night, baloon barrages over cities in which raiding airships could get entangled and become wrecked, and bomb-proof shelters built in almost all cities in the West to afford refuge to the people during the periods of raids by hostile airplanes. Anti-aircraft guns, and chaser planes also play a useful part in defence.

He also speaks of chemical warfare which Lord Haldane calls more humane than mechanical warfare. As regards submarines and mines the writer observes :

Submarines would now be located by airplanes, even when they proceed on their murderous expeditions under the sea. The "Asdic" method (use of a special apparatus to detect submarines by sound) also enables destroyers to hurry to the locality and destroy them. With the adoption of improved systems of carrying merchantships with escorts of warships and airplanes, it may be anticipated that the submarine peril, which was very serious during the last war, is now countered.

The other danger—that from mines—still remains and the Germans have invented a more deadly species—the Magnetic Mines—which are drawn to a ship by magnetic attraction and destroy it. Minesweepers are engaged in their valiant and dangerous task to rid the seas of this peril, and they are helped by the useful device of Paravane which helps to catch and detach the mines without danger.

 FOREIGN PERIODICALS 

Student Relief Projects in China

There are now more than 10,000 Chinese students in Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province, who have gone there from all parts of China to continue their education in an atmosphere free from Japanese domination. Large numbers of the students have lost all their families. In other cases, families of students have lost all their possessions, thus making it necessary for various organizations to extend relief to the students. An account of these relief projects is reproduced below from *The China Weekly Review*.

On the shady side of a sunny courtyard in Kunming four college students bend over a mimeographing machine. Around them on the paving are the inky sheets which indicate that the drum is not inking properly but finally they stand straight and the machine begins to turn out sheet after sheet once more. Inside, another student is folding and stamping similar sheets. From a side room comes the tap-tap of an amateur typist.

These students are all working on the news digest in English which was one of the students' self-help projects sponsored by the joint Y.W.C.A.-Y.M.C.A. Students Relief Committee in Kunming last summer. During the spring the far-sighted committee realized that many students would be staying in the city over the summer months with little to occupy their time. Of course the committee had the money to meet their physical needs but it was also concerned about their morale and so they set themselves to create activity that would not only be helpful to the students but meet some of the needs of the community as well. Four such projects were planned, including the news digest, a rural service project, a handwork project, and a contest in international publicity materials. In addition to four thousand dollars from the National Student Relief Committee which would have been forthcoming in any event, the community raised over five hundred dollars for the projects.

The news digest in English met a very definite need, as Kunming has no English newspaper, and this venture has become a permanent feature. From the beginning an advisory editorial committee was organized, including foreigners who gave daily help to the student staff in editing the digest. One foreigner contributed a typewritten summary of the London broadcast every morning. A news agency allowed access to their bulletins. One of the universities allowed the use of their mimeographing machine and the associate general secretary of the Y.M.C.A. contributed a typewriter. Sixteen students took part in collecting the news, translating from the Chinese newspapers, typing the rough drafts, making the stencils, delivering in the city and preparing for mailing. Over one hundred subscribers at the beginning and a continually growing list testified to the popularity of the digest.

A team of eight boys and girls participated in the rural service project which went on tour through several villages throughout the countryside in August. They carried on mass education through speeches and wall newspapers, gave simple medical help through teaching first aid and giving inoculations, taught singing and presented plays, and fostered good citizenship and community responsibility by family visits and personal interviews.

The handwork projects also met a very definite need in the city, the lack and high price of such supplies as ink, paste and scratch pads. Sixty students participated in this project, working in shifts of two hours each morning and afternoon. They made Chinese and foreign ink, paste and scratch pads which were sold at moderate prices to students and the general public, and brought in approximately four hundred dollars to the committee.

The international publicity contest was entered by twenty students who contributed essays, photographs, and drawings on student life. The essays could be on one of the three subjects: "Chinese Students, 1939 Model," "Chinese Education on the March," or "What Do I Learn from This War?" The photographs and drawings included snapshots of student life, maps depicting the trek of universities during this period, and cartoons to explain student activities, thinking and needs. Prizes of money contributed by the community fund were given to the best entries in each class.

Mr. Lloyd George's Record

Mr. Lloyd George completed his fifty years in the House of Commons on April 12, a record remarkable in more ways than one. The following details are reproduced from *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*.

There has not been anything like this since the days of Mr. Charles Villiers, who sat for sixty years as member for Wolverhampton in the last century. Something of what it means may be gathered from the fact that Mr. Lloyd George entered Parliament nearly three years before Mr. Gladstone carried his second Home Rule Bill (rejected by the Lords) in 1893.

Whereas the electoral experiences of other Prime Ministers and Leaders of the House have been curiously chequered, Mr. Lloyd George has never known defeat and never contested any other seat than that which he now represents. There is no parallel to this record since the Reform Act in the case of one who has been Premier or Leader of the House. Birmingham has been true to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, but he has changed his seat there in his much shorter Parliamentary life. Mr. Baldwin unsuccessfully contested Kidderminster before entering on his long tenure of the "family seat" at Bewdley.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had four different seats,

and his experience included mortifying reverses at Leicester and at Seaham. Unhappy, too, were the later experiences of Asquith in Scotland, after having been so long Prime Minister and so long member for East Fife. Bonar Law had a wide experience; he was defeated in Manchester and held seats in Glasgow, Camberwell, and Bootle. Campbell-Bannerman comes nearer to Mr. Lloyd George's record, but his first attempt to enter Parliament failed, though soon afterwards he was returned for the seat he was to hold for forty years. Balfour suffered in Manchester a defeat as mortifying as those of Asquith and MacDonald elsewhere, and beyond that we have the varied experiences of men like Disraeli, Russell, Palmerston, Peel, and Gladstone.

War and Industry in China

The Sino-Japanese conflict has inflicted heavy losses upon Chinese industries. The disrupting effects of the destruction of industries along the coast have, however, had stimulating influence on the economic life of the interior. Writing in the *Nankai Social Economic Quarterly*, Leonard G. Tung makes a survey of industrial development in China.

In coal mining, the output for 1939 will be three times as large as that in the preceding year, and will make available a sufficient supply of fuel for the newly-established plants in the interior.

With the completion in a few years of the railways now under construction, even greater amounts of coal will be needed. The coal mines are or will be situated along the routes of the projected railways or in places with an easy access to navigable rivers.

Among the light manufactures that are being developed in interior China, cotton spinning ranks first in importance.

The object of its development is to increase the capacity for producing cotton yarn by machinery, so that the interior regions will become more self-sufficient in the supply of material for clothing. Such a policy would evidently not be economically justifiable in normal times, for climatically the Southwest is not very suitable for cotton cultivation; but, as the greater portion of both the cotton supply and the cotton mills in China is now controlled by the Japanese and as the Chinese have decided to have no economic relations of any kind with the invader so long as Japanese troops remain in China's territory, the extension of cotton cultivation and the building of spinning mills in both the Southwest and the Northwest are deemed necessary, and the work is being pursued firmly.

We need not go into the details of the activities relating to the development of other light industries in the interior. Here too, the plants that have been removed into Szechuan, Shensi and other provinces provide the impetus towards modernization by introducing machinery and new techniques into industries such as the manufacture of woollen goods, gunny bags, linen, paints and varnish, paper, sugar, pharmaceuticals, rubber goods, celluloid, matches, cement, glass enamelled ware, flour, pottery and other ceramic products, the reeling

and weaving of silk, and the printing and publishing trades.

Another recent development, which has received a considerable amount of attention from both the Chinese and the outside world, and whose significance is more than economic, is the movement for the establishment of a large number of industrial co-operatives in interior China.

The movement aims at promoting small-sized industries, organized on a co-operative basis and using mostly handicraft but improved methods, for producing common necessities as well as articles needed by the army. It is thought that with the development of these co-operatives, the urgent need throughout interior China at present for articles such as cotton yarn and cloth, wearing apparels, coal and iron, paper, soap, matches, medical supplies, etc., could be alleviated, and that at the same time employment will be provided not only to the multitude of war refugees, but also to soldiers who have been disabled in service and to the relations of those who have gone to the front.

The movement found its enthusiasts among both Chinese and foreign friends of China. In August, 1938, the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives Association was organized; its plans had been approved by the Government. A sum of $5 million (Chinese) was appropriated. Up to April 27, 1939, 657 industrial co-operative societies with a total membership of 8,696 have been established in regions covering 10 provinces in China; and loans amounting to nearly a million dollars have been extended to these undertakings at rates of interest of 6 or 8 per cent per annun. The articles produced include mineral products such as coal, iron and gold; hand-made equipments such as spinning frames and weaving looms; common necessities including cloth, cotton gauze, paper, soap, flour, candles, etc.; and uniforms, blankets, shoes and other supplies for the army. By early August, 1939, over 1,600 units were reported to have been organized. Additional funds are to be appropriated by the Government; and a number of Chinese banks are ready to lend financial support for the expansion of the program by extending loans to the co-operative societies through the Association.

A Rice Civilization in Turmoil

The question of diet has always exercised the minds of long-sighted Japanese. Victories over China in 1894 and Russia in 1904 had indeed suggested that there was not, after all, much the matter with either the Japanese people or their diet. But this optimism gave way as Japan set out to conquer the industrial field, and factories began to grow rapidly where wages were low, hours unduly long, and far too many women and children employed because they were cheap and docile, writes R. T. Barrett in *The Asiatic Review*.

In 1915, the Director of the Bureau of Statistics warned the Japanese Government and people of the increasing incidence of tuberculosis. The high death-rates from diarrhœa, diseases of the stomach and intes-

tines, beri-beri, and congenital debility suggested an undernourished nation.

Ten years later Dr. Nitobe repeated the warnings of under-nourishment, and in 1926 Dr. Egerton C. Grey, of the League of Nations, after investigating the nature of Japan's diet reported very unfavourably, insisting that the polished rice eaten in Japan had a low nutritive value, being deficient in protein values. On the other hand, to recommend the use of unpolished rice would be as successful as to urge giving up white bread in England. He suggested the greater use of barley, beans, and potato. He deprecated the feeding of infants, after weaning, with thick rice-water, and also recommended the reduction of import duties on beans, meat, eggs, and milk. He pointed out that fish, while a valuable addition to a rice diet, could not be made available to inland and country districts owing to lack of transport facilities.

In so conservative a country as Japan not even the hard fact of physical deterioration, as shown in vital statistics, seems able to convey the lesson that rice cannot support life in towns under the strain of European standards of efficiency. Rice, as China and Japan have shown over the centuries, can support a hardy peasantry. The defect of rice is that to give sufficient nourishment it must be eaten in bulk, so great a bulk that the demand of the digestive organs upon the blood-stream leaves the brain undersupplied. In country districts, where life proceeds placidly, and farming is in accordance with a system long perfected, mental activity is unnecessary. Rice promotes contentment, lack of imagination, suspicion of change, and the fixed belief that the highest possible attainment of humanity has been reached in a Chinese or Japanese village. Government in China and Japan, for immemorial ages, has been by autocracies, whose diet has been by no means restricted to rice, and whose mental calibre has been far greater than that of the commom people. The attainments of the hereditary class of samurai can with no unfairness be attributed to better and more concentrated forms of food than came the way of the lower orders.

When a townsman in Japan today tries to live on the diet that supports his kinsman in the country in vigorous health he finds that too great a strain is being put upon his body. Digestive organs and brain have to compete against each other for the nourishment needed to sustain skilled and high-pressure work. If both brain and muscles get enough the stomach and intestines are overworked and soon revolt. The only remedy is to abandon rice for meat and corn.

—

The Story Written and the Story Told

Between the story written and the story told is a difference that is fundamental, points out Guy Pocock in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts;* for whereas the former is meant to be read silently, appealing to the eye, and the sense of formal literary balance, the latter is a personal communication, composed for the ear alone, and must give the impression of colloquial spontaniety, and make direct personal appeal.

Why did a great master of the short story such as Kipling refuse to broadcast his stories or to allow them to be broadcast ? Because, great artist as he was,

he was well aware that his stories would never lend themselves to a rendering "over the air." Intensely literary in form and feeling, they are shaped, moulded, and balanced with an eye to silent reading. Every word, every sentence, is chosen and constructed with a view of literary effect, and there is no thought of suggesting spontaneity.

And that is the very first essential of a tale that is told. For when one spins a yarn literary constructions do not leap to the tongue—and if they did they would be rejected. Ease, naturalness, and colloquial spontaneity—such are the essentials of the "spoken" style of tale-telling. That does not mean that all subtlety or complexity must be avoided in favour of simple realism. It merely means that whether the plot be simple or complex, the presentation must at least affect spontaneity, as talk across the table or the railway carriage. And this in broadcast stories depends upon two things: first, the rare faculty of writing as one talks, and secondly, the almost equally rare power of reading aloud from a script as if one is making it all up as one goes along. It is true that this reading colloquially is something of a trick—a whole series of little tricks rather—which can be learnt, and with practice become a second nature; the mock hesitation before a telling phrase, the little half-laugh breaking through a chosen sentence, colloquial elisions and clipping of words, the voice at easy, conversational pitch; all that can be learnt, though it is not easy, and needs repeated rehearsal, as will at once be realized if one listens critically to any inexperienced broadcaster.

It is the art of writing colloquially (discussed by me in a previous article on "The Tyranny of Type") which is so difficult and so rare, for the very fact of taking pen in hand seems to divert the whole current of verbal expression. It can be done, and has been done, but not very often, for it means the acquisition of a new technique.

It is probably correct to say that the discoverer of the new technique for broadcasting a story was "A. J. Alan," whose stories made quite a furore in listening circles. Their plots were thrilling enough, the crescendo of interest and suspense admirably managed; but what was new and infinitely intriguing was the *manner* of telling; the quite, half-confidential, humorous, narrative manner—the pleasant voice never varying greatly in pitch and tone—and, above all, the complete mastery of colloquial writing and reading first achieved by him

Another master of the microphone story is Lord Dunsany. One day not long since he came along with a new idea which had taken shape in pencil scribblings on odd pieces of paper. "I have an idea for a broadcast story," he said, "a new sort of ghost story which has never been done before. Let me read it to you!" This he proceeded to do. It began with a call, very faint and far off: "Can you hear me? I find it very difficult to get through to you!" Then step by step is told the story of the haunted house—haunted on one night in every hundred years. The narrator tells how he visited the village inn, how he approached the house, entered it—and all the while the atmosphere of dread is growing in intensity. And only in the last sentence does the listener—and the narrator himself—realize the truth. "And then I knew that *I* was the ghost!" And the story dies away in a little studied anti-climax with the fading call: "Can you hear me? I find it very difficult . . ." And that is first-class broadcast technique.

What is Left of the League.

It is not unusual now to hear the League of Nations spoken of in the past tense Writing in The *Living Age*, J. William Terry makes an inventory of the League's activities that are still left.

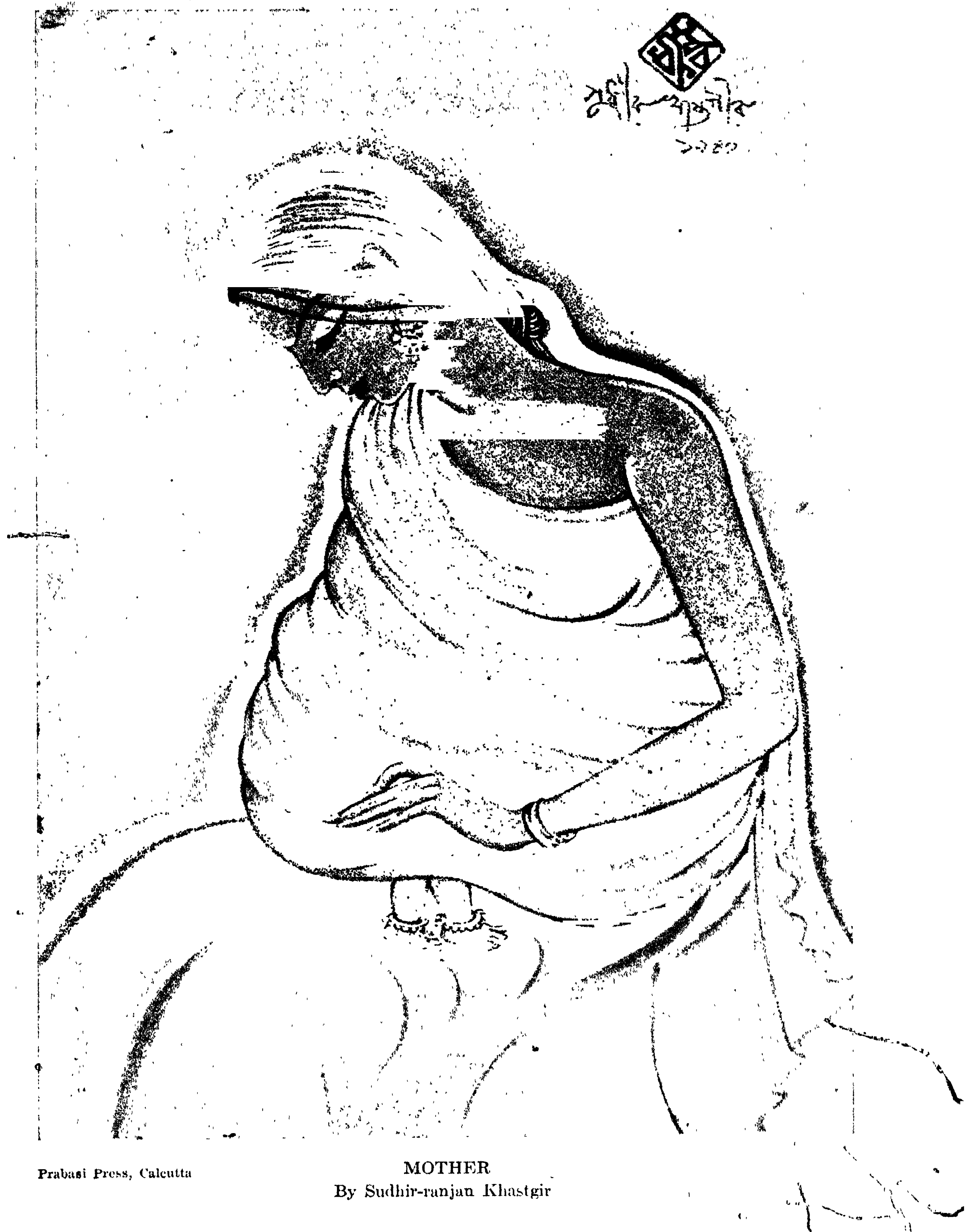
The League Health Organization has epidemic commissions helping in the battle against typhus fever and bubonic plague in war-scourged China. The League is answering the appeals of countries in Eastern Europe for aid in preparing against invasion of war-created epidemics. The League's Bureau at Singapore still collects reports on epidemic diseases in Far Eastern countries and broadcasts them daily to health services and ships at sea. League work goes on for standardization of various medical preparations, for safeguarding consumers of medical care in many countries The extensive research in fields of nutrition and housing is being advanced.

There are also the League activities for international control of traffic in narcotics, about two boards of which Secretary of State Hull recently wrote. "It is the opinion of this Government [United States] that it is upon the operation of these two boards, supplementing and co-ordinating the efforts of individual nations, that the entire fabric of drug control ultimately and principally rests"

Launched in direct consequence of the appalling increase of addiction during and after the last World War, these activities have produced what in some ways, is the most genuine and far-reaching piece of international action yet known Japan, apparently abetted by a few recalcitrant states, is flouting the control system, in order to use opium as a weapon of aggression against the Chinese. Various lines of control have been cut or weakened by the other wars The system however, is being kept intact and in operation: with, for example, 140 countries and territories (31 in excess of last year) submitting estimates for legitimate requirements for 1940, upon which limitation of manufacture is based.

To team with the economic and social division of the League is the autonomous International Labor Organization, of which the United States is a member. Having concern for its 67 multilateral treaties for the protection of workers and raising of labor standards, and their 865 ratifications, by which nations bind themselves to fulfill the conditions of the treaties, the I L. O carries on War, as it always does, is playing havoc with labor standards in many countries. A large part of the I L. O. program for new conferences and new treaties is necessarily in abeyance. Even so, some advance is being made. For instance, there was the Western Hemisphere Conference at Havana late last fall. Meanwhile, with a diminished staff, the I L. O. holds its lines and does a vast amount of invaluable research against the demands and opportunities of the indefinite to-morrow when the wars end.

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MOTHER
By Sudhir-ranjan Khastgir

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NOTES

China's People's Congress and India's Proposed Constituent Assembly

One of the objections urged, by the Chief Justice of India among others, against the Constituent Assembly demanded by the Indian National Congress for drawing up a constitution for India, is that it may have 1,000 members, if not more, and that that is too unwieldy a body to frame a constitution. But it is well known that, though constitutions are discussed, amended and finally accepted by large bodies, the actual drafting is done by very small committees. We are sure, this procedure will be followed in the case of India's Constituent Assembly, too, if she can have it. We do not, however, intend to discuss the objection in this note. We wish to draw attention to what China is going to do.

According to the China Information Committee's News Release dated April 22, 1940, recently received by us :

> Barring last-minute changes, *the People's Congress to be convened on November 12, to adopt a permanent constitution for the nation will have 1681 delegates.* They are to be chosen by five different methods. (Italics ours).

If a Constituent Assembly be convened in India, the delegates will be chosen by methods somewhat different from those adopted in China, for conditions in two countries are not identical. But the point to be noted is that China's People's Congress for adopting a permanent constitution will have so many as 1681 delegates. The methods for chosing the delegates are outlined below.

> The first 665 delegates are to be elected on [illegible] gional basis, 380 others are to be sent by the di[illegible] professions and trades, 155 others by special me[illegible] 240 to be appointed by the National Gover[illegible] totalling 1,440 Then in addition, all the memb[illegible] reserve members of the Kuomintang Central Ex[illegible] Committee and Central Supervisory Committ[illegible] *ex-officio* delegates. The latest Kuomintang dir[illegible] lists 241 of them. *Thus the combined number* [illegible] *1,681, which will place it among the largest represent*[illegible] *bodies in the world.* (Italics ours).

In China there is no communal or [illegible] similar sectional separate representation. [illegible] groups of Chinese nationals are recognis[illegible] minorities, all being Chinese nationals plain [illegible] simple.

> According to the regulations governing the o[illegible] zation of the People's Congress revised by the Le[illegible] tive Yuan on April 31, 1937, its competency is "to [illegible] a permanent constitution and determine the date [illegible] enforcement." The constitution shall be passed by [illegible] than two-thirds of the delegates present at a me[illegible] having a quorum of more than two-thirds of the [illegible] Congress For ordinary sessions, only a majority quorum is necessary and resolutions may be carried by ma[illegible] votes.

The next two paragraphs give some other details.

> At the convocation of the People's Congress, all the delegates are required to take an oath, pledging their acceptance of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's bequeathed teachings and their promise to discharge their duty according to law and to abide by the order and discipline imposed by the People's Congress itself.
>
> The Congress is to last from ten to twenty days. When necessary, however, the period may be prolonged. The task of the Congress is considered at an end when the meeting adjourns. Delegates are not to be held responsible outside of the Congress for opinions they

may express and votes they may cast during the session of the Congress.

The bulletin proceeds to state who have the right to be elected delegates and how they are to be elected.

According to regulations governing the election of delegates to the People's Congress, any Chinese citizen having attained the age of 25 years shall in accordance with law, have the right to be elected a delegate. The election is by universal, equal, and direct suffrage and by secret ballots. Each district, municipality or area of an equivalent status, according to stipulations in the second chapter of the draft permanent constitution, shall elect one delegate but in case its population exceeds 300,000, one additional delegate shall be elected for every additional 500,000 people. The candidates are to be nominated by the village and town chiefs in each district.

Delegates of the different professions and trades shall be elected by members of these organizations, each of which is to nominate three times as many delegates as it is entitled to send to the Congress. Such professional and trade groups as are qualified to elect their own delegates are limited to those which were founded before April 31, 1937.

The 155 delegates to be elected by special methods, mostly by official designation, are distributed as follows: 14 from Liaoning, 13 from Kirin, 9 from Heilungkiang and 9 from Jehol, 24 from Mongolia, 16 from Tibet, 40 from overseas Chinese communities, and 30 from the nation's land, naval and aerial forces and institutions of military education.

The latest ruling is that the election must be completed before the end of this June.

British Government's Attitude to Present Deadlock in India

In reply to questions asked in the British House of Commons by Mr. Wedgewood Benn and Mr. Harvey relating to the problems facing Britain in India Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, made a statement which is substantially identical with what his predecessor Lord Zetland had said with reference to the same problems. But as it is the depressing lot of Indian publicists to go on commenting on these repetitions made by British politicians, we shall have to say something on Mr. Amery's reply. He began by saying:

"I am glad to have this early opportunity of explaining so far as I can within the limits of an answer to a question, the attitude of the Government to the present regrettable deadlock in India. The attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth is the goal of our policy as was of the late Government."

The Congress has made it clear that neither a Dominion constitution nor any other constitution implying a place in the British Empire will be acceptable to it. It wants complete independence. The Hindu Mahasabha also has complete independence as its final goal, though it would be satisfied for the present with the attainment of the immediate objective of Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety. The Muslim League not long ago declared full independence as its goal. Its present opinion is not known. The Independent Muslim Conference of representatives of seven influential Muslim organizations, each of which singly is believed to have at least as large a following as the Muslim League, which drew a phenomenally large gathering, passed the following resolution on the 29th April last:

"This Conference declares unequivocally and with all the emphasis at its command that the goal of Indian Muslims is complete independence along with the protection of their religious and communal rights, and they are anxious to attain this goal as early as possible."

The National Liberal Federation of India, which has a small number of well-informed intellectuals as its members, would be content with Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety—whether as the final goal, is not known.

Of all the bodies named above the Congress is unquestionably the best organized and has representatives of all sections of the people in its ranks.

It would not be unjustifiable to state that the vast majority of politically-minded and articulate Indians cherish complete independence as their political ideal.

Mr. Amery continued:

"We recognize, as my predecessor made clear in his speech on April 18, that it is for Indians themselves to play a vital part in devising a form of constitution best adapted to India's conditions and outlook. A promise already given that the present scheme of the Act of 1935 and the policy and plans on which it is based are to be open to re-examination at the end of the war, necessarily implies discussion and negotiation and not dictation."

Mr. Amery says in effect that Indians will be allowed to have their say as regards the devising of a constitution to replace the present one. It is implied, in spite of the declaration that there is to be no dictation, that the casting vote is to rest with Britain. The Indian nationalist attitude is one of resentment at the patronising condescension of Britain in *allowing* India to have her say. The nationalist attitude, further, is that it is the business, as it is the right, of India alone to frame a constitution for herself. India is not bargaining for her freedom, she is determined to assert and exercise her right to it. This right of self-determination must be admitted by Britain before there can be any consultations with

British representatives about India's future constitution.

"We have no desire," continued Mr. Amery, "to delay any of the steps that may pave the way towards an agreed settlement that will take account of the legitimate claims of all communities and interests. On the contrary, we have been and are only too anxious to make our contribution towards such a settlement. The difficulty at this moment lies in the acute cleavage of opinion which has developed in India itself, affecting issues fundamental to the character of her future constitution and even to an approach to the problem."

By "the acute cleavage of opinion" Mr. Amery perhaps means the impossible attitude taken up by Mr. Jinnah. But Mr. Jinnah has been repudiated by all other Muslim organizations except the Muslim League, and many prominent members of that League itself have condemned the Pakistan proposal. But it is the British imperialist habit to recognize that alone to be Muslim opinion which is favourable to British ascendancy and interests in India. Mr. Amery's attitude is, therefore, no surprise.

It serves Britain's purpose to exaggerate and, notwithstanding her protests to the contrary, to perpetuate the cleavage, which again is to a very great extent her own creation.

To bridge the gulf between the different communities, classes and sections of the people in India is our business. It is a domestic problem. We realize its gravity. But we cannot agree to its being exploited by outsiders with the object of keeping India in bondage. How would Britain have relished any foreign people exploiting her own internal differences for their own advantages? Britishers say, India cannot have self-rule before and unless the communal and sectional differences are made up. We, on the other hand, assert, and history supports our assertion, that without self-rule there can be no real and lasting communal harmony. The British objection to Indian self-rule because of communal discord in this country is age-old. We have had to meet this objection in its Protean forms again and again. To meet some such objections we published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1907, that is 33 years ago, an article entitled "Contemporary India and America on the Eve of Separation from England." In that article we wrote with reference to the British colonies which afterwards constituted the United States of America:

"Burnaby, an acute observer, travelled through these North American Colonies in 1759 and 1760. According to him,

"Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys. Massachussets Bay and Rhode Island are not less interested in that of Connecticut. The West Indies are a common subject of emulation to them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a constant source of litigation.

In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colours, that I think, if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themselves, there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other; while the [Red] Indians and Negroes would with better reason impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them altogether."

But Burnaby proved a false prophet. "Left to themselves," that is after becoming independent, the colonists' named by him did not engage in mutual throat-cutting. On the contrary, complete self-rule led to the composing and wiping out of their differences.

In our above-mentioned June 1907 article we also wrote:

"Otis, who was a well-known American patriot, wrote in 1765:—

"Were these colonies left to themselves, to-morrow America would be a mere shambles of blood and confusion before little petty States could be settled."

This prophecy also turned false. The independence of America produced the opposite result.

Before becoming self-governing the British and French Canadians, who were Protestants and Roman Catholics respectively, were constantly quarrelling and were scarcely on speaking terms. But self-rule proved a panacea for these evils.

Mr. Amery added:

"I refuse to regard that cleavage as unbridgeable. Even if no final agreement on the major issue is immediately in sight, I cannot think that it is beyond the resources of Indian statesmanship to find at any rate such a provisional accommodation as would admit of resumption of office with general consent by Ministers in provinces and the appointment to the Governor-General's Executive Council of representative public men on the basis already offered. I believe that such a solution of the present deadlock, provisional no doubt but still easing the way to an eventual agreement, would be eagerly welcomed by an overwhelming body of Indian public opinion.

We also refuse to regard that cleavage as unbridgeable. To the extent that it is British-made it will disappear with the disappearance of British rule, and the remaining portion will vanish when the communalists find, under self-rule, that they are themselves both responsible for their evil plight and masters of their destiny, and would stand to lose by the prolongation of dissensions.

Self-rule will unite those whom Other-rule has divided or kept divided.

Indian nationalists are not, therefore, eager for any temporary provisional makeshift either in the provinces alone or in the Central sphere also in order to produce a superficial patched up unity. They want to push forward toward the final goal of independence. That some may accept Dominion status as the immediate objective should not blind anybody to the fact that full independence is their goal also.

Mr. Amery continued :

"India has from the outset of the war made manifest her sympathy and support for the Allied cause and her anxiety to lend to that cause all aid in her power."

The difference between India and the Government of India should be clearly understood.

It is certainly true that, of the two parties in the war in Europe, India sincerely desires that France and Britain should not b defeated. She also wishes to lend all aid in her power to the cause of freedom and democracy. But it is the Government of India, not India, which has control over the public income of India, and it is the Government of India which can utilise the man-power of India. It can and does utilize all the resources of India irrespective of the people's approval or disapproval. India cannot add a single soldier to the army in India, nor can she reduce the military strength of India, which she does not of course want to at the present juncture, by even a single soldier, if the Government does not wish it. It is only by becoming mistress of her own house that India can lend all the aid in her power to the Allied cause. What this means should be clearly understood. If India were allowed to be fully self-ruling, she would be fully convinced that Britain was really fighting for the cause of freedom and democracy both in Europe and Asia, and India would thus be able to lend her full and sincere moral support to the Allied cause. And the support would not be merely moral support alone. She would be able, according as need arose, to increase the strength of her land forces and air force and raise the revenue also, required for the purpose.

Mr. Amery concluded his reply by observing :

"It is the sincere and earnest hope of His Majesty's Government that in the situation which faces the whole civilized world to-day, existing differences may be put aside and that the leaders of great political parties in India will come together in agreement in support of the common effort. The Viceroy, with the approval of the Government, has spared no effort to bring the parties together and endeavour to find a basis for progress which will be generally acceptable. His own readiness to help in any way he can remains unabated."

Some of the differences referred to, those for instance which are the essence of the Communal Decision, can be really put aside only by the British Government. So long as they exist in reality, how can we put them aside by merely pretending to forget and not to mind them? But supposing we pretended to believe that they did not exist and supposing all Indian communities, both those favoured and those discriminated against, went on day after day complimenting one another from misty dawn to dewy eve, would that enable them to raise, train and control an adequate air force for India and effectively increase and mechanize the land army and place these at the disposal of the Allies, if the Government did not want to? We trow not. In spite of Indians' communal and other dissensions Government is able to enlist as many recruits as they want. British statesmen refer to our differences, not because they stand in the way of their utilizing India's resources, but because these differences serve as a convenient excuse for not allowing us to be self-ruling.

Let us then clear our minds of cant.

The best help which His Excellency the Viceroy could render at the present juncture would be to call upon and enable the people of India to elect their representatives and leave them to frame her constitution, himself standing aside.

Even if Britain remains as imperialistic in her dealings with India as she now is, we do not in the least desire that she should be defeated and Germany should win. But we do not know in definite terms how we can prevent Germany from winning and how we can help Britain to win. We are not in a position either to help or to hinder. We realise the heart-rending condition of the people of the conquered regions of Europe. We mourn their lot and sympathise with them. Our heart goes out in sympathy with the people of France. And last but not the least, the people of Britain have our heartfelt sympathy in the very grave situation in which they find themselves. The proud Britisher, we know, does not want the sympathy of the subject Indian and may even resent and despise it, but we write as we feel. It goes against our grain to criticize any British statesman at the present crisis. It is only because listening in silence to British lectures on our duty, however conciliatory their tone in

intention, may be misunderstood that we have been constrained to comment on Mr. Amery's reply to Mr. Wedgewood Benn's question.—(24th and 25th May, 1940.)

Gandhiji on Mr. Amery's Statement

WARDHA, May 24.

"I would leave no stone unturned to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement of the present deadlock," said Mahatma Gandhi interviewed by the *Associated Press* on Mr. L. S. Amery's statement in the House of Commons last night.

"While hourly butchery is going on in the West and peaceful homes are being destroyed I have no heart to say anything publicly in regard to Mr. Amery's statement in answer to Mr. Benn. Suffice it to say that I would leave no stone unturned to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement of the present deadlock."—*A. P.*

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the British Attitude

On the 24th May last Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in the course of an interview with press representatives at Lahore:

"We live in a rapidly changing world and astonishing things are happening from day to day but one of the most astonishing of these happenings is the continuing attitude of the British Government towards India. Perhaps it is this very static and unchanging view that has brought so many difficulties and dangers to England. The past few years' peace and war have been a succession of the most amazing blunders on the part of the British Government in foreign policy, in their Indian policy, and in other directions. The law of cause and effect is now having its revenge."

Turning to the new Secretary of States' reply in the Commons to Mr. Wedgewood Benn's question, the Pandit observed:

The new Secretary of State for India speaks in a tone which is no doubt meant to be conciliatory but the content of his utterance has no relation to facts in India or in Europe. We know the difficulties of the Indian problem. We know that there are differences of opinion here. We know that there are reactionaries here and communalists and feudal rulers and enormous vested interests. We do not underrate the complexity of this problem; no problem in the world to-day is free of difficulty and complexity. But in spite of this, it is completely out of place for Mr. Amery to talk of a revision of the present Act and of what may be done after the war is over, or of provincial solutions and the like.

There can be no provincial solution of the problem, nor can there be any solution within the orbit of British imperialism. There is no question, so far as we are concerned, of amending this Act or that Act. Nor do we want a part in devising our form of constitution. The British Government must give up completely its conception of being the patronising overlord of India, generously allowing us to have say now and then. They must recognize the complete independence of India and the right of the Indian people alone to do what they like in regard to their future constitution as well as in regard to the problems arising from the war.

Regarding India's internal problems the Pandit naturally and rightly holds that

We should try to settle our internal problems however difficult they might be. We shall strain every nerve to come to a settlement which is agreeable to various groups in India and to the vast majority of the people. If we fail, that will be our look-out and we shall face the consequences of the failure. But on no account and under no circumstances can we accept any interference with our future from the British Government or any other foreign authority. We realise fully the serious implications of the present world situation and its possible consequences in India.

I wish the British Government would realize this also as well as we do and fashion their course accordingly by giving up all idea of Empire and domination.

He made it quite clear that India did not want to and would not take advantage of Britain's present difficulties, nor could India give up or suspend her freedom movement because Britain was in difficulties.

I said the other day that I thought it against the dignity and honour of India just to take advantage of England's present difficulty. We are not out to bargain because one does not bargain about one's freedom. We are not out to embarrass England at a moment of peculiar difficulty because that has not been India's way.

But we are out to assert and gain our freedom and we cannot give that up because the war situation has developed to England's disadvantage. Our internal policy must be governed by one consideration only—the freedom of India and the attitude of Britain towards that freedom. Any other course would be against the honour and dignity of India.

Our own definite opinion is that England would greatly add to her strength to win the war by definitely promoting the cause of India's freedom and recognizing her independence. Our freedom movement should not, therefore, be regarded by her as an embarrassment but rather as an indirect endeavour to make her stronger and help her.

The Pandit expressed the view that Britain had not changed her Indian policy.

It must be remembered also that in spite of everything that is happening abroad, there has been no change in British policy in India. Many of our comrades are in prison and they continue to be sent to prison. We are treated as a hostile people and then it is expected that because of fear of consequences we should help in the maintenance of the British Empire. Whatever the consequences, we cannot help an Empire to maintain its hold over us.

Pandit Nehru on Launching, Postponing or Giving Up Satyagraha

In the course of the interview with the press representatives at Lahore Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru expressed his views on the immediate

launching of satyāgraha, or postponing it for long, or abandoning it altogether.

The situation has changed since the Ramgarh Congress session decided that satyagraha was inevitable. It left the time and method to Mahatma Gandhi. That position remains. It is very difficult for anyone to say when and how satyagraha will be launched. The other day an amendment to a resolution of the U. P. Congress Committee to the effect that satyagraha should be immediately launched was opposed by me partly because I said that this matter should be left to Mahatma Gandhi, partly also because I thought just at this moment when the war situation was very perilous for England, it would be very ungenerous of us to take advantage of it in this way. That referred to the immediate situation and not to a lengthy period.

"Any steps that we should take," continued Pandit Nehru, "should be carefully thought out as it would inevitably lead to far-reaching consequences. It would be improper to take any step precipitately in a situation which changes from day to day. It is never Gandhiji's intention or desire to do anything deliberately to embarrass or injure his opponent; much less would he think of doing so at a moment when that opponent was in great peril.

"Nevertheless if the honour of India and circumstances demand certain actions he would take it although a consequence of that action might be embarrassment for the opponent. It should not therefore be thought that satyagraha must be postponed till the end of the war. Satyagraha ultimately depends not on the war but on the attitude and activities of the British Government in India. The mandate of the Ramgarh Congress is clear and the British Government's attitude has not changed at all. We cannot accept for long the present state of affairs in India. It is right, however, that one should wait for developments in the external and internal situation before launching out satyagraha.

"The next few weeks may bring about vital changes. So far as I can see, the internal situation does not mean any kind of agreement with the British Government. In spite of the war and everything, the gulf that separates us seems to be unbridgeable. There is no question of the Congress Ministries going back to office or of our co-operating in the war in any way or of any other patched up agreements at the Centre. The fundamental disease India suffers from requires fundamental remedy which means the rooting out of every form of imperialism."—*A. P.*

Progress of Education in British India during 1932-37

Educational progress is generally measured by the use of comparative figures showing increase in the number of institutions and pupils as also in the amount of expenditure for various purposes for the promotion of education. Another method is to find out if there has been an appreciable increase in the percentage of the total population receiving instruction in recognised institutions. An examination of the figures, supplied by the recently published *Eleventh Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in India, 1932-37*, shows from all these points of view, not only that the progress that has been achieved during the quinquennium is extremely inadequate and, therefore, very unsatisfactory, but that in certain cases there has been actual retrogression. The percentage of total population receiving instruction in recognised institution in the whole of British India was 3.1 in 1922, 4.3 in 1927, 4.5 in 1932, and 4.9 in 1937. Among the provinces we find that in Bihar while the percentage for 1932 was 3.58, in 1937 it came down to 2·91, in the Panjab the corresponding figures were 5.09 in 1932 and 4.83 in 1937, in the United Provinces, 3.01 and 3.27 respectively, in Assam, 4.04 and 4.9 respectively, and in the North-West Frontier Province 3.46 and 3.9 respectively.

The position from the point of view of total expenditure on education is explained in the following excerpt from the *Review*:

While the total expenditure increased by Rs. 6·2 crores during the quinquennium of 1922-27 and by Rs. 2·6 crores in the quinquennium of 1927-32, it has shown an increase of a little over Rs. 87 lakhs only during the quinquennium under review. In the contributions made by Government and local bodies, there is an actual decrease of Rs. 9,65,274 and Rs. 3,68,960 respectively. Although there has been an increase in the amounts collected from fees and other sources, this increase compares unfavourably with that of the last quinquennium.

The Educational Commissioner ascribes this unsatisfactory position to financial depression, though he thinks that the figures for annual expenditure since 1932-33 show that financial support is steadily growing again. The statement made by the Educational Commissioner in the following paragraph does not however appear in any way to be either reassuring or hopeful:

In the last Review it was observed that the quinquennium of 1927-32 had been a period of great financial strain; low prices had even more unfortunate effects than the high prices of 10 years ago; parents, especially those belonging to the agricultural classes, found it more and more difficult to support the education of their children; and provincial Governments, with their depleted revenues, had to contract seriously the funds available for education.

The Educational Commissioner adds that these factors were still operative during the quinquennium under review.

While the total number of institutions (recognised and unrecognised) was 246,264 in 1927, it was 257,792 in 1932 and 255,709 in 1937. In 1927 there was an increase of 38,158 and in 1932 of 11,528, but in 1937 there was a decrease of 2,083. In the matter of total

number of pupils receiving instruction, there was, of course, some increase, but the *Review* admits that "these figures indicate that the continued financial depression has adversely affected the pace of expansion." In fact, it is confessed that there has been a slackening in the rate of expansion in almost all the provinces. Further, when it is considered that the total population on which the percentages have been calculated is that of the Census of 1931 the actual position must, in fact, be much more unsatisfactory than is shown in the *Review*.

In the course of his review, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India makes a brief restrospect of the conditions of educational advance since 1921, when Indian education became a provincial transferred subject and was placed under the charge of a Minister responsible to the provincial legislative council. It has to be noted that the end of the quinquennium under review coincides with the termination of the dyarchic constitution, which has now been superseded by the new constitution introducing provincial autonomy. When Indian education came under the control of responsible ministers in the provinces, under the Montagu Reforms, great hopes of future progress in the sphere of education were entertained. The circumstances under which these hopes were frustrated are now matters of history. It is true that the financial stress which set in almost simultaneously with the introduction of the Montagu constitution continued up to practically the end of the quinquennium under review. An examination of the figures relating to percentage of Government expenditure to the total budget expenditure, however, indicates in our view, complete failure, on the part of the authorities, to realise the imperative needs of education in any scheme of future progress. As educational advance is the basis of all progress, strenuous and ceaseless efforts are needed to remove the educational backwardness of the people of the country; and if this is to be accomplished, the needs of education require satisfaction before everything else.

"Gross Tyranny" of Bose-League Majority in Calcutta Corporation

The different standing committees of the Calcutta Corporation for 1940-41 were constituted at a meeting of the Corporation held on the 22nd May last.

In all, 11 standing committees were formed and each committee consisted of 12 members. The proportion of representation of the different groups in each committee is roughly as follows : 3 to 4 Moslems, 5 members of the Bose group, 1 nominated member, 1 labour member, 1 Anglo-Indian and 1 European member. One seat in each committee was offered to the Hindu Mahasabha party, but Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, leader of the party, informed the House that their party had unanimously resolved not to accept any seat on any of the standing committees. The vacancy thus created was filled up by a member belonging to other groups.

Sj. Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee, barrister-at-law, leader of the Hindu Mahasabha party in the Calcutta Corporation, has issued the following statement, exposing the methods followed by the Bose-League majority in the formation of the standing committees and the glaring injustice done to the Hindu Mahasabha councillors in the Corporation :

We, the Councillors belonging to the Hindu Mahasabha Party who have been returned to the Corporation on the suffrage of the ratepayers, owe it to them to explain why we had to decline to serve on the Standing Committees which have just been formed.

We feel that no party with any sense of self-respect could possibly co-operate on the conditions under which the Hindu Sabha Councillors were expected to serve on these Committees.

The Muslim League Party nominated its representatives on the different Committees. The Bose Group chose its nominees on the Committees. It was only right and proper that the Hindu Mahasabha Party should have been given the right to nominate its representatives on the Committees. The Hindu Councillors went to the Corporation with the object of co-operating with the other Councillors in the civic sphere, but on terms of honourable co-operation. We were denied such chances of co-operation.

Surely it is not reasonable that the Muslim League Councillors would nominate not only their representatives but would also nominate the representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha Party on the different Committees. Even the ordinary courtesy of consulting the Party was denied to the Hindu Mahasabha Bloc.

PARTY PREJUDICES

Party prejudices, reinforced by the recent League-Bose Pact, have so far affected the Leader of the Bose Group that the names of several Hindu Mahasabha and Independent Councillors were carefully omitted from the list of members proposed by Mr. Rafique on behalf of the League-Bose Coalition. There was a deliberate exclusion of the names of Sj. Bidhu Bhusan Sircar, Sj. Debjiban Banerjee, Sj. Sudhangshu Kumar Mitter, Sj. Mrigendra Kumar Majumdar, Sj. Harihar Das Chowdhury, Sj. Dhirendra Nath Ghose and Sj. Mohanlal Mackar, although each member of the Muslim League and the Bose Group was favoured with a seat in one or more Committees.

It seems that there was also a conspiracy between the Muslim League Group and the Bose Group to exclude the Nationalist Muslims, who had the temerity to fight the Muslim League at the last Municipal elections and who did not condescend to bend their heads before the authors of the League-Bose Compact.

UNFAIR DISCRIMINATION

There was unfair discrimination in granting adequate representation to the Hindu Mahasabha Party. Under the Calcutta Municipal Act, before it was amend-

ed last year there was provision for 18 elected Muslim Councillors. Even last year the Muslim Councillors were given at least 3 seats on each Committee, which consisted of 11 members and in some cases they got more. Of course, the Muslim League Group has been more generously treated this year. There are 18 or 19 Muslim elected Councillors belonging to that Group and they have secured 3 to 4 seats on each Committee due to the co-operation of the Bose Group. But 19 elected Hindu Councillors belonging to the Mahasabha Party were offered only one seat in each Committee and they were also totally excluded from a number of Committees. Surely, this was a gross tyranny of the majority to which the Hindu Councillors could not submit.

We want to assure the rate-payers that we shall spare no efforts to discharge our duties with vigilance and we shall resist any attempt to encroach upon the legitimate rights and interests of the Hindus in the Calcutta Corporation. We fought for the rigorous enforcement of the principle of appointment on merit and we wanted that appointments should be made on the results of the Competitive Examinations. We have lost and two Service Committees have been set up this year in spite of our protests. It will be the duty of the rate-payers to see that they will not be made to subserve party or Communal interests and there will be no introduction of the principle of "log rolling" in the Corporation of Calcutta.

But that 'principle' has already been introduced, and until the next general election the only thing, perhaps, which the rate-payers can do is to pass resolutions of no-confidence repeatedly on each "log-rolling" councillor, asking them to resign and seek re-election.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the Work of the National Planning Committee

A call to the press and the public to interest themselves in the work of the National Planning Committee was sent forth from Bombay by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement to the press issued on the 15th May last at the close of the present series of the committee meetings, in the course of which he said :

"After a fortnight's strenuous sessions, the National Planning Committee concluded its present series of meetings yesterday.

"The Committee has done something which I feel more and more is of vital significance. This feeling has grown upon me during this fortnight's work when we came to grips with our subject. This is the first time in India when these various subjects have been seen as parts of a co-ordinated whole. At any time this is necessary, but today when the world, as we have known it, is tumbling all around us, it is doubly essential to keep this picture in our minds, so that we may not lose ourselves in trivialities and in chaotic and unplanned development when the time comes. This planning Committee, I hope, will lay the foundation of the planned India of the future.

"It must always be borne in mind that we are thinking in terms of a planned society, and therefore, our recommendations must be taken as a whole, and not in bits. We intend, at a later stage, to indicate what may be done in the earlier transitional stages, though in the changing order of today it is not an easy matter to say much about the present.

"We propose, therefore, to carry on our work with vigour, and we are meeting again in full planning committee on June 21 to consider the remaining reports of the sub-committees.

"In the work that we are doing we require, of course, the fullest intelligent co-operation of the public and the press. Ultimately, it is not the Committee that will decide the future of India or of its political or economic organization, but the people of India who will take the final decision. It is for them, therefore, to pay attention to what this Committee is doing. Perhaps, one of the most important and desirable consequences of our work is to make people think of planned work and a co-operative society. This thinking has been too rare in the past. In order to reach the public the obvious medium is the press.

"We would have liked to take the press and the public into our confidence, about all our work, and we have tried to do so as far as we can, but inevitably, our meetings have to take place in private so as to give the fullest opportunity to the members to express their opinions. Also, it is right and proper that our reports should be submitted to the Congress before we give publicity to all of them. We have, however, given publicity to most of our resolutions dealing with reports. We hope to print them soon in a book form for facilitating reference.

"I am grateful to the provincial Governments and to the States who have sent us contributions for our work. I trust that in view of this work enlarging itself, and taking more time, they will continue to send some contributions so that this vital work might not suffer for lack of funds.

"All of us today are inevitably absorbed and oppressed by international happenings, and yet in spite of that we cannot and must not lose our balance or get excited or forget that whatever may happen we have to build up India. In this work of keeping the balance of the public mind, and in making them think of the future of constructive effort, even in the midst of the present destruction, the press can play an important part."

The National Planning Committee owes its inception to the Congress. But it is not the Congress which will give effect to the plans drawn up by the Committee. The people, the public, will have to do it. As the Congress is not co-extensive with the people, every care should be taken to prevent any section of the public from thinking that both the planning and its execution are things which concern Congressmen alone.

Allahabad University Alumni at the I. C. S. Competition

A correspondent writes to *The Leader* :

ALLAHABAD, May 19.

Allahabad, as usual, has had singular successes at the I.C.S. competition held at Delhi this year also, according to the result which has just been declared. As many as four out of the first seven candidates, who

are expected to be taken this year, are connected with Allahabad, three from the Allahabad University and one, who tops the list, from the Allahabad Coaching Institute.

The Allahabad University, which supplies its full quota of civilians almost every year, has secured as many as three successes this year, namely, Messrs. B. K. Kaul, Satish Chandra and Indra Deva Narain Sahai. Again, Mr. M. R. Yardi, a scholar from Bombay, who stands first, received his training here under Mr. Shanti Swarup Gupta at the Allahabad Coaching Institute.

Nearly half-a-dozen other candidates from the Allahabad University rank within the first 50 places, of whom Mr. Jagdish Chandra Mathur stands 14th. Thus Allahabad University has secured nearly ten places in the first 50.

The other universities of India should consider what gives Allahabad its prominence in this respect.

"Germany's Victory Would Be Disaster for India and the World"

JIJIGRAM (Birbhum), May 18.

'The victory of Germany will be a disaster both for India and the world,' declared Dr. Prophulla Chandra Ghosh, a member of the Congress Working Committee, presiding over the Birbhum and Murshidabad districts constructive workers' conference today.

He said that India had her grievances against Great Britain but on that ground no Indian would wish well of Germany—it would be a serious blunder.—*A.P.I.*

Needless to say, Dr. Ghosh was quite right.

Coastal Defence Unit

Government has sanctioned the formation of a small Coastal Defence Unit, consisting mainly of Bengalis, but to which non-Bengalis also will be admitted. With reference to this step taken by Government, Mr. B. N. Roy Chowdhury, President, Bengalee Ex-Service Association, has issued the following statement :

It is my proud privilege to inform the public that ever since the news of the sanction of a Bengalee Coastal Defence Battery Unit got currency in Calcutta the office of the Bengalee Ex-Service Association is being literally besieged by a large number of able-bodied and enthusiastic young men who are eager to join. Although a small number is at present required for the said Battery, which my Association is alone competent to supply within a few hours, Bengal is throbbing with the ardent desire for military service.

When a country is at war with an enemy, who is as savage in his policy of aggression and as indifferent to all cannons of International Law, it is her supreme and sacred duty to be in a state of complete preparedness and as such let us hope that the Government of India will not turn a deaf ear to our incessant demand for adequate military training of Bengalees at this critical juncture. In view of the flow of recruits of the right sort, my Association is confident that besides the above artillery unit, several regiments can easily be filled up when the sanction comes from the authorities.

For the information of the intending recruits for the Artillery Unit, I may state that they should first present themselves at the office of the Association, Hogg Buildings, Hogg Street, Calcutta, between 5-30 P.M. and 8 P.M. Those who are found to conform to the required standard will be sent by the Association to the proper authorities for enlistment. I may add that the Bengalee Ex-Service Association is mainly composed of ex-soldiers of the 49th Bengalee Regiment who did active service during the last Great War and that intending recruits for the Battery will receive all possible assistance and information from them.

Though we do not share the "pride" and the enthusiasm of the writer of this statement, we think that in the interest of our own country as many able-bodied Indians as possible should have military education. We have in mind only those who are not thoroughgoing ahimsāists. For sincere ahimsāists, whose ahimsā is not the outcome of fear or love of ease, we have great respect. They have their own ideas of defending the motherland and its people. That these have not yet been put to the test does not necessarily detract from their value. It is not also impossible for ahimsāists to be as disciplined as thoroughly trained soldiers are.

President-Elect of Nellore Political Conference

Sj. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, has been chosen to preside over the Nellore District Political Conference which will be held early in the current month of June. We are glad that in spite of absence of self-advertisement the worth of Sj. Surendra Mohan Ghosh has been discerned and recognised in the distant south of India.

Withdrawal of German Balances in U. S. A. Banks

NEW YORK, May 23.

According to information from Swedish Banking quarters quoted by the Stockholm correspondent of the *New York Times*, Germany has liquidated most of her bank balances in the United States and transferred them to the credit of Swedish banks.

The correspondent adds that the step taken indicates that Germany no longer feels certain that the United States will keep out of the war.—*Reuter.*

The *New York Times* correspondent's conjecture is correct.

President's Address at the Azad Muslim Conference

Dealing with the "two nations theory of certain leading Muslim politicians of admittedly Indian origin," Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, president of the Independent Muslim Conference held at Delhi, said :

Indian Musalmans were proud to be Indian nationals and they were equally proud that their spiritual

level and credal realm was Islam. Every Muslim going for pilgrimage to the Holy Mecca was invariably described as Hindi by every Arab and all Indian Muslims were similarly known as Hindustani in Iran and Afghanistan and as Indians throughout the world.

"A majority of the ninety million Indian Muslims who are descendants of the earlier inhabitants of India are in no sense other than sons of the soil with the Dravidian and the Aryan and have as much right to be reckoned among the earliest settlers of this common land. The nationals of different countries cannot divest themselves of their nationality merely by embracing one or the other faith. In its universal sweep Islam, the faith, can run in and out of as many nationalities and regional cultures as may be found in the world."

This is good so far as it goes. But Indian Muslims are not yet conscious that they are keeping themselves culturally and spiritually impoverished to the extent that they disclaim their heritage of ancient Indian culture and spirituality.

After describing the bonds that knit the Hindus and the Musalmans in various walks of human life, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux asserted that

No segregated or isolated region but the whole of India was homeland of all the Indian Musalmans and no Hindu or any other had the right to deprive them of one inch of homeland.

Analysing the partition scheme, the President said that if the sixty lakhs of N.-W. F. Province, Baluchi and Sindhi Musalmans were excluded from the North-West Pakistan because they had a more realistic sense of things, the Punjab with a population of 1½ crore of Muslims confined between Campbellpore and perhaps Lahore would constitute a problematic little Pakistan with rather drastically curtailed financial resources reduced to the position of one of the bigger Indian States.

But if the British Government proposed to help this Panjabi Pakistan as it helps Sindh and the N.-W. F. P. financially, that would meet the objection here raised and would quite satisfy the Pakistani Muslims.

The speaker next dealt with the "infantile" suggestion that the Jats and Sikhs could be won over to remain in the Panjabi Pakistan.

"I have heard it said that the Sikhs and the Jats or at least the Sikhs can be won over by fair concessions to remain in this Pakistan. Of course, such an infantile assumption proceeds on the basis that the bargaining power of the others does not exist. Once again, if over a crore of Sikhs and Jats and other Hindus of the Punjab choose to stay in this Pakistan one fails to see how it will be different in political composition and power from the present autonomous provinces and in what sense it will become an independent sovereign or Islamic State. In the first place, the N.-W. F. Province, Baluchistan and Sind, which now enjoy comfortable majorities in autonomous provinces helped by the centre financially and in the matter of defence, would not care to exchange their present position for a minority in another unit, though overwhelmingly Muslim.

But if for the sake of argument they did, who would bear their deficit of over 2½ crores and what guarantee without sufficient financial resources, would the Punjab offer regarding land, air and sea defences against not merely the external invaders? The total revenue of the proposed Pakistan, if all the units contemplated including Kashmir and Bahawalpore coalesced (excluding the Cis-Ravi region, which is predominantly Hindu-cum-Sikh) would not exceed 16 or 17 crore, all of which is required for daily administration. And if the railways, and customs and other Central revenues of Pakistan's share yield say another five or six or even ten crores of net surplus, the whole of it will not be enough to maintain the defences of the unit against external invasions and to satisfy the interest charges and other liabilities. It is true that the unit, if allowed a period of pace and prosperity, may develop its industries and build up like Czechoslovakia a decent enough position and defence force but why should it be assumed that the rest of India will all this time stand still and so would the transborder neighbours including Russia, and their resources would not be put to the best use. Who then will defend this unit against Russia or Afghanistan in the meanwhile in case a new builder of a Russian or any other empire rises?

"If the British are asked to hold this baby until it is strong enough to stand on its own legs, in the first place what is the 'quid pro quo', and in the second what is this smoke screen of an independent sovereign and Islamic State for?

The answer perhaps is that the Pakistanis do not really want independence, they want to live under British protection subsidized with money taken from Bengal and Bombay, and so the purpose of the smoke screen is to serve as a smoke screen.

Having thus disposed of the Panjabi part of the Pakistan scheme, the speaker turned his attention to its Bengal and Assam part.

"But North-East Pakistan is ten times more fantastic and a hundred times more fragile. In the conception of the North-Western Pakistan or the Punjab there is at least a possibility of its being linked up with more powerful Afghan or Russian Muslim neighbours, but Bengal and Assam Pakistan will be an isolation quarantine, with no superfluity of martial races to its credit, and which, therefore, may not take long to be quickly absorbed by its more enterprising neighbours.

"But if the League does not contemplate anything better than Burma and Ceylon, the credulous Muslims should not be deceived into thinking of an independent Islamic Estate; but they should be frankly told that another Palestine is sought to be created under the British mandate. Let us not waste time on this part of the grotesque scheme."

Having dealt with the two parts of the schemes separately, he returned to the whole scheme and said:

"It is a matter for some satisfaction that responsible spokesmen of the British Government have snotched this scheme at the outset. We may, however, hope that the indirect and subtle encouragement some influential individual Englishmen have so far given to the sponsors of the scheme, for obvious reasons, will not continue to vitiate a perfectly straight issue. It should be carefully noted that no responsible Minister of the

Punjab cared to lend the slightest support to this scheme nor has any popular support been forthcoming from either the Punjab or Bengal. It is quite obvious that if ever a decision along these lines was likely to be taken it would rest not with a political organisation or a party but with the accredited representatives of the population concerned and, therefore, it is difficult to understand the League's objection to a Constituent Assembly in which Indian Musalmans should decide the question of the form of consitution under which they would be prepared to live peacefully. If the population of the majority provinces do not want the League's Pakistan and if the Muslim minority in the Hindu majority provinces cannot dictate to the Muslim majority province, it is difficult to see on what constitutional basis the League can possibly advance its demand. To my mind it is perfectly obvious that a political personality of Mr. Jinnah's distinction cannot but admit the force of this argument and therefore, I am inclined to believe that the Pakistan scheme is about the most indiscreet approach to a serious problem and as such has torpedoed the very basis of a reasonable settlement.

Position of Minorities Under Bombay Congress Government

The honorary secretaries, Bombay Legislature Congress Party, have published a booklet named, "Position of Minorities under the Congress Government in Bombay, 21st July 1937—4th November 1939." In this they have shown by the relation of facts and the publication of statistics that the position of the minorities improved under Congress administration during the short period for which it lasted.

The following paragraph shows how apt a pupil of Mr. Jinnah the redoubtable Dr. Ambedkar has proved :

> Dr. Ambedkar and his followers took part in the "Deliverance Day" and in that connection he said ". . . . . No one can entertain any doubt as to the position of millions of untouchables who had the misfortune to be ruled by the Congress Government in the province, in common with some others. If Mr. Jinnah and the Muslims can prove 5 out of 100 cases of oppression I am prepared to place 100 out of 100 cases before any impartial tribunal . . . ." The "if" has proved to be a big "if". Mr. Jinnah could not quote even five cases and the learned doctor consequently did not feel it necessary even to publish his charges—much less to prove them. That shows that it was mere tall talk.

A Third Teachers' Training College for Bengal

Though of all provinces Bengal has the largest number of secondary schools, it has only two teachers' training colleges. Therefore the third training college intended to be started by the Calcutta University will have the hearty support of the educated public.

Madras Presidency has a smaller population and a smaller number of secondary schools than Bengal. But Madras University has five teachers' training colleges and Andhra University (which is in the Madras Presidency) has a teachers' training college. Besides these, Annamalai University, which also is in the Madras Presidency, has a Pandits' Training Department.

The proposal to establish a Women Teachers' Training College in Calcutta is also to be welcomed.

Dr. Sunderland on Emerson and His Friends

For some months past we have been publishing the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland's articles on Ralph Waldo Emerson and his friends. More than half the articles still remain to be published. We do not propose to publish these in *The Modern Review.* Along with those already published in it, they will be published in the form of a book.

"Fifth Columnists"

The expression "Fifth Columnists" is being freely used in the press. Who are meant by it and what was their *modus operandi* in different countries will be understood from passages extracted in our Foreign Periodicals section from the London *News Review* of April 25th, 1940.

Large numbers of these suspects, spies, saboteurs or traitors within the gate have been arrested in Britain.

Reconstitution of the British Cabinet

The British Cabinet has been reconstituted with Mr. Winston Churchill as prime minister. It is to be hoped that this will result in the ultimate victory of the Allies. As we write the situation is critical in Europe.

Emergency Legislation in Britain

The gravity of the situation may be understood from the fact that in the course of two and a half hours the British Parliament passed a law placing all persons and all their properties at the disposal of the State. The State has been thus authorized to require any person to render any service which he or she is considered capable of rendering, and to use any property of any person for the good of the State in any way which the State may consider necessary. George Bernard Shaw has felt justified in observing that Britain has done in the course of 2½ hours what Russia has not been able to

thoroughly accomplish in 23 years. That no dissentient voice was raised in the British Parliament to such drastic socialistic legislation shows what willing sacrifices Englishmen are capable of for the freedom of their country when it is imperilled as at present it is.

By legislation of a similar drastic character power has been taken to intern or deal in any other suitable manner with enemy aliens and alien and British "Fifth Columnists," and to excute persons found guilty of traitorous conduct. Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the fascists in Britain, and many other men have been rounded up. Thousands of aliens have been placed under restraint.

"Untouchability the Root Cause of India's Downfall"

Mahatma Gandhi has repeated his condemnation of untouchability in the latest issue of *Harijan.*

BOMBAY, May 25

"I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that he who has the slightest untouchability in him is wholly unfit for the enrolment in the Satyagraha Sena. I regard untouchability as the root cause of our downfall and Hindu Muslim discord. Untouchability is a curse of Hinduism and therefore of India. The taint is so persuasive that it haunts a man even after he is changed over to another faith" writes Gandhiji in today's *Harijan* in reply to a correspondent's question if Gandhiji did not agree that it ought to be made an absolute rule in the Satyagraha camps that no one who regarded the touch of Harijans as polluting and did not freely mix with them should be permitted to attend them.

Replying to another question if Gandhiji did not approve of a short cut removal of untouchability and if Congress started a plan to train Harijans as expert cooks for Hindu homes and made it a rule to man every ashram or mess meant for Congress workers with Harijan cooks thus trained, Gandhiji writes, "Our ambition should be to enable Harijans to rise to the highest rank but while that must be the ideal, it will be a good thing to train some Harijans to become accomplished cooks. The more we draw them into domestic circle, the quicker is the pace of reform. The Harijans who become absorbed in our homes lose all sense of inferiority and become a living link between other Harijans and Savarna Hindus.—*U. P.*

We agree that untouchability is a, if not the, root cause of India's downfall. But we go a little further. Untouchability is only the worst feature and fruit of the caste system and hence caste must be pronounced one of the main causes of India's downfall.

Hindu society has been gradually coming to realize the evils of caste. At some sessions of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and at some sessions of provincial Hindu Sabhas resolutions have been passed approving of and advocating interdining among sub-castes and castes as also inter-subcaste and inter-caste marriage.

In the households of many 'England-returned' Hindus there are Muslim cooks. These Hindus do not employ depressed class Hindu cooks to the same extent. There are some rich Hindus who have never travelled abroad who keep Muslim cooks (not 'Harijan' cooks) for themselves in addition to Brahmin cooks for their womenfolk and children.

In the Brāhmo Samaj in the matter of dining and marriage no distinction of caste is insisted upon. As regards cooks and other domestic servants, they may be of any Hindu caste or no caste, and of any community. though, as poor Brahmin men and widows specialize in cooking, they are generally appointed—not for their caste but for their fitness for the job. In some cases Brāhmos keep Brahmin cooks for the convenience of their orthodox Hindu relatives. There are some Brāhmo households in which the men and women servants belong to the Hindu, Christian and Muslim communities, the Hindu servant or servants not necessarily belonging to any particular caste.

At Santiniketan not only the Tagores but some others also have for decades kept 'Harijan' cooks.

Mahatma Gandhi has done well to observe that untouchability is a root cause of Hindu-Muslim discord. That is a fact. In order to establish harmony in India we must all recognize in practice that persons of all communities and, in the case of Hindus, of all castes are "touchable."

Independent Muslims' Demands

KARACHI, May 25.

Reiterating the Independent Muslim Parties' stand that it is not open to the League to claim to speak in the name of the entire body of Indian Muslims, Khan Bahadur Allabaksh, President of the Delhi All-India Nationalists Muslim Conference, says that in future whatever the political developments in the country, Independent Muslims must have their due share in consultations and decisions because their conference represents not one but several organisations which are outside the Congress and which have difference with the Muslim League. Mr. Allabaksh says that application of democratic principles requires that every section of opinion must be consulted if a stable solution of controversial issues is to be reached.—*A. P.*

This demand is entirely just.

Sound Advice to Bengal Zamindars

SHILLONG, May 25.

Sj. Brajendra Kishore Roy Choudhury, Zemindar of Gauripur, Mymensingh, a Member of Land Revenue

Commission, in a Press statement says that he had embodied his views in the minority report of the Floud Commission. What he felt however is that landlords need not be so dependent on income from zemindaris and should take to large scale special plantation, and manufacturing industries. He further opined that trade, commerce, banking and insurance would naturally develop in the wake of agriculture and industries. Incidentally he referred to the great example of Maharaja of Mymensingh, the founder Chairman of the Assam Industries, Limited, who were doing very good work in the matter of tea, sugarcane, orange, cinchona and tung plantations and in establishing a distillery to utilise molasses for supply of spirits to the Government of Assam. He further remarked that young men should have enterprise, tenacity and capacity for hard work to develop the plantations.—*U. P.*

"Our Duty"

An article by Mahatma Gandhi under the caption "Our Duty" has appeared in the latest number of *Harijan* (dated May 25, 1940).

Several correspondents had suggested to him that non-violence demanded that while not resiling in the very least from its position the Congress should defer all thoughts of Civil Disobedience for the time being and make a declaration to that effect. This they say should be done in view of further ruthless aggression by Nazi Germany and the fact that Britain was hard pressed.

Commenting on the suggestion Gandhiji writes :

It is evidence of the nobility of the hearts of these correspondents. But there is want of appreciation of the reality. These letters ignore British nature. British people stand in no need of sympathy from subject people. For they can command all they want from them. They are a brave and proud people. They are not going to be demoralised by even half a dozen such set-backs. They are well able to cope with any difficulty that may face them. India has no say whatsoever in the manner in which she is to take her part in the war. She was dragged into the war by the mere wish of the British Cabinet. Her resources are being utilised at the will of the British Cabinet. India is a dependency and Britain will drain the dependency dry as she has done in the past.

What gesture has the Congress to make in these circumstances? The greatest gesture in its power the Congress is already making. It creates no trouble in the country. It refrains in pursuance of its own policy. I have said and I repeat that I shall do nothing wilfully to embarrass Britain. It will be contrary to my conception of Satyagraha. Beyond this it is not in the power of the Congress to go.

Indeed, it is the duty of the Congress to prosecute its demand for independence and to continue the preparations for civil disobedience to the fullest extent it can. . . Is this preparation to be suspended? I dare say that, if the Congress truly becomes non-violent and in pursuance of the policy of non-violence it successfully carries out the constructive work I have mentioned, it will be able to have independence without doubt. Then will be the time for India as an independent nation to decide what aid she should give to Britain and how.

The Congress contribution to the cause of the Allies in so far as it may be good, and to the world peace, is its active pursuance of non-violence and truth and the prosecution of its goal of complete independence without abatement and without delay.

The Britain is really damaging her own cause by persistently refusing to examine the Congress position and recognise its justice and in raising false issues. The Constituent Assembly of the kind proposed by me provides for every difficulty except one if it is a difficulty. It does not provide for British interference in the shaping of India's destiny. If that is put forth as a difficulty, the Congress must wait till it is acknowledged that it is not only no difficulty but that self-determination is India's indisputable right. . .

. . . . I cannot precipitate civil disobedience because of outside pressure, even as I will not refrain because of such pressure.

I know that this is the time of my greatest trial . . . .

British Government's Plans for the "Defence of India"

A Government *communique* relating to the "defence of India" announces, in part :

The best way in which India can contribute to the common cause and to the interests of humanity as a whole, as well as to her own safety, is to increase her preparedness so as to be able to protect herself to the utmost extent practicable.

In the view of the Government of India, the new dangers to India which may develop in the near future, arising indirectly out of the situation in Western Europe, render it essential that immediate effect should be given to the plans already worked out so that, should these new dangers materialise, India, in a war which bids fair to be a long one, will be in a position to meet them.

Orders have been issued to implement these plans forthwith. They involve in brief the raising and equipping of forces to India's maximum capacity, having regard to the limitations of her indigenous resources in material and of such similar assistance as can be obtained from overseas. In preparing these forces the capabilities of the Indian Territorial Force and the Indian States Forces will be utilised to the full, while personnel for further squadrons of the Indian Air Force will be raised and trained forthwith.

The Land Forces to be raised will include mechanised forces, infantry, signalers, engineers, medical and motor transport units and other ancillary units to serve and maintain the new formations. The Government of India are glad to think that the raising of these forces will give opportunity for the increased employment of Indians in commissioned and in other ranks.

In addition, India will continue to expand her productive capacity to the maximum extent possible for war materials and manufactured products for use in India and overseas in connection with the war.

The additional preparations which are now being undertaken are in addition to those which India has already made both for her local and for her external defence.

The *communique* states that "these plans" involve "the raising and equipping of forces to India's maximum capacity." That implies that forces will be raised from all provinces and all communities, of course on a voluntary basis,

which public opinion has been demanding for a long time past. In the sense in which we have understood "these plans" we fully support them.

By the "defence of India" Britishers understand the preventing of the invasion and occupation of India by any non-British power, the keeping of India as a British possession and dependency, and preventing India from becoming independent. Though we do not like the last two senses, we nevertheless want the "defence of India" wholeheartedly in the first sense until India has become free and independent.

Both patriotism and humanity demand that able-bodied Indians from all provinces and States should join the army in large numbers.

The "common cause" of the Allies, as declared by them, is the cause of freedom and democracy. The best way in which, in our opinion, India can contribute to the cause of freedom and democracy is to become free and democratic herself and then to help all free and democratic peoples, of her own free will, to remain free and democratic. The "interests of humanity as a whole" can also be promoted best in that way.

"India" and "The Government of India" are not convertible terms. We have said how India can serve the cause of freedom and democracy and of humanity. The Government of India need not be told how it can do so.

Viceroy's Broadcast : "Unity, Courage, Faith"

His Excellency the Viceroy ended his broadcast message on the night of the 26th May last with the words: "Remember that, until I speak to you again, the watchwords are: Unity, Courage, Faith." We all stand in need of all these in ever-increasing measure. In the course of the broadcast His Excellency said:

> "We are now only at the outset of a long and arduous campaign, to be waged unceasingly by land, sea and air, a campaign which may, indeed, last as long as the Great War of 1914-18, which will strain and test all our resources, both moral and material; but a campaign the outcome of which, so long as we are true to ourselves, is going to be the triumph of right against the dark forces that threaten to overwhelm our civilisation."

We, too, believe in the ultimate triumph of right against the dark forces which threaten to overwhelm civilization. This triumph includes not only the evolution of France and Britain into true democracies but also the emergence of India as a free and independent country.

"What India needs most now," said the Viceroy, "is selfless service for the people as a whole without regard to caste or creed." That is true now and was true in the past, also. Indian nationalists have all along been and now are, both in theory and practice, for the "selfless service for the people as a whole without regard to caste or creed." But the beneficence of the Government of India as understood by it has not been dispensed by it irrespective of caste and creed, nor is it so dispensed now. The conversion that is desirable and desired for the narrow communalists and other sectionalists of India is necessary also for the Government of India.

We will call attention to another passage in the Viceroy's eloquent speech.

> Above all, let us count it in these testing times a sacred duty to the land we love to suppress all differences that divide us. They may be real enough, those differences, and in the fulness of time we may have once more to discuss policies designed to remove them. In that event, we shall, all of us, whatever our opinion, be free to use for influence in accord with our consciences. Meantime, let us frankly recognise that this is no time for internal difference or dispute. Let us rather put away these things and give our minds and hearts to the service of the common weal. In unity let us find strength. Above all, let us guard and support public order and internal peace, which in these times are indeed our most precious possessions.

Not the greatest and sincerest British friend of India can long for unity among our ranks more ardently than any true Indian patriot. We naturally and spontaneously, without any extraneous appeals or reminders, wish to be a united people—for our own good and for the good of humanity, including the British people.

It is not because of any national vanity that we say that we desire Indian unity not less ardently than any Britisher can wish for it. There is good reason why we say so. Unity is indispensably necessary, not only for making our country free and independent, but also for raising it to a higher level in every sphere of human existence. On the other hand, what at the present juncture the British arbiters of India's destiny want is to defend India in the senses mentioned in a previous note. For that purpose they require more Indian soldiers, more Indian money and more Indian materials. These they can have and are having without Indian unity as understood by them. So, their heart's desire can be and is being fulfilled without the different Indian Parties laying aside their differences; whereas our heart's desire cannot be fulfilled unless discord and dissensions cease.

In conclusion, we beg to be allowed to say with due deference that too much is being made of our differences and too little of our agreements and that it is suspected that our differences are trumpeted with the ulterior object of keeping us deprived of self-rule.

And one word more we may be permitted to add. Whilst our masters exhort us to lay aside our differences for the time being, they will not even for a day suspend the operation of those measures—whether styled law, rule, resolution, or anything else, which are the root cause of some of these differences.

All India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee's Resolutions

At the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in Bombay last month some important resolutions were passed.

HINDU-BUDDHIST RELATIONS IN BURMA

A resolution exhorting all Hindus in Burma to develop close cultural and patriotic contact with the Buddhist Burmans "who are our co-religionists and cultural allies" and stand by them in weal and woe as against any common aggression, was passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

The Committee recorded its sympathy for the Hindu sufferers in the recent anti-Hindu-Muslim riots in Burma and declared that the helplessness of the Hindus in these riots was due to their not having consolidated their position.

INCREASE OF MUSLIM POPULATION IN BURMA

The resolution also warned the Buddhist co-religionists in Burma to beware of the danger they rapidly getting exposed to by the "alarming increase of the Muslim population" which was bound to lead to the Muslims demanding "a separate existence and attempt to create a culturally, religiously and politically hostile state within the state." The Committee advised the Burmans to take a lesson from the history of Hindustan before it was too late.

The increase of the Muslim population in Burma is due to the ease with which men of any creed can marry Burmese women and to the Muslim practice of polygamy.

BOSE-LEAGUE PACT CONDEMNED

By another resolution the Working Committee supported the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in its resolve to maintain an independent Hindusabha Party in the Calcutta Corporation "untainted by any humiliating alliances" and condemned the pact formed between Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and the Muslim Leaguers in the Corporation "under conditions which are highly detrimental to Hindu solidarity and interests in Bengal."

PAKISTAN SCHEME

The Pakistan Scheme of the Muslim League came up for condemnation at the hands of the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, when the following resolution was adopted :

"This meeting of the Working Committee strongly condemns the Pakistan Scheme as adopted in the resolution passed by the Moslem League at Lahore last March aiming to break up India into a number of Moslem States and Hindu States, as fundamentally anti-Hindu and therefore anti-national. The Committee reaffirms the determination of the Hindu Mahasabha to maintain with all and every means in its power the integrity of Hindustan as an organic and indivisible national and political unit.

PAKISTAN AND SOME CONGRESS LEADERS

"The committee further on repudiates the statements made by certain Congressite leaders to the effect that 'if the Moslems unanimously press their demands of Pakistan no power could withstand it,' or 'that the Moslem rule would after all be an Indian rule and therefore, must necessarily be preferable to a foreign rule,' or, 'that the Moslems alone had the right to dictate what safeguards they want and these should be accepted by the Hindus as the basis of any compromise to secure Hindu-Moslem unity.'

"The resolution further pointed out the communal incidents in various parts of the country and declared that Muslim rule was bound to be dangerous to Hindus and as unacceptable as any foreign rule."—*A. P.*

Even if there were no such "communal incidents" of a highly reprehensible character in Muslim majority provinces, we should be opposed to any sectional rule in the country, whether Muslim or Hindu or Christian or Sikh.....We want democratic self-rule by representatives of the people, irrespective of their creed or caste. We do not think *any* kind of rule by *any* class or kind of Indians would be preferable to British rule *in every respect*.

NIZAM GOVERNMENT POLICY CONDEMNED

Among the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha are some that refer to the affairs in the Native States. By a resolution the Committee strongly condemned the alleged anti-Hindu policy of the Nizam's Government which caused sufferings to the Hindus in the State. The Working Committee, therefore, "urge the Viceroy to intervene so as to overhaul the machinery and see that full compensation is given to the sufferers in Bidar riots."

HINDU STATES AND PRINCES

Another resolution urged upon Hindu Princes and Rulers the necessity of taking steps "to awaken and consolidate the Hindus in their States by extending every support to the Hindu Sangathan movement and also to the Mahasabha as the Muslim Princes were supporting the Muslim League in its anti-Hindu policy."

GOVERNMENT SHOULD RAISE NATIONAL MILITIA

Among other resolutions of general importance passed was one regretting the Government of India's indifference towards military training to Indians and stressing on the Government, the urgent necessity of raising a national militia for India's defence.

CONGRESS CANNOT SPEAK ON BEHALF OF HINDUS

The Committee reiterated that the Congress cannot speak on behalf of the Hindus and called upon the Government to give a definite undertaking that no

Pact entered into by the Congress and Moslems between themselves, to which the Hindu Mahasabha is not made a party and which is not sanctioned by it, can be binding on the Hindus as a whole.

The Committee authorised the President, Sir M. N. Mukherji, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee to place the Committee's resolutions before the Viceroy, secure a definite reply to the issues raised and submit to the Working Committee not later than July 31, a report, on receipt of which the Committee would consider what further practical steps should be taken in case the Mahasabha's demands are not granted.

DOMINION STATUS AS IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE

The Committee further reiterated its demand for a declaration by the Government that Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster will be granted to India immediately on the cessation of War, guaranteeing the indivisibility of India as a political unit. This, the Committee urges should not be conditioned on any Hindu-Muslim Pact as an indispensable pre-requisite nor should the future constitution be based on the present Communal Award.

The Committee also reiterated that it is prepared to accept Dominion Status as the immediate step towards the attainment of absolute Independence.

HINDUS TO CO-OPERATE WITH CENSUS AUTHORITIES

A resolution urging the Hindus to co-operate wholeheartedly with the Census authorities to get their real numerical strength well registered in the coming Census, was adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at its meeting today. The Committee also emphasised the need to popularise the definition that every one "who recognises this Bharatvarsha as his or her Fatherland or Holy Land is a Hindu." It was also decided that the Hill Tribes should be advised to return themselves as Hindus.

Did the Mahasabha suggest any means to ensure the accuracy of the census returns? These may be purposely made inaccurate by communalist Census employees.

The definition of "Hindu" given above does not appear to us quite satisfactory.

The Non-official Cry for Unity for the Official Defence of India

Owing to the critical situation in Europe and to the probability of India being directly affected by it, some Indian notables and some others, including some not-ables who long to be considered notables, have appealed to the people of India to be united. We have all along been for real Indian unity—both when there was no likelihood of India being attacked by any external or internal enemy and when, as now, there is some probability of the safety of the country being imperilled by external and internal enemies. The unity which we want is for winning India's freedom and independence and for the all-sided welfare and progress of the country. If *the people of the country* had been responsible for its defence, we would have said that unity was wanted for its defence, too, just as British unity has been necessary and has been achieved for the defence of Britain.

So far as India is concerned, its defence, in the senses explained in a previous note, is in the hands of the British Government of India. It is making what arrangements it considers necessary for the defence of the country; and, in spite of our political differences with it, we fully support the steps it is taking for the purpose. It is to be noted that it has been taking these steps—it has been fully able to take these steps—at a time when according to high authorities from the Secretary of State downwards there is acute cleavage in the country. It is also to be noted that the steps which are being taken now had begun to be urged by Indian leaders of all communities when many of the present differences and the present "acute cleavage" did not exist and had continued to be urged all along when political differences were not such as they are now. But the British Government of India did not take these steps when India was comparatively more united than now and has been able to take and has taken them during a time when the political condition is tense and there is "acute cleavage." All this shows that the feasibility and advisability of the taking of steps for the defence of India by the British Government of India in the opinion of that government have nothing to do with comparative Indian unity or comparative Indian disunity. At the present time when, according to the British official view, India is disunited, the British Government is quite confident of getting all the men, money and materials that it thinks it requires.

In spite of the officially trumpeted disunity, which has been admitted by those Indians, too, who have appealed for unity, any Indian who wishes to help the Government with money or materials or both can do so quite freely, without let or hindrance. Any one who wishes to enlist himself as a candidate for soldiership can also do so without let or hindrance. United or disunited, India's leaders and rank and file cannot make the authorities take one soidier more or less than they want to, nor can they make the authorities raise and spend more or less than they choose for the purposes of defence. So, while we are entirely for unity, we do not see what it has got to do with the defence of India by the British Government of India.

Some have urged that for the more effective defence of India the Congress ex-ministers should resume office. We do not see the logic

of this appeal. Defence is not a provincial but a central subject, and there is no popular control in the Central Government. By amendment of the Government of India Act in Parliament the provincial legislatures have been deprived and relieved of some of their powers. Even if that had not been done, the provincial ministries could at the best have only carried out the orders of the Central Government. Some of them who are thoroughgoing ahimsāists might have hesitated to execute orders relating to military matters which are neither directly nor indirectly compatible with non-violence. But now that these Congress ministries are out of the way and the Provincial Governors have taken upon themselves all their powers, the orders of the Central Government relating to military matters can be executed in the provinces with full certainty and far greater expedition by Their Excellencies the Provincial Governors. So the effectiveness or expeditiousness of the defence of India by the British Government of India will not be affected in the least by the resignation and non-resumption of office of the Congress ministers.

A Crying Evil in the Postal Department

Of all the departments of the Government in India the Post Office comes closest to our lives both in life's romance and life's hard realities. The people should, therefore, be greatly interested in the efficient working of the postal department. One of the conditions of efficient working is contentment of the staff. And at least a living wage is indispensably necessary for contentment among all workers from the top to the bottom. But whilst the topmen, as in other departments so in the postal department, are well provided for, similar consideration is not shown in the treatment of numerous workers in the lower rungs of the ladder. People generally think that it is only the primary school teachers who are paid worse than domestic servants. But it is not generally known that thousands of postal workers get starvation wages. We refer, for example, to the Extra-Departmental Branch Postmasters.

In the whole of India there are 18,924 Extra-Departmental Branch Postmasters. In the Bengal and Assam Postal Circle 3502, Bihar and Orissa 1274, Bombay 2780, Central Provinces and Berar 1798, Madras 3713, Punjab & N.-W. F. P. 3601, Sind and Baluchistan 328, and U. P. 1928.

The service of the Extra-Departmental Branch Postmasters is neither pensionable nor graded. They get a fixed allowance, *out of which they have* to pay for contingencies and house-rent. They can be removed on the plea of "unsatisfactory service" at the option of the Department. It is not necessary for that purpose to draw up any memorandum of charges or to let them know the charge or charges on which they are removed from the service. They are amenable to the Government Servants' Conduct Rules and, as such, they cannot take to any employment which is not approved by the Government, though it is incumbent upon them (and necessary, too, for keeping their and their dependants' bodies and souls togehter) to have other sources of income than the meagre allowance given to them by the Department. They have to make arrangements for their leave on their own responsibility, that is to say, while going on leave they have to provide a substitute on their own responsibility. This substitute gets his allowance during his term of office.

To give the public an idea of the amounts of allowance drawn by these postmasters, the following figures are given below. These, and all other figures given above, are for the year 1939.

BENGAL AND ASSAM EXTRA-DEPARTMENTAL BRANCH POSTMASTERS

Amount of Monthly Allowance Drawn		Number Drawing It
Rs. 30-0-0	..	9
Rs. 26-0-0	..	1
Rs. 25-0-0	..	1
Rs. 20-0-0	..	9
Rs. 15-0-0	..	37
Rs. 12-10-0	..	119
Rs. 12-0-0	..	76
Rs. 10-0-0	..	191
Rs. 9-0-0	..	390
Rs. 8-2-0	..	412
Rs. 8-0-0	..	158
Rs. 7-3-0	..	124
Rs. 7-0-0	..	126
Rs. 6-0-0 (minimum)	..	1,313

To make the conditions of service of these officials extremely attractive and comfortable, the authorities have devised an ingenious method known as the "Point System." In accordance with this system the allowance of an Extra-Departmental Branch Postmaster is determined in proportion to the "points" "earned" by each office. The word point has been defined as follows: (1) sale of postage and other stamps—for every Rs. 15, one point. (2) Issue and payment of Money orders, Savings Bank and Cash Certificates work—for every Rs. [illegible], one point. Any excess amounting to half of

these amounts will earn one additional point, amounts less than half being ignored. Re. 1 is to be added to the allowance in excess : *e.g.*, an office earning 5 points will get an allowance of Rs. 6, which is, however, the minimum allowance; an office earning 6 points will get an allowance of Rs. 7; and so on.

These meagrely paid officials do almost every kind of postal business, *e.g.*, receipt and despatch of mails, sale of stamps, savings bank, cash certificates, registration and insurance, V. P. P., parcel, money orders, etc. They have to work from five to seven hours a day and have to supervise and control delivery of postal articles by postmen. They have also to carry on correspondence with all concerned. In short, they are miniature Departmental postmasters. In spite of the various kinds of work which they have to do the Department expects them to earn additional income by doing work unconnected with the post office !

The secretary to the Burdwan District Branch of the All India Postal and R. M. S. Union says in his annual report for the year 1939-1940 that, in defence of the inadequate remuneration paid to the Extra-Departmental Branch Postmasters, the authorities

"have come out with the specious plea that the remuneration provided for the Extra-Departmental Agents is an allowance and not pay and that the Extra-Departmental Agents are at liberty to leave or not to accept the service in case they consider the allowance too small or scanty to cover the service rendered by them to the Department. They also point out that it is an indispensable condition that the Extra-Departmental Agents should have other sources of income. This smacks of the petty bargainer and does not fit in with the prestige and tradition of the Department. It also shows that the authorities have not even cared to read the background of Extra-Departmental Agents' demand, which aims at nothing extravagant but only asks for a very moderate recognition of their labours and contribution to the Department. They ask for no favour but want a very moderate share of their earnings. We would like to sound a note of warning to the authorities and emphasise that the pursuance of different principles of recompense for the different classes of officials is sure to be attended with disastrous consequences and that if they cannot effect co-ordination of the interests of the different classes of officials it will inevitably lead to incohesion amongst the workers and consequent inefficiency of the service. How long will it take the authorities to realise that in fighting the cause of the workers the Union is also indirectly fighting the cause of the authorities and paving the way for greater efficiency and solidarity in the Department ? It is high time for them to do something for these hapless workers who are the backbones of the Department and who cannot be deprived of their legitimate dues indefinitely with impunity."

One of the objects of labour legislation is to prevent advantage being taken of the poverty of workers and would-be workers by the employers of labour. But a Government Department has been taking such advantage for years. This should be stopped by the Government of India, if not by the postal authorities themselves.

"*India's Right to Frame Her Own Constitution*"

Our esteemed contributor Major D. Graham Pole, Honorary Secretary of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs, writes in the last paragraph of his article on "India's Freedom and Self-government," published in this issue :

"It will be seen that from all parts of the House of Commons, without one dissentient voice, there was substantial unanimity for what some of us have been working for over a quarter of a century—the right of India to frame her own constitution."

This, we believe, is a correct statement of facts. We are glad British declaration of opinion has advanced so far.

What Mr. Amery, the new Secretary of State for India, has said regarding India's right is, however, somewhat different, and it is *his* opinion, not that of the M. P.s who supported India's right to frame her constitution, which *may* determine Government action. He has said in reply to Mr. Wedgewood Benn's question, what we have already quoted :

"We recognize, as my predecessor made clear in his speech on April 18, that it is for Indians themselves to play a vital part in devising a form of constitution best adapted to India's conditions and outlook. A promise already given that the present scheme of the Act of 1935 and the policy and plans on which it is based are to be open to re-examination at the end of the war, necessarily implies discussion and negotiation and not dictation."

What the present Secretary of State for India and his predecessor have promised is not exactly "the right of India to frame her constitution," which was admitted by the members of the House of Commons who spoke on the occasion referred to by Major Graham Pole. There is substantial difference between the two. It may be argued, however, that the difference is not much. Assuming but not admitting that that is so, we think it necessary to draw attention to the difference remembering the final unsatisfactory result of all the discussions, consultations and negotiations at the so-called Round Table Conferences and preceding and following them. There was then plenty of "discussion and negotiation," but the end of it all was "dictation."

It is necessary to add that Major Graham

Pole wrote his article on the 29th April last, when Mr. Amery had not become Secretary of State and spoken in the House of Commons in reply to Mr. Benn's question.

What Promises Parliament is Bound to Honour

While the majority of articulate and politically-minded Indians demand complete independence, there are many who would be satisfied with Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety either as the final goal or as a stepping-stone to ultimate independence. Dominion Status of some kind or other has been promised in many speeches and statements by the present and former Secretaries of State and Viceroys. Their sincerity is not questioned. But it is necessary to ask the question : Is the British Parliament bound to honour these promises ? The following passages taken from *Labour's Way With The Commonwealth* by the late Mr. George Lansbury, published in 1935 by Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, pp. 76-77, are relevant to a discussion of the question :—

"Indeed, Conservative members of the Select Committee have made it clear beyond the possibility of doubt that we in this country are not bound by any pledge to India except in so far as it is contained in an Act of Parliament. The Chairman of the Conservative M. P.s Indian Committee. Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, stated in the House of Commons : 'No pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any real legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919.'—(*Hansard,* 10th December. 1934, Vol. 296, No. 15, p. 142).

"Lord Rankeillour, who was for many years Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker in the House of Commons, and so may be assumed to speak with some authority, said that we were bound by the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, but by nothing else. And speaking of these pledges he added these words : 'No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed, no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment.' (*Hansard,* House of Lords, 13th December, 1934, Vol. 95, No. 8, Col. 331)."

Major Graham Pole in his article under the caption "Dominion Status for India—When ?", published in our last December issue, quoted these observations of Sir John Wardlaw-Milne and Lord Rankeillour and other remarks of other British statesmen and came to the conclusion :

"It has been made abundantly clear to Indians that no statement of any Viceroy, Prime Minister or even the King-Emperor himself can over-rule the words of an Act of Parliament. Even a debate in Parliament does not carry the matter further. The only thing to do, therefore, if the British Government really mean what they say about Dominion Status for India, is to pass an amending Act—which can be done quickly as war legislation—removing the present grave misgivings and "to avoid future misunderstandings," as the British Indian delegates asked, deleting the words in the Preamble of the 1919 Act which Indians have always rightly regarded as an insult to them, and stating specifically that Dominion Status is the aim which it is intended to reach as quickly as possible with the assistance and goodwill of Indians of all races, creeds and classes."

In order to understand the necessity and reasonableness of Major Graham Pole's conclusion quoted above, it is necessary to remember that the words "Dominion Status" do not occur in the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919, in which only progressive realization of responsible government has been promised, it being added that the British Parliament alone is to be the sole judge of the pace of India's political advance. It is also to be remembered that the expression Dominion Status was deliberately excluded from the Government of India Act of 1935. Hence, if the British Parliament really wish to make India a Dominion, they must say so in an Act of Parliament. The words of no august personage can bind them.

Those Indians who would be satisfied with Dominion Status could be reasonably, though not absolutely, sure of getting it "as quickly as possible," if the amending Act suggested above were passed, but not necessarily otherwise.

Report of the Floud Commission

We have received the first two volumes of the Report of the Floud Commission, which was appointed to examine and report on the land revenue system of Bengal. The Report will be commented upon in this journal in a number of contributions.

The opinions expressed in the majority report and in the minutes of dissent will be judged by criteria which can be briefly and definitely laid down. Will the changes they advocate lead to the improvement of agriculture in Bengal resulting in the production of better and more plentiful crops and will the changes lead to the improvement of the lot of the farmers, peasants and agricultural labourers of the province, making them freer, better educated, more prosperous and healthier men ?

There is, no doubt, also the criterion of increase of revenue of the Government. But as revenue may be increased by measures and methods which may not necessarily result in agricultural improvement and in the betterment of the lot and position of the cultivators of the soil, but which on the contrary may have the

opposite result or tendency, any increase of revenue aimed at must not be incompatible with agricultural progress and improvement and the promotion of the all-round welfare of the peasantry.

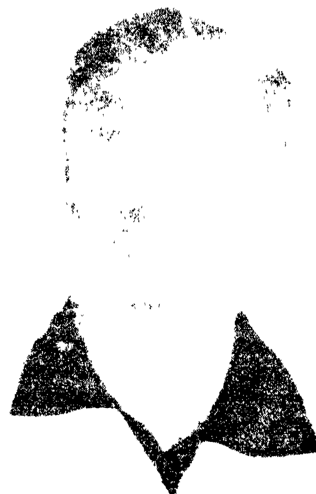
Boseite Conferences at Dacca

Last month there was a conference at Dacca of the followers of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose which he and persons of his group consider or profess to consider a session of the Bengal Provincial Conference which meets periodically under the auspices of the Indian National Congress. Neither the 'authorized' Bengal Provincial Congress Committee nor the Working Committee of the Congress admit that this Dacca conference had anything to do with the Congress. We do not know of any parties outside the Congress, too, who think that the Boseite conference was really a Congress conference. But, of course, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and his followers have the 'civil' liberty to sail under any colours they like.

This conference had all the paraphernalia of such gatherings: reception committee, chairman of the reception committee, president, speeches by chairman and president, volunteers, resolutions with speeches thereanent, and the like. There were also ancillary conferences of women, students, &c.

Surendranath Tagore

It is very much to be regretted that Surendranath Tagore has left no literary work of his own which can give any adequate idea of his intellectual powers, extensive reading, culture and literary gifts. He could have, if he had so chosen, made his mark both in Bengali and English literature. But, so far as we are aware, he translated into Bengali a Japanese story from its English version and wrote the story of the Sanskrit Mahābhārat in an abridged form in Bengali prose. He translated into English some of the novels and many of the short stories and essays of his uncle, the poet Rabindranath Tagore. Many of these appeared in this journal. The English translation of the poet's novel *Gora* by the late Mr. W. W. Pearson, which originally appeared in *The Modern Review* and was subsequently published in book form by Macmillan, was revised by Surendranath Tagore. He was so thoroughly at home with the thoughts and sentiments of his uncle that when he thought that a literal translation of any passage of any work by Rabindranath which he was translating would not do, he felt justified in taking liberties with it and offering a free translation instead; and such translations usually met with the approbation of the Poet. But for him much



Surendranath Tagore

of the work of the Poet with which the English-reading public is familiar would have remained untranslated.

He was for years Upāchārya of Visva-bharati. The Founder-President, the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, took his advice in important affairs not only relating to this university but in many other matters besides.

His intense patriotism was marked by earnestness and thoughtfulness. But owing to his reticence and his unobtrusive and undemonstrative nature, this side of his character was not known to many. The Swadeshi movement of Bengal Partition days owed much to his thoughtfulness and energy.

He occupied high rank in business circles, too. He was one of the builders of the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society Limited, which is one of the leading insurance companies of India.

P.S.—As we go to press we are glad to learn that, before he died, he had the satisfaction of

seeing published his new and original Bengali work 'বিশ্বমানবের লক্ষ্মীলাভ' ("Visva-mānabér Lakshmi-lābh").

Kalimohan Ghosh

The population of India is predominantly rural. Most of its people live in villages. This is truer of Bengal than of many other provinces. Here only 73 per thousand of the people live in towns and 927 in villages, and this in spite of the fact that the Census definition of a town in this country is a locality of which the inhabitants number 5,000 or more.

Kalimohan Ghosh and Rabindranath Tagore

The vital importance of the resuscitation of our villages is brought home to us when we think of the predominantly rural character of our population. Revival and revitalization of our villages must be considered by far the major portion of what is meant by "nation-building." For our nation lives in village huts.

To this indispensably necessary work of village revitalization and village uplift Kalimohan Ghosh of Visva-bharati, whose untimely and sudden death was reported last month, devoted the greater part of his life of about 55 years. And what devotion it was! When he set his heart on doing anything, he cared neither for health nor for bodily comfort. There was that in his nature which enabled him to win the confidence and affection of village folk, who are naturally shy and suspicious of town-dwellers. He could convince them by following their current of thought. Our villages are so decadent and moribund that it is very difficult to make their inhabitants believe that any improvement is possible. By his enthusiasm and personal magnetism, he could infuse hope and faith where there were none.

He was a very earnest and active worker in Anti-partition days in Bengal and continued throughout life to be an active lover of freedom. This sometimes brought upon his head the displeasure of officials, and restrictions were placed upon his activities on some occasions.

Deputed by Visva-bharati he went abroad to equip himself the better for the work of rural reconstruction.

George Lansbury

George Lansbury, a very prominent leader of the British Labour party, died last month in his 81st year.

He was the son of an Oxford tradesman and was educated at elementary schools. Having tried his hands at many trades he went out to Australia, 1884-85, and on his return joined his father-in-law in business as a Printer. Mr. Lansbury entered national through local politics. He was elected poor law guardian for Bow and Bromley, 1891 and in 1903 to the Popular Borough Council, and later to the L. C. C. Having sat as Labour member for Bow and Bromley for 2 years, he resigned his seat in Parliament in 1912 to contest it again as a supporter of women's suffrage, but was defeated, remaining outside the House until 1922, when he was re-elected.

Mr. Lansbury was editor of the *Daily Herald*, 1914-22 and First Commissioner of Works in the second Labour Government of 1929-31. He was responsible for the institution of bathing facilities at the Serpentine, Hyde Park (known popularly as the Lansbury Lido), and did much by precept and example to alleviate the conditions of the poor in his constituency. After the Labour defeat at the general election of 1931, he was elected leader of the party in the House of Commons. His autobiography, *My Life*, appeared in 1928, and a biography by his son in 1934.

Parliament will agree to make India a Dominion of the Westminster Statute variety.

Some members of Parliament and some other Englishmen have expressed the opinion that Dominion Status is as good as Independence. If so, why say that India can never expect to be independent? Why not allow India to choose between the two political statuses if they are substantially the same?

Shri Pyarelal has thrown some light in *Harijan* of the 11th May last on the mentality of some varieties of British politicians by giving extracts from Mr. Sorensen's speech during the India debate on the 18th April. Shri Pyarelal writes:

It was, however, left to Mr. Sorensen to clinch the issue with regard to Indian independence. A spate of sophistries had been indulged in during the debate, by the former Secretary of State, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, and others. The former had even tried to make the neutral world believe that Dominion Status of the Westminster variety was identical with Independence, and that it was sheer unreasoning obstinacy on India's part to have rejected the same. Mr. Sorensen challenged the honesty of that statement. It was a question of plain morality, so far as England was concerned to unhesitatingly concede, India's claim to full independence:

"The Under Secretary of State said quite categorically that India could never expect independence...... I am not a lawyer, but I rather understand that from the days when the Statute of Westminster was passed it has been possible for some of our Dominions to claim such sovereign rights that they can entirely secede from organic connection with the rest of the Empire. If there is that possibility under the Statute of Westminster, will the Under Secretary say so?....I quite agree that words can be used to mean anything or nothing.... Some people use the word 'Independence' in a far less rigid sense than others, and 'Dominion Status' is so ambiguous that it may mean something in this House and something else to people outside. I think it should be frankly recognised that Indians will insist on securing independence according to their own interpretation, and surely we wish for nothing else. If we wish for anything else, we are acting wholly inconsistent with our professions in this war."

Soviet Rebuff to Britain

MOSCOW, May 30.

According to an authorised statement issued by the Tass Agency the Soviet Ambassador in London has been instructed to inform the British Government that the Soviet Government cannot receive Sir Stafford Cripps or anyone else in the capacity of a special or extraordinary delegate.

The statement adds that if the British Government really desires to conduct trade negotiations and "not merely confine itself to a talk about some non-existent turn in the relations between Britain and Soviet," it could do so through its Ambassador in Moscow or another person taking his place.—*Reuter.*

Commiseration will be felt for Britain at this rebuff.

Regulations for Suppressing British Newspapers If Necessary

LONDON, May 30.

A new emergency powers defence regulation issued today gives the Home Secretary power to suppress any newspaper which systematically publishes matter which, in his opinion, is calculated to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war.

The new regulation also gives the Home Secretary power to deal with printing presses in the production of sheets and newspapers.—*Reuter.*

Re-capture of Narvik in Norway By Allies

That the Allies are retrieving their position in Norway is indicated by the re-capture of Narvik by them.

U. S. A. Help to Allies

Whether the United States of America joins the Allies in the war or not, it appears certain now that that great republic will help them in every other way possible.

A Tribute to Dinabandhu Andrews From South Africa

Shri Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi has sent us by air mail an article on Dinabandhu Andrews as the tribute of Indians in South Africa to that great and good humanitarian. As the article was received by us on the 29th May it was too late for this issue. We thank the sender for it and hope to publish it in the next issue.

"The Commonwealth of India Bill"

As many people in India nowadays have their thought engaged in the question of the framing of a constitution for India, we draw attention to "The Commonwealth of India Bill and an Outline Scheme of Swaraj" by the late Mr. C. R. Das and Dr. Bhagavan Das, originally issued by the National Convention, India—1924, 1925, and now re-published by the New India League of Madras. It will be of some use to those who may have to take a hand in drafting a constitution for India, though, as it envisages India as part of a monarchy with a Viceroy, it will not exactly suit those who look forward to a future, near or distant, when India will be an independent federal republic.

RABINDRANATH AT HOME

By HEMLATA DEVI

In those days the paraphernalia of an aristocratic household comprised, among other indications of magnificence, the following essentials :—drawing rooms packed with Victorian English furniture, large chandeliers dangling from the roof, almirahs bursting with silk saries especially ordered from Bombay and Benares, pantries shining with hall-marked silverware sets, a fat bank balance, and a further reserve of wealth in the form of bundles of government securities, hidden away in the bowels of strong steel safes fixed into the walls. The poet Tagore had none of these. His study was more or less an improvised four-walled thing with hardly any elbow-room. The sitting room compared favourably with the study as far as accommodation was concerned and had the added distinction of having a tiled roof. These rooms served one good purpose inasmuch as they indicated the direction of the Poet's tastes in matters of household decoration. He is never so happy even now as when he gets a homely corner for himself where he can have uninterrupted leisure for writing and study.

It is told that while yet a boy the Poet once sold one of his shawls and with the money purchased a number of books that he had been longing to read. He was ever athirst for ideas and experiments. No wonder, therefore, that he attempted to follow new ideals with regard to his householder's life. Unlike the prevailing custom, his daughters were not sent to Loreto's or Bethune's for their education, nor was his son educated in colleges such as the St. Xavier's or the Presidency. From the very beginning, the Poet exerted himself unsparingly in bringing up his children in accordance with his own ideals. In some such way he must have laid the foundation of the institution which he set up in later days.

Men of genius radiate their influence beyond the confines of their own immediate surroundings. In so doing they come into clash with conventional and traditional ideas and thoughts. Their angle of vision is fresh, they strike out new paths and create unfamiliar language to suit their new concepts of life. What appears simple, proper and natural to them is at first regarded by the public as complex, unjustifiable and out of the ordinary. That Rabindranath could not escape being thus misunderstood may be gathered from a multitude of instances.

Poets have their own ideals which rule and order their creative efforts both in life and art. It is not to be wondered at that their family life, with all its vicissitudes, has to go through what may be called a process of transformation and transmutation or a state of constant flux. Their dynamic ideals make a static domesticity impossible.

Building up of what may be called a conventional family structure and carving out new worlds of thought may not be possible to a genius who has to dedicate his life to daring initiative. From this point of view one cannot perhaps say that Rabindranath was a householder to the manner born. His poetic impulse had always stood in the way of his settling down to peaceful domesticity. He had spurned the constant nest, howsoever cosy it might have been, and migrated from one place to another with the family following suit. Even at this time of his life he seems to have a genius for discovering flaws in residential quarters which have lost their charm due to familiarity and for shifting to newer ones—not always as comfortable. His *Shyamali, Punashcha* and *Udichi* are instances that speak for themselves.

Even as the tunes and rhymes of his creation avoid repetition of the past, even so Rabindranath had avoided the beaten track of family comfort. What he had denied himself was necessarily denied to the members of his own family. If ever his wfie dressed up her children in costly robes, he was sure to point out the evils of luxury. He would at the same time explain what, according to him, was the better way of bringing up children. His wife would invariably fall in with his opinion even though hidden away in her heart was a longing to see her children as well-dressed as the others in the family. One or two remarks uttered casually betrayed this secret wish even though it was her habit to implicitly follow the ideals of her husband.

Early in his life the Poet gave indications of his eagerness to emulate the simple habits of the common people. Nobody regretted it so

much as he himself if he was prevented by circumstances from doing so. He used to subject himself to rigid discipline and accepted ways of life which were farthest from the atmosphere of aristrocratic traditions. When he founded his institution at Santiniketan he shared the life of his students, subjecting himself to the same set of rules that he had framed for the school management. He ate the same food and a small corner room in the present library building served for his 'seat' a very long time.

By nature, the Poet's wife herself was averse to fineries, her ornaments were few. Married to a rich household, under the influence of her husband's ideals of plain living, she carried the simplicity of her dresses and accessories to the point of austerity.

To be shorn altogether of elaborate luxuries was the motto of Rabindranath. He had immense contempt for artificial beauty prepations, dazzling butterfly fashions, and overornate dress and decoration. He used to remark that only savages put tattoo marks on their faces. It may be easily gathered from this what his attitude was towards indulgence in costly self-decoration.

One day at our urgent persuasion the Poet's wife was constrained to put on a pair of pendants in her ears—it was an old-fashioned jewellery elaborately made of gold. On the Poet's entering into the room unexpectedly she covered up the ornaments in shame and, try as we did, we could not make her exhibit those ornaments before the Poet's eyes. Her own tastes were simple and she disliked adorning herself. Though she usually forced us—daughters-in-law, almost of her own age—to take pains with our *saries* and ornaments, she remained content dressed in the plainest fashion. Once I heard her say, "A grandmother should be true to her status though not to her age." It should be mentioned, in passing, that since the Poet was his father's youngest child, he had a number of nephews of his own age—some even older than he.

On one occasion the Poet's wife had a set of gold-studs made for a birthday present to her husband. Needless to say, the Poet did not congratulate her taste, he even went so far as to expostulate, "Has the world come to this—menfolk to parade in gold ornaments?" So, instead of gold studs she presented him with another set,—with opal stones. This latter was used by the Poet on two or three occasions as if on sufferance. It must have taken her some time to understand that poets as a class of men have different tastes than usual.

Before the school was started, Rabindranath's family and ourselves lived jointly, on a number of occasions, in the big *kuthi*—the very first to be set up in the *ashrama*. The Poet's wife looked after household management with myself helping her in the work. Supplying necessities and keeping an account of family expenditure was relegated to my husband—Dwipendranath, son of the late Dwijendranath Tagore. Food served was excellent and the Poet's wife used to spend both time and energy in cooking appetising dishes and preparing delicious sweets. From his study downstairs the Poet would sometimes listen to his wife citing to my husband a formidable list of store requirements. He used to say to his wife, "Your demands and Dwipen's supplies are on a par. He would never say no. Between you two spending in lavish extravagance, it will not take us long to become paupers on the street." She would retort, "Dwipen understands household management, it is a joy to have him help. What have you to do with the kitchen, anyway?"

Balendranath* spent some time with us at Santiniketan. After their morning milk and breakfast I would some time take the children with me for a walk and Balendranath would sometimes accompany us. To the east of the *ashrama* there were a number of dunes to the top of which the boys would climb and then jump down—it was a game which they all liked. On one occasion Balendranath after having climbed up could not manage to come down. He had to be helped down by a number of servants who were especially requisitioned from the *kuthi* for the purpose. This incident provoked a good deal of fun and Balendranath never ventured for a second time.

In those days cameras were not so much of a fad as in these when every other person carries one. If it were so, I could have presented the readers with some interesting pictorial record.

The *ashrama* proper and its precincts were in those days very lonely and limited inasmuch as a handful of us were the only residents. In the evenings we had the pleasure of listening to the Poet reciting his poems composed from day to day. It was in such a way that I heard him recite that well-known poem 'Sacrifice to the Gods.'

The Poet's wife had the reputation of being an expert in the culinary art. The delicacies she prepared for her husband were as various as they were tasteful. Those of us who tasted

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* One of the Poet's nephews, long deceased.

her sweets remained ever enlisted as greedy admirers. One such instance was that of the late Maharaja of Natore—Jagadindranath Roy.

The Poet himself often tried experiments, mixing-up ingredients to compose dishes with taste and flavour all different from familiar ones. It was a common sight to find him sitting by his wife at the kitchen directing and helping until the desired dish would result. Finally, he would tease her by saying that he, a mere male, could give cooking lessons to the ladies of the house. Nobody was a match for him, she would retort, even in cooking!

Sometimes the Poet would begin dieting for no earthly reason with such rigid determination that the whole household would feel concerned. His comparative youth, and the fine health he inherited from his father, prevented any chances of immediate catastrophe. His family, nevertheless, could not help thinking that he was being deliberately and fancifully careless about his food. Apparently, he was more busy finding food for his mind rather than for his body. On occasions when his dieting reached almost the 'starvation level' we would approach his wife to exert her influence and prevent a catastrophe. She knew her husband better and so she did nothing of the kind. I remember she once said, "You do not know, he insists on doing what he is asked not to do! One of these days his body itself would protest and then he will take to his food."

For years the Poet was a strict vegetarian. After his wife died he simplified his food requirements to the minimum.

At that time business of the estate often took him to Patisar. His mother-in-law, who was living with her son Srijut Nagendranath Chaudhuri who was in estate service at Patisar, took pains to prepare a variety of dishes for her son-in-law during his visits there. Lest she might feel hurt, having lost her daughter a few months ago, the Poet, out of consideration for her, gave no sign that he was a vegetarian by choice. His servant Umacharan after one such Patisar visit would tell us how his master, so fastidious about this and that kind of food while at home, used to be altogether unorthodox when his mother-in-law served the food.

In passing, it should be noted that the Poet appreciates his servants speaking freely and easily in his presence. He never had any use for sneakish menials taking cover under "good manners."

One afternoon the Poet was sitting at tea in a room on the first floor of the Santiniketan *kuthi*. As I was asking the cook to prepare certain sweets the Poet suddenly said, "I have no further use for delicacies prepared at home." I could gather that he was in a reminiscent mood, otherwise we know how he keeps iron restraint over his personal feelings of grief and regret.

I shall now refer to the Poet's intolerance with accessories to everyday life. "Take to the road with a light heart and an even lighter luggage"—this was the Poet's idea. Perhaps it is foreign to a poet's sensibility to be tied down to mere necessities. On his many wayfarings he invariably insisted on his wife's cutting down the luggage to the minimum. He was especially hard on kitchen utensils and generally made such suggestions as would delimit their luggage to the clothes they stood in.

While journeying, women usually want to take a few more things than are strictly essential, even in the teeth of protests from the other sex. Why increase the burden for no purpose—this is what the man says. And the woman is ready with her reply—they will be handy when we need them. The Poet's wife was no exception to the general rule. She would secretly add certain things with the baggage and then confidingly whisper, "Isn't he a difficult man to deal with? Soon after we reach, any number of people will call on him, and, I shall have to entertain them at tea with plates full of this and that. Refreshments, I suppose, have to be *prepared* first and *served* afterwards."

The Poet never hesitated in denying himself or in sustaining financial losses for the sake of his ideals. Her housewife's and mother's instinct made his wife continually afraid lest her husband's idealist nature might lead himself and the family into difficulties. She would sometimes say, "One cannot afford to become a Fakir and a householder at one and the same time." In spite of protests she invariably fell in with her husband's views—in this matter as in every other.

After the passing away of his wife the Poet came into his inheritance. In a few years' time he became so eager to shake off his property that he passed orders for papers and documents to be prepared to enable him to hand it over to his family. Both his sons being minor at the time, one of his near relatives convinced the Poet with great difficulty that transferring the property would not be the right thing to do. I clearly remember how he longed to rid himself of the burden and with what difficulty he had to be dissuaded from taking the drastic step. It was about that time that he wanted to put the copyright of his entire Bengali works on sale, in order to secure some money to build up a

girl's department in Santiniketan *ashrama*. Another contemporary event deserves mention here. His daughter had been invited to attend a Raja's party. A certain relation who was also there happened to complain, "He sent his daughter in such simple dress; indeed, it made me feel ashamed!" The Poet on hearing of this said, "If love, affection and esteem are a matter of dress and fineries, then it is better that my daughter should go without them."

When the Poet-educationist began his pioneer work in building up a model school he found in his wife a devoted colleague working with him side by side. She used to prepare the tiffin for the boys with her own hands; she wanted to provide them with that maternal affection which they missed, being away from their own homes. Before a year was out since the School was started, her tenure of life was over.

Members of the family still remember the picture of the Poet patiently sitting by the sick bed, nursing his wife literally day and night close on the two months before death finally released her from her pain. His constant ministering to her comfort was instinct with love and concern. Electric fans were not known in those days; I see a distinct picture of the Poet moving a palm-leaf hand-fan, to and fro, fanning his wife to sleep with tender care. In those days in affluent households it was almost a custom to engage paid nurses. The Poet's house was perhaps the first exception.

When all hopes of recovery were given up, the Poet sent his sons away to Santiniketan. Many a time, the Poet's wife used to say in delirium, "You want me to sleep. How can I, without my Shami? You don't think of that." Shami, who was almost a baby at the time, was her last child.

The Poet realized that just at that period the children would be better looked after away from home at Santiniketan. He felt that the shadow of death might affect their minds too deeply.

He is an affectionate father. He nursed his first child—a baby daughter—with a mother's care. His wife was a mere girl at the time and he spared no pains to help her in domestic duties. We have ourselves seen the Poet feeding the baby, changing her linen and making the bed.

On Sunday, Nov. 23, 1902, exactly eleven months after the founding of the Brahmacharya Ashrama at Santiniketan, in her twenty-ninth year, the Poet's wife breathed her last. I was myself bedridden at the time and so I could not go to the death bed myself. My husband came and broke the news saying, "Aunt is no more. Uncle has gone to the roof and has asked that no one should go there." The whole night the Poet kept walking on the roof alone with himself.

His father, the Maharshi, was alive at the time. On being informed of the death he remarked, "I am not so much concerned about Rabi, he has his books and writings, I am sorry and anxious for the children."

After the death of the Poet's wife, Mrinalini Devi, the Poet's life as a householder came to a definite end. That broken-up family was destined perhaps to resolve itself into the larger and more heterogeneous family of Visva-Bharati with the Poet as its founder and *pater familias* at one and the same time.

Translated from Bengali by Prof. Kshitish Roy.



INDIA'S FREEDOM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE,
Hon. Secretary of The British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs.

It is unfortunate that what was probably the most important debate on India that has taken place in the House of Commons—from India's point of view—was overshadowed by the War and the enormous size of the Budget about to be introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Never before has there been such unanimity in the House of Commons for the realisation that the government of India is India's business and that self-government for India is India's right. Another and most important admission, to which there was no dissent, was that India is entitled, and indeed was invited, to draw up the Constitution under which she would wish to live. Drafting a constitution is no easy matter under the most favourable conditions but, in the case of a land of the enormous size of India, with its variety of languages and minorities amounting alone to many millions, it is a task that might give pause to the boldest constitution maker. But India has been invited to undertake this task in a real genuine spirit very different from that in which the late Lord Birkenhead, in the House of Lords on 24th November, 1927, threw out the suggestion that resulted in the Indian All Parties' Conference and the Nehru Committee Report adopted by them in August, 1928.

Some of us have been working in this country for many years to bring about such "a consummation devoutly to be wish'd". I personally have been a member and an officer of a Home Rule for India organisation for nearly quarter of a century and, only the day before the debate on India (18th April 1940), I attended an important meeting at the House of Commons that may have had no little influence on the trend of the debate and the suggestions thrown out on the following day.

Let us now consider some of the speeches made and, more important still, the quarters from which they emanated. The Under-Secretary of State for India, Sir Hugh O'Neil, is an Ulsterman, a Tory of the extreme right wing. Yet he, on behalf of the British Government, accepted and endorsed the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, on 10th January 1940, that it is

"the desire of His Majesty's Government that India should attain Dominion status at the earliest possible moment and their anxiety to facilitate that object by all means in their power."[1]

With regard to the proposal of a Constituent assembly based on adult suffrage, he pointed out that

"This proposal was exhaustively examined a short time ago by Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of India, who pointed out that such an assembly would have to consist of at least 1,000 persons, and probably many more, and by reference to historical precedents he recalled the fact that nearly every constitution in history which had been framed by constituent assemblies of this type had failed, whereas those constitutions which were evolved by consultation and discussion among smaller numbers of representative leaders had, generally, been successful, and were, for the most part, in operation at the present time."[2]

I know, of course, that Congress has declared at Ramgarh, no longer ago than 20th March last, that "Dominion status or any other status within the Imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India." But what is Dominion status ? The late Lord Balfour was responsible for defining it in these words that are the basis of the status of all Dominions in the British Commonwealth—including Southern Ireland and South Africa. This definition states that the separate parts of the British Commonwealth are "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs." As Mr. Wedgwood Benn, a former Secretary of State for India, pointed out, General Hertzog had in his programme "secession from the British Empire." When the foregoing definition was authoritatively given, General Hertzog said :

"I feel that the object which I set before myself to achieve at the (Imperial) Conference has been achieved."

And later the General said that

"The struggle for full unbounded liberty for South Africa as a people is over . . . . The declaration has brought to a happy close the century old struggle for South African national freedom."

1. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, No. 55, 18 April, 1940, Col. 1168.
2. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, No. 55, Col. 1171, 18 April, 1940.

Mr. Tilman Roos, the Chairman of the National Party in the Transvaal, declared that :

"We are absolutely satisfied. There is no longer any constitutional question for South Africa. We have got the reality."

And it is this reality that is now offered to India. Southern Ireland, in the present war, has declared herself to be neutral and no one on this side of the Irish Channel has ever suggested that she is not absolutely within her rights in so doing.

How far we have travelled on the road to self-government for India in a short ten years was well pointed out by Mr. Wedgwood Benn when he reminded the Commons that, had the speech of the Viceroy at the Orient Club been delivered in 1929, it would have destroyed the then Labour Government. And now, said the ex-Secretary of State, it "was a declaration accepted by the whole responsible public opinion of this country." Mr. Wedgwood Benn went on to suggest that unofficial Indians should be in a majority on the Viceroy's Executive Council "so that the world should know that the persons surrounding the Viceroy, his equal colleagues in the Council, are not official or European, but members of the races over whom the Executive Council presides."

"Would it be inconceivable," asked Mr. Wedgwood Benn, "to say to Congress and the Moslem League, 'We do not ask you to come together to agree on a constitutional scheme, but we ask you to come together to agree upon the form of some smaller body which can examine the question of constitutional advances. It is a very small step, but we are facing great obstacles.' Is the thing too difficult to make it public that you have asked these people to come together. not to carry out the difficult task of making a constitution, but to construct a machine which might consider a constitutional advance ?"

"Then, what can we agree to do on our side ? We cannot agree to legislate during the progress of the war, but we could agree that if such a body were created in India, and if it produced a scheme which received substantial agreement, we would be prepared to take it as the basis of an Act to be passed through this House. That, I think, would be right. That arrangement would concede the Indian claim that the constitution is primarily a matter for the Indians, and I do not see any reason why we should not say that within a year of the termination of the war, or within some specified period, any such agreement would be embodied in a Measure to be brought before this House."[3]

Perhaps the most outstanding convert to what I may call the Indian point of view in this debate was the former Tory Under-Secretary of State for India, Earl Winterton. Who could have imagined ten years ago that Lord Winterton would stand up in the House of Commons and say, as he did,

"We in the Tory party have in the past been too little inclined to recognize the force and vigour of that moderate public opinion in India which desires self-government upon terms to which, I think, we in this country could assent."

And he went on later :

"India has a huge land surface, a vast diversity of religions, races, points of view, standards and, one might almost say, racial origins; but it is equally fair to say that there is running through the country a thread, a growing unity, in favour of the devolution of power from this country to India . . . . With, I should imagine, the assent of every party in this House, the British Government and the Viceroy have announced that the immediate goal is Dominion status."

And later in his speech :

"The perfectly legitimate wish of a vast number of politically-minded people in India, to whatever political party they belong, is to see a self-governing India, united if possible. That wish is echoed by thousands of well-wishers of India in this country . . ."[4]

Only those who have known and have fought Lord Winterton in the past on this issue can realise how radical is this conversion.

From the Liberal benches approval of India's views was also expressed by their spokesman, Mr. Graham White :

"There was a time when it was said that Dominion Status was the ultimate goal of constitutional development—something in the far distance. But contrast that with the language used by the Viceroy today. It is no longer the ultimate goal . . . . We have no wish to remain in India now as a dominant race."[5]

Sir George Schuster, who is still well remembered in India, spoke of the difficulties between the two great communities in India :

"This demand for a constituent assembly makes a natural appeal to everyone who believes in democratic institutions, but we must remember that in India there is such a difference of communities that the ordinary system of majority rule on which we base our political life cannot really function as we know it. Rule by the majority in India would in fact not mean rule by the majority of the community but rule by the majority community in the country. If India is to develop on democratic lines, India has to find some solution to that particular problem, a problem which has been very much before all our eyes in the practical problems of Europe during the last few years. I would like to emphasise to the Indian people what a contribution they could make to the advance of civilization and peace in the world if they themselves could find some solution to this special problem of their own."[6]

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3. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, No. 55, Cols. 1177-8, 18 April, 1940.

4. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, Cols. 1180-7.
5. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, Cols. 1190-1.
6. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, No. 55, Col. 1192, 18 April, 1940.

Sir George Schuster realised to the full the implications of Dominion status, but he was undeterred by these :

"I care very little as to whether the words used by the Indians are independence or Dominion status, because if we face realities, it must be clear that if India reaches a stage in her own development when she is strong enough to stand on the foundations of her own strength, in the world then nothing can keep her bound within the British Commonwealth, if the united wish of the Indian peoples is to withdraw. What meaning has Dominion status as a barrier ? I am quite prepared to face that, and more than that, I am prepared to say that we should do all we possibly can to help India to acquire the strength to stand on her own foundations in the world."[7]

Referring to Mr. Wedgwood Benn's suggestion in regard to a constituent assembly Sir George said :

"The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Wedgwood Benn) suggested that there might be a small meeting of a few representatives of Congress and the Moslem League, sitting down quietly together and thinking out these matters, so that if anything like a constituent assembly were set up, there would be well digested proposals to set before them. I believe that the right hon'ble gentleman has made an extremely useful contribution by that proposal, and if, as the representatives of the British people, we are sending a message to India, we should make it clear that we think that something of that kind is what is required."[8]

"This question of how to find an agreement and how to find a form of constitution which will protect minorities and preserve something like democratic structure is a matter which has to be discussed with complete frankness and should be discussed quietly behind closed doors. If Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah can get together, perhaps with a small body of people, let us say the Prime Ministers of those who have been Prime Ministers of the governments of the various Provinces, if they could get together quietly, with no advertisement of what is occurring and no great promises of what was to come of it, and if they could try to thrash out what exactly are the practical steps which should be taken and how they could be worked out in the form of precise modifications of the 1935 Act, then I believe some advance would be achieved . . . ."

"I believe that conversations on the lines suggested might be very useful. They could take place without delay. They would be essentially conversations between Indian groups, but I think their value would be enormously increased if, as a sort of independent Chairman, the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, Sir Maurice Gwyer, could be brought in. He has a great knowledge of the Indian problem, and enjoys the confidence of all circles."[9]

In concluding his speech Sir George said :

"I have specially stressed the need of detailed consideration of the problems of the new Constitution, of the problem of finding a basis for the institution of democracy in India. But we must remember that, behind it all, the one thing that really matters is that we should trust each other, and for this purpose that Indians should hear in plain and simple words what is our feeling about the Indian problem today. What then is the sort of message that we should send? That indeed has been well indicated in many of the speeches today. It is that we desire, with an intensity which cannot even be surpassed by anything that they themselves feel, that they should find a way of advancing towards their own self-government. We feel that the one obstacle in the path of that advance is one for which they alone can find the way to surmount . . . . Let this Debate . . . . be an occasion when the representatives of the British people show a true understanding of the Indian situation and true sympathy with India's ideals, and pass to them a message of what we mean and an expression of our hope that they will help us to find a solution."[10]

Mr. Andrew MacLaren, the Parliamentary Secretary of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs, stressed that "the general sense of the House is that India should be asked to face the problem (of framing a Constitution) herself." He was good enough to point out that this was the course that I, as Vice-Chairman and Hon. Secretary of the Committee—of which Mr. George Lansbury has been the Chairman since its inception—had advocated for many years. He continued :

"I think the Viceroy would be well advised, if there is any message to go from this House today, to call the ex-Premiers into conference. I am only throwing this out as a suggestion. I would like to see Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Sapru, for instance, discussing in front of the Viceroy the outstanding differences between them. Knowing something about both these men and their capacities—they are lawyers who know the whole complexion and all the intricacies of the Indian problem—I can well imagine that it is not beyond possiblity that, in conjunction, if you like, with Mr. Gandhi and such a prominent person as the ex-Premier of the Punjab, they could find the solution for which this House is now looking. I frankly state here and now that the British Government have come to a point when they will have to cease attempting to create a constitution without having due regard to the full Indian opinion expressed through the various Indian communities . . . . It behoves the House of Commons today, as never before in history, to make it clear to India that we are no longer making promises that we do not wish to fulfil, but that we are so translating our declarations here by asking the Viceroy of India to call within his counsels the responsible representatives of Indian life and to put upon them the solemn duty of finding a solution, and that if that is arrived at we shall give our promise and our pledge to fulfil it to the letter . . . . I think the speeches hitherto are evidence that we really mean to do all we can not to impress upon India our view or our particular design or plan for the constitution, but that we will faithfully do what we can to

7. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, No. 55, Col. 1193, 18 April, 1940.

8. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, No. 55, Col. 1194, 18 April, 1940.

9. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, No. 55, Cols. 1194-5, 18 April, 1940.

10. *Hansard*, Vol. 359, No. 55, Cols. 1196-7, 18 April, 1940.

carry into practice a constitution devised by responsible Indians themselves."[11]

Mr. MacLaren ended with an earnest appeal to Mr. Gandhi :

"I would appeal to Mr. Gandhi from the Floor of this House. We have come to regard this man as being something more than a politician. We have come to regard him as a man who has some deep philosophic view, not merely of this life, but of the life beyond. His attitude towards politics and social problems is something more than that of the political theorist. Can we not appeal to him today, when this conflict in Europe may possibly spread right across Europe to India, in the name of this deep philosophic and religious faith which he holds, to come not in any spirit of suspicion, but rather in a spirit of co-operation and link up with those of us in this country and in other countries who are willing to enter into common consultation to remove a problem which, though complex and deep-seated, is none the less a human problem and is possible of solution if men of good faith, sincerity and determination are willing to give a hand to the task."[12]

Mr. Edmund Harvey, who sits for the combined English Universities, also underlined the unanimity of view expressed by all the parties in the House :

"I think it will be felt that every speaker in this Debate has made a valuable and positive contribution, and that there has been a spirit of real unity underlying all differences of outlook, which. I hope, may be helpful in India, as it is here . . . . There is also great room for hopefulness in the suggestion made by the right hon'ble Member for Gorton (Mr. Wedgwood Benn) in his remarkable speech, and which was taken up on all sides of the House. Surely it is a landmark that the Noble Lord, the Member for Horsham (Earl Winterton) gave his general endorsement to that suggestion and that it was further developed by the hon'ble Member for Walsall (Sir George Schuster), who also made a noteworthy speech.

"As a result of this Debate it has been made clear, I think, that there would be a welcome on the part of Parliament for the coming together of a small group of representative Indians, representing not only Congress but the Moslem League and any other important minority, with Mr. Gandhi as the leading figure. If they could work out the next steps by general agreement, the British Government would welcome, I believe, the adoption of any necessary legislative measures to carry out that agreement. I think it is an important thing that there should be so much unity on that suggestion. If we can once get that step taken, and a spirit of trust established, a great thing will have been done."[13]

Sir Stanley Reed, who is so well known in India, especially in connection with the *Times of India*, urged that we should

"seize this opportunity to press on with any conceivable scheme which will bring the parties together and lay down the principles of a constitution which can be worked. I think this Parliament might send out a message in most definite terms that it accepts to the full the implications of the declaration of the Viceroy at Bombay, that we aim at Dominion status with the full implications of the Statute of Westminster."

Sir Stanley urged that we should give to India

"the definite assurance that if there is a substantial measure of agreement in India on the basic changes in the Constitution, this Parliament will not hesitate, even amid the pre-occupations of the war, or with a time limit of not more than twelve months after the termination of the war, to implement these conclusions in an Act in full confidence and with the earnest hope that it will lead, as we believe it will, to the greater prosperity and contentment of that land."[14]

Mr. Sorensen also, from the Labour opposition benches, pointed out that the difference between Dominion status and independence is, to all intents and purposes, non-existent and he urged that

"If at this time, when democracy is challenged, we are prepared to implement our promise and establish freedom and independence in India, we shall be doing more than anything within imagination to win India and awaken the peoples of the world to the realities of democracy and freedom."

He wanted to

"make it quite clear that as soon as this tragic episode in the life of man has come to an end, we shall be prepared to implement to the full the demand India makes, and that she shall be recognized, as we recognize other powers in the western world, as a free Sovereign State, willing and able to work out her own salvation. We should see to it that India, at the very earliest possible opportunity, shall no longer be treated as a subordinate to this country, but as a free nation, freely co-operating with us. Then, however lamentable as it may now be to continue these Proclamations and impose this autocratic government on India, I am sure the people in India will realize that we have turned away from the old conception of Imperialist domination, and that we are sincere in our claim for free co-operation between nations, one with the other on the basis of human respect."[15]

It will be seen that from all parts of the House of Commons, without one dissentient voice, there was substantial unanimity for what some of us have been working for over a quarter of a century—the right of India to frame her own constitution. This is the first and only time it has ever happened and is the justification for the work that we have been trying to do in this country, under the leadership of Mr. George Lansbury, P. C., M. P., who declared

11. *Hansard,* Vol. 359, No. 55, Cols. 1198-1200, 18 April, 1940.
12. *Hansard,* Vol. 359, No. 55, Cols. 1198-1200.
13. *Hansard,* Vol. 359, No. 55, Cols. 1203-4, 18 April, 1940.
14. *Hansard,* Vol. 359, No. 55, Col. 1209, 18 April, 1940.
15. *Hansard,* Vol. 359, No. 55, Cols. 1216-7, 18 April, 1940.

in the House of Commons years ago that God has not yet made the nation that is fit to rule another nation. Here is the opportunity that, as a real friend of India, I would advise Indians to seize with both hands and at once. The Preamble to the 1919 Act, retained in the 1935 Act—that the British Parliament alone was the judge of India's fitness for any extension of responsible government and of the time and manner of each advance—is gone, and gone for ever. Will India take the British Parliament at its word and go forward now to the framing of that constitution that will make India a free and equal nation among the other great nations of the world ?

> " There is a tide in the affairs of men
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows, and in miseries."

London,
29th April, 1940.

THE IDEAL OF SRI AUROBINDO

By ANILBARAN ROY

We are evidently passing through an age of transition and there is no end of speculation about the form which human society will take in the future. But the exact form of to-morrow can be revealed only to-morrow. It is the proper business of seers and thinkers to lay down the principles which will be the foundation of future society and to indicate the lines on which mankind must proceed towards their realisation. Sri Aurobindo saw these truths about the future of mankind in spiritual vision gained by Yoga and conducted the philosophical review, *Arya,* for seven years (1914-1921) to make them intelligible to the modern mind. But the time had not yet come when people could understand the true import of his new and profound message. So his wonderful vision and illuminating thoughts about the regeneration of mankind were confined only to a few readers and subscribers of the *Arya;* it seems that that time has come now, and people both in the West and in the East are taking a growing interest in the teaching of Sri Aurobindo. He has not founded a new sect or religion, but he has shown the path which mankind has to follow at this most critical moment in its history.

After the completion of the fourth year of the *Arya,* Sri Aurobindo thus wrote about its object :

> "Our idea was the thinking out of a synthetic philosophy which might be a contribution to the thought of the new age that is coming upon us. We start from the idea that humanity is moving to a great change of its life which will even lead to a new life of the race, —in all countries where men think, there is now in various forms that idea and that hope,—and our aim has been to search for the spiritual, religious and other truth which can enlighten and guide the race in this movement and endeavour. The spiritual experience and the general truths on which such an attempt could be based, were already present to us, otherwise we should have had no right to make the endeavour at all; but the complete intellectual statement of them and their results had to be found. This meant a continuous thinking, a high and subtle and difficult thinking on several lines, and this strain which we had to impose on ourselves, we are obliged to impose also on our readers." (*Arya,* July, 1918).

There are many who still hold the view that spirituality and philosophy have nothing to do with actual life, and as Sri Aurobindo is preoccupied with these things, no notice need be taken of him by persons who are engaged in active social and patriotic work, and that Sri Aurobindo can now be set aside as a back number or regarded as a figure of the past.

> "But there is no greater error than to suppose, as the *practical* man is wont to do, that thought is only a fine flower and ornament of life and that political, economic and personal interests are the important and effective motors of human action. We recognise that this is a world of life and action and developing organism; but the life that seeks to guide itself only by vital and material forces is a slow, dark and blundering growth. It is an attempt to approximate man to the method of vegetable and animal existence. The earth is a world of Life and Matter but man is not a vegetable, not an animal; here is a spiritual and thinking being who is set here to shape and use the animal mould for higher purposes, by higher motives with a more divine instrumentation."

Leaving apart ancient times, all the great movements of the modern age have been profoundly influenced by philosophical thinkers. The French Revolution which gave to humanity its highest ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was not brought about merely by the

operation of political and economic causes, as Marxists would have us to believe, but it was chiefly a product of the teaching of Rousseau, Voltair and the Encyclopædists. After a long period of subjection and foreign rule Italy was roused to a new life by the philosophical thoughts of Mazzini. Marxism itself is essentially a philosophy of life. The culture and manifestation of a tremendous brute force in Germany can be traced to Nietzche's teaching of the superman. And the phenomenon of a great people falling to a most miserable condition through the neglect of worldly life that we are witnessing in India today has been due chiefly to the philosophical outlook of the Indians. That is why Sri Aurobindo gave so much importance to philosophy in the *Arya* which was indeed called a philosophical review.

Those who say that spirituality is not a distinguishing feature of Indian civilisation, that before modern times all countries were equally religious, keep their eyes shut to actual and historical facts. There is indeed no place for argument here. Religion there is in every country, but the speciality of a culture arises from the emphasis that is given on the different aspects of life. The basis of Indian culture was laid in the Vedic age, and the Upanishads are the large crowning outcome of the Vedic discipline and experience. The time in which these Vedantic truths were seen and the Upanishads took shape, was, as we can see from such records as the Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka. an epoch of immense and strenuous spiritual seeking in which the truths held by the initiates but kept back from ordinary men broke their barriers, swept through all the higher minds of the nation and fertilised the soil of Indian culture for a general growth of spirituality. It created the whole difference between the evolution of Indian and of other civilisations, the ordinary materialised souls, the external minds who are in India, as elsewhere, the majority have at least this distinction that they are by centuries of training nearer to the inner realities, divided from them by a less thick veil of the universal ignorance and more easily led back to a vital glimpse of God and Spirit, Self and Eternity. Where else could the lofty, austere and difficult teaching of Buddha have seized so rapidly on the popular mind or the songs of a Tukaram, a Kabir, the Sikh gurus, the chants of the Tamil saints with their fervid devotion and also their profound philosophy found so speedy an echo and formed a popular religious literature ? This strong permeation and readiness of the minds of a whole nation to turn to the highest realities is the sign and fruit of an age-long, a real and a still living supremely spiritual culture.

The fundamental difference has been that Asia has served predominantly (not exclusively) as a field for man's spiritual experience and progression, Europe has been rather a workshop for his mental and vital activities. As the cycle of civilisation progressed, the Eastern continent has more and more converted itself into a storehouse of spiritual energy sometimes active and reaching forward to new development, sometimes conservative and quiescent. Three or four times in history a stream of this energy has poured out upon Europe, but each time Europe has rejected wholly or partially the spiritual substance of the afflatus and used it rather as an impulse to fresh intellectual and material activity and progress. The first attempt was the filtering of Egyptian, Chaldean and Indian wisdom through the thought of the Greek philosophers from Pythagoras to Plato and the neo-Platonists; the result was the brilliantly intellectual and unspiritual civilisation of Greece and Rome. But it prepared the way for the second attempt when Buddhism and Vaishnavism filtered through the Semitic temperament and entered Europe in the form of Christianity. Christianity came within an ace of spiritualising and even of asceticising the mind of Europe; it was baffled by its own theological deformations in the minds of the Greek fathers of the Church and by the sudden flooding of Europe with a German barbarism whose temperament in its merits no less than in its defects was the very ante-type both of the Christian spirit and the Greco-Roman intellect. The Islamic invasion of Spain and the southern coast of the Mediterranean may be regarded as a third attempt. The result of its meeting with Graecised Christianity was the reawakening of the European mind in feudal and Catholic Europe and the obscure beginnings of modern thought and science. The fourth attempt which is as yet only in its slow initial stage is the quiet entry of Eastern and chiefly Indian thought into Europe through the veil of German metaphysics.

The salvation of the human race lies in an integral development of the possibilties of mankind in the individual and in the community. The safety of Europe has to be sought in the recognition of the spiritual aim of human existence, otherwise she will be crushed by the weight of her own unilluminated knowledge and soulless organisation. The safety of Asia lies in the recognition of the material mould and mental conditions in which that aim has to be work-

ed out, otherwise she will sink deeper into the slough of despond of a mental and physical incompetence to deal with the facts of life and shocks of a rapidly changing movement. It is not any exchange of forms that is required, but an interchange of regenerating impulses and a happy fusion of harmonising.

The problem of thought therefore is to find out the right idea and the right way of harmony; to restate the ancient and eternal spiritual truth of the Self, so that it shall re-embrace, permeate and dominate the mental and physical life; to develop the most profound and vital methods of psychological self-discipline and self-development so that the mental and the physical life of man may express the spiritual life through the utmost possible expansion of its own richness, power and complexity; and to seek for the means and motives by which his external life, his society and his institutions may remould themselves progressively in the truth of the spirit and develop towards the utmost possible harmony of individual freedom and social unity. This was the ideal and the search in the *Arya* and it closed only when Sri Aurobindo had brought to a completion the development of his thought on all these lines. Sri Aurobindo stated his ideal in the following words :

> "Unity for the human race by an inner oneness and not only by an external association of interests; the resurgence of man out of the merely animal and economic life or the merely intellectual and aesthetic into the glories of the spiritual existence : the pouring of the power of the spirit into the physical mould and mental instrument, so that man may develop his manhood into that true supermanhood which shall exceed our present state as much as this exceeds the animal state from which science tells us that we have issued. These three are one; for man's unity and man's self-transcendence can come only by living in the Spirit."

Philosophy and spiritual thought must be the beginning and the foundation of any such attempt; for they alone go behind appearances and processes to the truth of things. The attempt to get rid of their supremacy must always be vain. At present the chief attack against admitting spirituality as an element in life is coming from socialists and communists of the Marxist type; they hold that religion, which has been in the past the main road leading towards spiritual truth, is a phase of capitalist society and is bound to disappear with the destruction of capitalism. But in fact there is no essential relation between capitalism and religion; capitalism is a recent phenomenon, while religion is as old as mankind. The slogan, Religion is the opiate of the people, can have reference only to its abuses. Religion like all other good and noble things in life have been grossly abused; but that is no final argument against its truth and validity. The history of Buddhist and other religious communes shows that religion is not essentially opposed even to communism; on the other hand, the Russian experiment of anti-religious communism does not seem to be very hopeful. Indeed it has been confidently asserted that if by nothing else, that the failure of the Russian experiment is bound to come by its antagonism to such a fundamental fact of human nature as religion and spirituality. The scientific materialism on which Marx based his theory is no longer tenable, and only those can still hold to it who do not realise the significance of the revolution in modern scientific thought.

The one great defect of socialism* in general is that in the pursuit of equality, it has to suppress individual liberty, and society can progress only when the individuals of which it is composed have the fullest freedom of self-development and self-expression. But those who criticise socialism on this score cannot give any satisfactory reply how liberty is going to be reconciled with equality. As long as man is under the influence of egoism, as long as he feels himself to be separate from others, liberty is bound to lead to oppression, exploitation and inequality, because it is the rule of egoistic life to aggrandise itself at the expense of others. Only when man finds his true self to be the spirit in which he is essentially one with all other men and with God, there can be true fraternity, and on that basis there can be a true reconciliation of liberty and equality. For then every one will seek the happiness of others as much as of himself, and no one will feel himself

*In the *New World Order* Mr. H. G. Wells predicts the end of *homo sapiens* if people in authority everywhere fail to manage the disruptive forces in our society. The disruptive forces are what the Marxians would call the technological advances, the *Yankee Clipper* and world wireless, the improvement in communications and machinery, which compel us to organise on a big scale or perish. Mr. Wells gives credit to the Bolsheviks for being the first to attempt the necessary adjustment. The objection to Soviet Collectivism, however, is "that lacking the antiseptic of legally assured personal freedom it will not keep." The most important reason for breakdown in Soviet Russia has been that those in control have been so obsessed with the task of preserving their own power that they have stamped out the free life that was essential for the success of their new organization. Mr. Wells takes his stand on the possibility of combining Socialism and freedom. But when we come to the difficult question of the way in which individual freedom is to be preserved under socialism, Mr. Wells is certainly vague.

to be perfect unless similar perfection is attained by his fellow beings.

Sri Aurobindo thus wrote in the *Arya* :

"Spirit being the fundamental truth of existence, life can be only its manifestation; Spirit must be not only the origin of life but its basis, its pervading reality and its highest and total result. But the forms of life as they appear to us are at once its disguises and its instruments of self-manifestation. Man has to grow in knowledge till they cease to be disguises and grow in spiritual power and quality till they become in him its pelfect instruments. To grow into the fulness of the divine is the true law of human life and to shape his earthly existence into its image is the meaning of his evolution. This is the fundamental tenet of the philosophy of the Arya. This truth had to be worked out first of all from the metaphysical point of view; for in philosophy metaphysical truth is the nucleus of the rest; it is the statement of the last and most general truths on which all the other depend or in which they are gathered up Therefore we gave the first place to the 'Life Divine.'* Here we start from the Vedantic position, its ideas of the Self and mind and life, of Sachchidananda and the world, of Knowledge and Ignorance, of rebirth and the Spirit. But the Vedanta is popularly supposed to be a denial of life, and this is no doubt a dominant trend it has taken. Though starting from the original truth that all is the Brahman, the Self, it has insisted in the end that the world is simply not-Brahman, not-Self; it has ended in a paradox. We have attempted on the contrary to establish from its data a comprehensive Adwaita. We have shown that mind and life and matter are derivation from the Self through a spiritual mind or super-mind which is the real support of cosmic existence and by developing mind into that man can arrive at the real truth of the spirit in the world and the real truth and highest law of life The Self is Sachchidananda and there is no incurable antinomy between that and the world; only we see the world through the eyes of the Ignorance and we have to see it through the eyes of the Knowledge. Our ignorance itself is only knowledge developing out of its involution in the apparent nescience of Matter and on its way to return to its conscious integrality. To accomplish that return and manifest the spiritual life in the human existence is the opportunity given by the successions of rebirth We accept the truth of evolution, not so much in the physical form given to it by the West as in its philosophical truth, the involution of life and mind and spirit here in matter and their progressive manifestation. At the summit of this evolution is the spiritual life, the life divine.

"It was necessary to show that these truths were not inconsistent with the old Vedantic truth, therefore we included explanations from this point of view of the Veda, two of the Upanishads and Gita. The Gita† we are treating as a powerful application of truth of spirit to the largest and most difficult part of the truth of life, to action, and a way by which action can lead us to birth into the Spirit and can be harmonised with the spiritual life. Truth of philosophy is of a merely theoretical value unless it can be lived and we have therefore tried in the *Synthesis of Yoga* to arrive at a synthetical view of the principles and methods of the various lines of spiritual self-discipline and the way in which they can lead to an integral divine life in the human existence. But this is an individual self-development and therefore it was necessary to show too how our ideal can work out in the social life of mankind. In the *Psychology of Social Development* we have indicated how these truths affect the evolution of human society. In the *Ideal of Human Unity*, we have taken present trend of mankind towards a closer unification and tried to appreciate its tendencies and show what is wanting to them in order that real human unity may be achieved." (*Arya,* July 1918).

Subsequent events have amply proved the validity of the main contentions advanced by Sri Aurobindo in the pages of the *Arya*. About the proposed League of Nations he then remarked : "It is an old idea, the idea Matternich put in practice after the overthrow of Napoleon; only in place of a dynastic Holy Alliance of monarchs to maintain peace and monarchical order and keep down democracy, it is proposed to have a league of free—and imperial—peoples to enforce democracy and to maintain peace. One thing is perfectly sure that the new league would go the way of the old; it would break up as soon as the interests and ambitions of the constituent powers became sufficiently disunited." "The unity of the human race by political and administrative means implies eventually the formation and organisation of a single World-State out of a newly created, though still loose, natural organic unity of mankind. For the natural organic unity already exists, a unity of life, of involuntary association, of a closely interdependent existence of the constituent parts in which the life and movements of one affect the life of the others in a way which would have been impossible a hundred years ago. Continent has no longer a separate life from continent; no nation can any longer isolate itself at will and live a separate existence. Science, commerce, and rapid communications have produced a state of things in which the disparate masses of humanity, once living to themselves, have been drawn together by a process of subtle unification into a single mass which has already a common vital and is rapidly forming a common mental existence." The idea of a World-State or world union has been born not only in the speculative, forecasting mind of the thinker, but in the consciousness of humanity out of the very necessity of this new common existence. The new World-State must now either be brought about by a mutual understanding or by the force of circumstances and a series of new

* This book, which can be regarded as the *Magnum Opus* of Sri Aurobindo has recently been published in two volumes.

† The *Essays on the Gita* is published in book form and *The Psychology of Social Development* and *The Ideal of Human Unity* will soon be published.

and disastrous shocks. For the old still functioning order of things was founded on circumstances and conditions which no longer exist. A new order is demanded by the new conditions and, so long as it is not created, there will be a transitional era of continued trouble or recurrent disorders, inevitable crises through which Nature will effect in her own violent way the working out of the necessity which she has evolved. There may be in the process a maximum of loss and suffering through the clash of national and imperial egoisms or else a minimum if reason and good-will pervail. The conclusion at which Sri Aurobindo arrives is that while it is possible to construct a precarious and quite mechanical unity by political and administrative means, the unity of the human race, even if achieved, can only be made real if the religion of humanity, which is at present the highest active ideal of mankind, spiritualises itself and becomes the general inner law of human life.

"The religion of humanity was mind-born in the eighteenth century, the *manasa putra* of the rationalist thinkers who brought it forward as a substitute for the formal spiritualism of ecclesiastical Christianity. It tried to give itself a body in Positivism, which was an attempt to formulate the dogmas of this religion, but on too heavily and severely rationalistic a basis for acceptance even by an Age of Reason. Humanitarianism has been its most prominent emotional result. Philanthropy, social service and other kindred activities have been its outward expression of good work. Democracy, socialism, pacifism are to a great extent its by-products or at least owe much of their vigour to its inner presence.

"The fundamental idea is that mankind is the godhead to be worshipped and served by man and that the respect, the service, the progress of the human being and human life are the chief duty and chief aim of the human spirit. No other idol, neither the nation, the State, the family nor any thing else ought to take its place; they are only worthy of respect so far as they are images of the human spirit and enshrine its presence and aid its self-manifestation. But where the cult of these idols seeks to usurp the place of the spirit and makes demands inconsistent with its service they should be put aside. No injunctions of old creeds, religious, political, social or cultural, are valid when they go against its claims. Science even, though it is one of the chief modern idols, must not be allowed to make claims contrary to its ethical temperament and aim, for science is only valuable in so far as it helps and serves by knowledge and progress the religion of humanity. War, capital punishment, the taking of human life, cruelty of all kinds whether committed by the individual, the State or society, not only physical cruelty, but moral cruelty, the degradation of any human being or any class of human beings under whatever specious plea or in whatever interest, the oppression and exploitation of man by man, of class by class, of nation by nation and all those habits of life and institutions of society of a similar kind which religion and ethics formerly tolerated or even favoured in practice, whatever they might do in their ideal rule or creed, are crimes against the religion of humanity, abominable to the ethical mind, forbidden by its primary tenets, to be fought against always, in no degree to be tolerated. Man must be sacred to man regardless of all distinctions of race, creed, colour, nationality, status, political or social advancement. The body of man is to be respected, made immune from violence and outrage, fortified by science against disease and preventible death. The life of man is to be held sacred, preserved, strengthened, ennobled, uplifted. The heart of man is to be held sacred also, given scope, protected from violation, from suppression, from mechanisation, freed from belittling influences. The mind of man is to be rescued from all bonds, allowed freedom and range and opportunity, given all its means of self-training and self-development and organised in the play of its powers for the service of humanity. And all this too is not to be held as an abstract or pious sentiment, but given full and practical recognition in the persons of men and nations and mankind. This, speaking largely, is the idea and spirit of the intellectual religion of humanity.

"One has only to compare human life and thought and feeling a century or two ago with human life, thought and feeling in the pre-war period to see how great an influence this religion of humanity has exercised and how fruitful a work it has done. But still, in order to accomplish all its future, this idea and religion of humanity has to make itself more explicit, insistent and categorically imperative. For otherwise it can only work with clarity in the minds of the few and with the mass it will be only a modifying influence, but will not be the rule of human life. And so long as that is so, it cannot entirely prevail over its own principal enemy. That enemy, the enemy of all real religion, is human egoism, the egoism of the individual, the egoism of class and nation These it could for a time soften, modify, force to curb their more arrogant, open and brutal expressions, oblige to adopt better institutions, but not give place to the love of mankind, not to recognise a real unity between man and man. For that essentially must be the aim of the religion of humanity, as it must be the earthly aim of all human religion, love, mutual recognition of human brotherhood, a living sense of human oneness and practice of human oneness in thought, feeling and life, the ideal which was expressed first some thousands of years ago in the ancient Vedic hymn and must always remain the highest injunction of the Spirit within us to human life upon earth. Till that is brought about, the religion of humanity remains unaccomplished. With that done, the one necessary psychological chance will have been effected without which no formal and mechanical no political and administrative unity can be real and secure. If it is done, that outward unification may not even be indispensable or, if indispensable, it will come about naturally, not as now it seems likely to be, by catastrophic means, but by the demand of the human mind, and will be held secure by an essential need of our perfected and developed human nature." (*The Ideal of Human Unity*).

Sri Aurobindo went thoroughly into the question of international unification by political and administrative means and considered the various possibilities pointing out the deeper currents which really determine the movement of the race and illustrating his views with

examples drawn from the history of the world in a manner which makes his book, *The Ideal of Human Unity*, a unique creation in the world's political literature. All his predictions have been fully justified by subsequent events and developments. So he sums up :

"A federal system also, would tend inevitably to establish one general type for human life, institutions and activities; it could allow only a play of minor variations. But the need of variation in living Nature could not always rest satisfied with that scanty sustenance. On the other hand, a loose confederacy might well be open to the objection that it would give too ready a handle for centrifugal forces, were such to arise in new strength. A loose confederation could not be permanent, it must turn in one direction or the other end either in a close and rigid centralisation or a break-up of its loose unity into its original elements.

"The saving power needed is a new psychological factor which will at once make a united life necessary to humanity and force it to respect the principle of freedom. The religion of humanity seems to be the one growing force which tends in that direction; for it makes for the sense of human oneness; it has the idea of the race, and yet at the same time it respects the human individual and the natural human grouping. But its present intellectual form seems hardly sufficient. . . . A spiritual religion of humanity is the hope of the future. By this is not meant what is ordinarily called a universal religion, a system, a thing of creed and intellectual belief and dogma and outward rite. Mankind has tried unity by that means; it has failed and deserved to fail, because there can be no universal religious system, one in mental creed and vital form. The inner spirit is indeed one, but more than any other the spiritual life insists on freedom and variation in its self-expression and means of self-development. A religion of humanity means the growing realisation that there is a secret Spirit, a divine Reality, in which we are all one; that humanity is its highest present vehicle on earth, that the human race and the human being are the means by which it will progressively reveal itself here. It implies a growing attempt to live out this knowledge and bring about a kingdom of this divine Spirit upon earth. By its growth within us oneness with our fellowmen will become the leading principle of all our life, not merely a principle of co-operation, but a deeper brotherhood, a real and an inner sense of unity and equality and a common life. There must be the realisation by the individual that only in the life of the fellowmen is his own life complete. There must be the realisation by the race that only on the free and full life of the individual can its own perfection and permanent happiness be founded. There must be too a discipline and a way of salvation in accordance with this religion, that is to say, a means by which it can be developed by each man within himself, so that it may be developed in the life of the race. To go into all that this implies would be too large a subject to be entered upon here; it is enough to point out that in this direction lies the eventual road. No doubt, if this is only an idea like the rest, it will go the way of all ideas. But if it is at all a truth of our being, then it must be the truth to which all is moving and in it must be found the means of a fundamental, an inner, a complete, a real human unity which would be the one secure base of a unificatiin of human life. A spiritual oneness which would create a psychological oneness not dependent upon any intellectual or outward uniformity and compel a oneness of life not bound up with its mechanical means of unification, but ready always to enrich its secure unity by a free inner variation and a freely varied outer self-expression would be the basis for a higher type of human existence.

"Could such a realization develop rapidly in mankind, we might then solve the problem of unification in a deeper and truer way from the inner truth to the outer forms. Until then, the attempt to bring it about by mechanical means must proceed. But the higher hope of humanity lies in the growing number of men who will realise this truth and seek to develop it in themselves so that when the mind of man is ready to escape from its mechanical bent, perhaps when it finds that its mechanical solutions are all temporary and disappointing,—the truth of the Spirit may step in and lead humanity to the path of its highest possible happiness and perfection." (*The Ideal of Human Unity*).



EMERSON AND WALT WHITMAN

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

WHITMAN was sixteen years younger than Emerson. He spent his youth in Long Island and his later life in Camden, New Jersey; thus he did not belong to any of the groups, literary, social, religious, of which Emerson was a central figure. It was not strange, therefore, that the two men did not become personally acquainted until rather late in life. However, Whitman had long known Emerson through his writings. Early in his young manhood he had come upon some of Emerson's works, and had read them with the greatest delight. They were fresh water to his thirsty soul. Emerson's "Man Thinking" thrilled him. He at once lifted up its author to the highest place among American poets. Emerson became his "Mystic Trumpeter." He wrote of him: "A just man, poised on himself, his thought all living, all enduring, and sane, and clear as the sun."

One of the marked characteristics of Emerson all his life, was his quickness to discover and his eagerness to welcome any sign of literary genius, appearing in any quarter. It was most natural, therefore, that when Whitman made his first venture in poetry by publishing his *Leaves of Grass,* he should send it at once to Emerson, and that Emerson should be one of the first to recognize and acclaim its unique quality, even in its earliest edition of only ninety-four pages. After receiving the little book, Emerson wrote to Whitman the following remarkable letter: "Concord, Mass., 21 July, 1855, Dear Sir, I am not blind to the worth of the wonderful gift of *Leaves of Grass*. I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed. I am very happy in reading it, as great power makes me happy . . . I give you joy of your free and brave thought. I have great joy in it. I find incomparable things said incomparably well, as they must be. I find the courage of treatment which so delights me, and which large perception only can inspire. I greet you at the beginning of a great career . . . . . I rubbed my eyes a little to see if this sunbeam were no illusion; but the solid sense of the book is a sober certainty. It has the best merits, namely of fortifying and encouraging. I wish to see my benefactor, and have felt much like striking my tasks and visiting New York to pay you my respects. Ralph Waldo Emerson."

The edition of *Leaves of Grass* which Emerson received and of which he wrote, did not contain "Children of Adam," the poem which has been most criticized. If it had, there seems reason to believe that his praise of the book would have been more restrained. This poem, which appeared in later editions, distinctly displeased Emerson; and the statement is made by one of his biographers (Mr. Van Wyck Brooks), that "for three hours, one clear February day, Emerson walked up and down with Walt under the elms of the Boston Common, begging him to suppress it—to give the book a chance to be read." Whitman believed not only that all parts of the human body are equally honorable and equally sacred, but that an author to be honest should write about all with perfect freedom. The argument of Emerson and others, that there are privacies in human lives which should be allowed to remain privacies, and that no right view of honesty demands that all intimacies should be blazoned to the world,—this argument did not seem to weigh with Whitman, and the poem in question was retained.

Emerson did not quite like the long catalogues of things which were a part of some of Whitman's poems. He once spoke of these as "a singular blending of the Hindu Bhagavad Gita and the New York Herald." One day while reading the writings of an ancient Welsh bard, he finds and copies in the Journal the following curious lines:

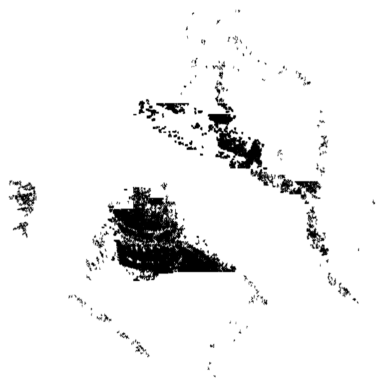
> "I am water, I am a wren;
> I am a workman, I am a star;
> I am a serpent;
> I am a cell, I am a chink,
> I am a depository of song,
> I am a learned person."

At the end Emerson adds this comment: 'I suspect that Walt Whitman had been reading these Welsh lines when he wrote his *Leaves of Grass.*"

Though Emerson was thus critical of certain features of Whitman's method, he remained a stanch admirer of his genius and a firm friend. Whitman himself, after Emerson's death, thus summed up his relations with Concord poet, for a friend to incorporate in an article. "Emerson had more of a personal friendship for Walt Whitman than has been generally known; making a determined visit to Brooklyn in 1857, soon after the appearance of *Leaves of Grass*, ... walking out to the little cottage in the suburbs, several miles from the ferry, where Walt Whitman lived. From that time regularly for years afterwards whenever he came to New York he appointed a meeting, and they two generally dined together and spent some hours. When Mr. Whitman was in Boston in 1860 Emerson was his frequent and cordial visitor. As time elapsed, though officious persons intervened, and there was a lull of some years, I doubt if it could be said that Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson's love and affection (and few knew how deeply he could love) ever went out more warmly to anyone and remained more fixed under the circumstances than toward Walt Whitman."*

A few months before Emerson's death Whitman visited him, and afterward wrote in his diary an account of the visit. This gives a vivid picture of the serenity and beauty of Emerson's last days and reveals Whitman's sensitiveness to human values and his reverence for his Concord friend. "Camden, December 1, 1881. During my last three or four months' jaunt to Boston and through New England, I have spent wonderful days in Concord and with Emerson, seeing him under the most happy circumstances, in the calm, peaceful, but most radiant twilight of his old age, now in his eightieth year, in his home, sunny, surrounded by his beautiful family. . . Never had I a better piece of luck befall me—a long and blessed evening with Emerson, in a way I couldn't have wished better. For two hours he sat placidly where I could see his face in the best light near me. The back parlor was well filled with people, neighbors, many fresh and charming faces, women, mostly young, but some old. My friends, Bronson Alcott and his daughter Louisa, were there early. There was a good deal of talk, the main subject being Henry Thoreau—with some letters to and from him—one of them by Margaret Fuller, others by Horace Greeley, W. H. Channing, etc.,—one from Thoreau himself, most quaint and interesting. My seat was such that, without being rude or anything of the kind, I could just look squarely at Emerson, which I did a good part of the two hours. On entering he had spoken very briefly, easily and politely to several of the company, then settled himself in his chair, a little pushed back, and, though a listener and apparently an alert one, remained silent through the whole talk and discussion. And so, there Emerson sat, and I looking at him! A good color in his face, eyes clear, with the well-known expression of sweetness." *Next Day*. "Several hours at Emerson's home, and dinner there! An old familiar house (he has been in it thirty-five years), with the surrounding furnishment, roominess, plain elegance and fullness, signifying democratic ease, sufficient opulence and an admirable old-fashioned simplicity;—modern luxury, with its sumptuousness and affectation, either looked lightly upon or ignored altogether. Of course the best of the present occasion was the sight of Emerson himself; as just said, a healthy color in his cheeks, and good light in his eyes, a cheery expression, and just the amount of talking that best suited, namely, a word or short phrase only where needed, and almost always with a smile. Besides Emerson himself, Mrs. Emerson and their daughter Ellen, the son Edward and his wife, and others, relatives and intimates. Mrs. Emerson resumed the subject of the evening before (I sat next to her), gave me further and fuller information about Thoreau, who years ago, during Mr. Emerson's absence in Europe (in 1848) had lived for some time in the family by invitation." Whitman concludes his account of his visit with an interesting thought about his distinguished friend, which is well worth repeating: "After all is said, one thing impresses me most of all about Emerson. Amid the utter delirium-disease called book-making, its feverish cohorts filling our world with every form of morbidity, how comforting it is to know of an author who has, through a long life, written as honestly, spontaneously and innocently as the sun shines or the wheat grows—the truest, sanest, most moral, sweetest literary man on record—unsoiled by pecuniary or any other warp!"

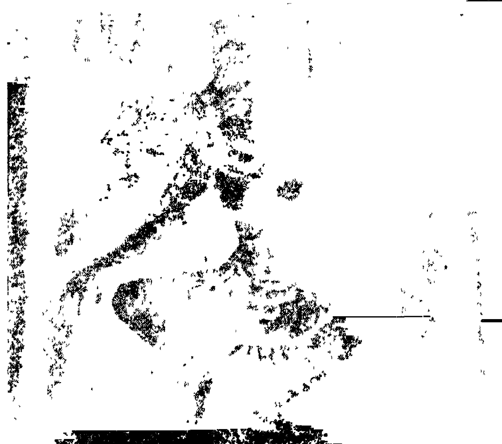
* See footnote to p. 216 of *Whitman and Burroughs* by Clara Barrus.



Nritya-Karana : Lalita



Sympathy



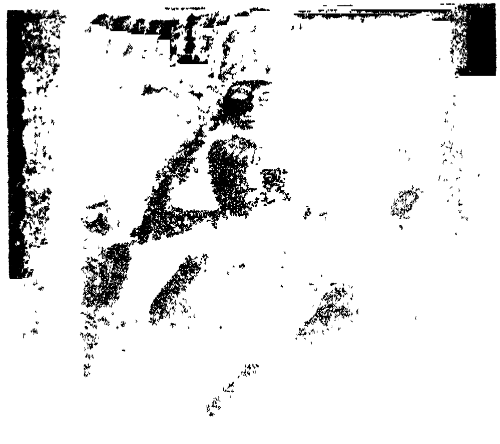
Nritya-karana : Alata



Sympathy and pity



Nritya-karana, Lalata Tilaka



Reconciliation



Passion



Anger



High passion



Hateur of the *nouveau riche* (new rich)



Passionate temper



Vira ; Hateur of the "new rich"



Afraid of fire



Elation



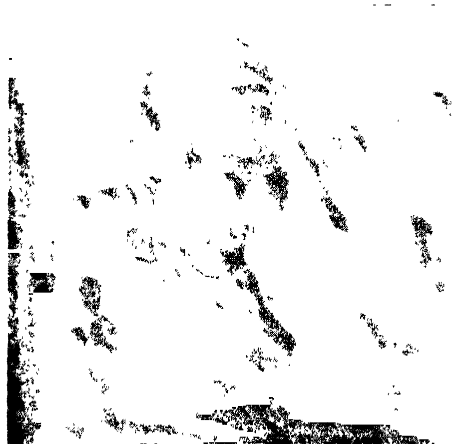
Reeling in terror



The bent scorpion



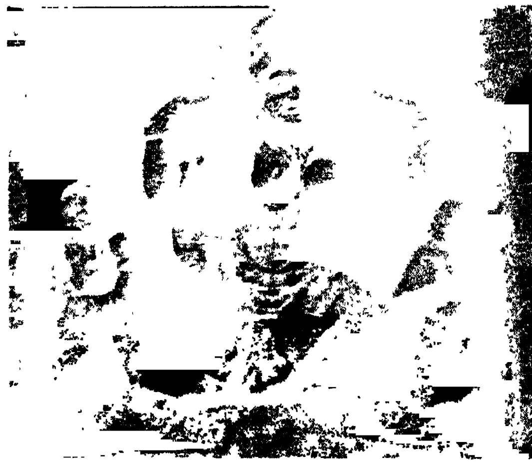
Snake fear



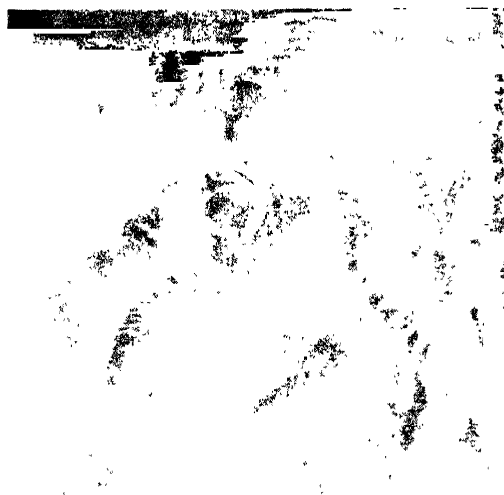
The whirling scorpion



Hasya : The ludicrous



The antler



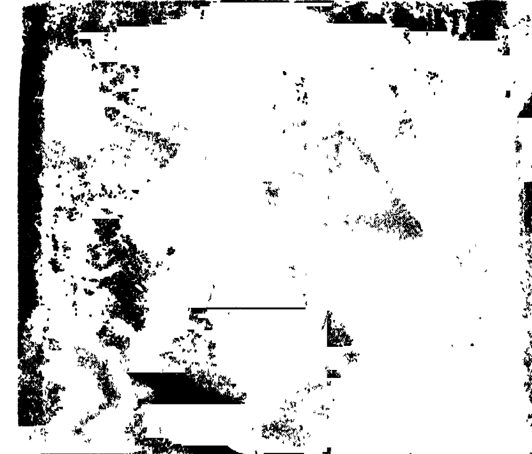
Hasya : The ludicrous



Garuda



The ram



The lion

THE DANCE MOTIF IN SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE SCULPTURES

By P. S. NAIDU,

Lecturer, Annamalai University

In her presidential address to the Nātya section of the tenth All-India Oriental Conference held recently at Tirupathi, Srimati Rukmini Devi drew pointed attention to the unity of purpose and impression that runs through all manifestations of Bharata Nātya, whether sculptural or theatrical. Our dance, unlike the Western jazz, tango and foxtrot, is spiritual in its significance. It is meant to portray the highest and the purest emotions of the human heart, while at the same time it exalts the dancer. The modern ballet, perhaps, makes some ap-



Sri Nataraja in the Lalata Tilaka pose

proach to our Nātya in the matter of the noble motive of dancing. But, whereas, the West is thinking of 'interpretation' only now, our ancestors, several centuries ago, worked out a most elaborately analytical and scientific scheme of interpretative dancing. Bharata may be a legendary name, but 'Bharata Nātya' is a living tradition with us here in the South. And in the general aesthetic renaissance which is taking place all over our country Nātya rightly occupies the foremost rank.

The South, as we have mentioned just now, has somehow preserved, in all its pristine purity, the ancient Bharata Nātya tradition which is evidently lost to the rest of our country. The much maligned 'temple dancers' of the Andhra and Tamil districts, have kept up, by their selfless efforts, the admirable art and science of the Nātya of Bharata. Ancient palm-leaf manuscripts relating to this sacred art are scattered all over the Southern districts, but they are in the possession of persons who revere them as objects of worship, and would not let them be handled for purely secular purposes. More than these evidences of the survival of this great cultural achievement of ancient India, we have the marvellous sculptures in our temples depicting the dance poses described in the Nātya Shāstra. The chief aim of this article is to introduce these gems of miniature-carving in granite to the lovers of Indian art.

As the Bharata Nātya tradition has survived in our part of the country, it is but natural that its spirit should find expression in our temple sculptures. Many South Indian shrines contain Nātya carvings, but the temple par excellence in this respect is the one in our place, Chidambaram. The presiding deity here is Sri Nataraja, the Lord of Dancing. So, for aesthetic as well as religious purposes, the dance poses are carved in profusion all over the temple. The karanas (or the fundamental dance poses), one hundred and eight in number, described by Bharata Muni in the fourth chapter of the Nātya Shāstra, are carved in the Gopurams (or massive gateways) of our temple. Besides these monuments, every shrine and sabha (or hall) of the temple contains dance figures in amazing variety. A point of special importance and significance in our shrine is that the Nātya poses carved in the eastern and western Gopurams contain descriptive labels identifying the poses. These inscriptions, which are in fact the relevant couplets taken from the Nātya Shāstra, are

peculiar to our temple. In no other shrine do we find them, and in no other shrine do we have a systematic representation of all the karanas described by Bharata. I was so much impressed by this fact that I decided, soon



Sorrow

after I joined the staff of the Annamalai University, to photograph each dance pose separately. The task was beset with extraordinary difficulty and hazard. Some of the poses are at giddy heights, and many in inconvenient places. After the work was finished in 1934, I learnt to my satisfaction that my photographs are the *first of their kind*. About 25 years ago the Epigraphical Department prepared woodcuts of many, but not all, poses; but no systematic photographic reproduction of all the poses seems to have been attempted so far. The illustrations in this article are, therefore, very valuable in so far as they have been prepared from photographs which are absolutely the *first of their kind*.

Chiselling in marble for a given effect is not a very difficult task, but to transform a small, rough, cold, crude, hard, colourless, intractable block of granite about 15″ square into the figure of a comely girl, dancing with joy, or weeping with sorrow, or expressing in a myriad different ways the warm, pulsating, throbbing emotions of the human heart, is really achieving a miracle in stone. Yet, that is the effect which the Sthapatis of our land have achieved. No wonder that our people offer, once a year or so, puja to the images representing the great artists who planned and supervised the construction of the temple.

It has been pointed out already that Sri Natarâja (the Lord of Dancing) is the presiding deity in our temple. The lovely image of Nataraja has been described in poetic language by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami in his little book *The Dance of Siva.* Images of this deity there are in vast variety and profusion all over our country, both in the North and the South, with four, six or eight hands; with Nandi or Muyalagan at his feet, with this special feature or that. And all of them are of surpassing loveliness. But there is one sculpture which, in my opinion, is *sui generis.* It is the image of the Lord in the Lalāta Tilaka dance pose. The photograph reproduced here is of the sculpture lodged in a large niche high above the ground on the outside of the western Gopuram. Lalāta Tilaka means beauty mark on the forehead, and Bharata says that this dance is danced not for the sake of expressing any emotion or conveying any idea, but merely to exhibit the loveliness of dance itself. What a pretty conceit, what an admirable tribute to the genius of

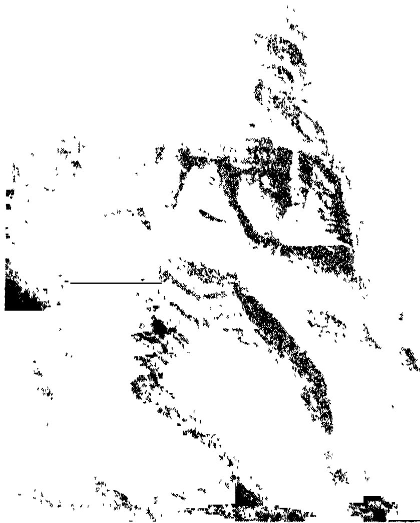


The creeping scorpion

Hindu aesthetics that the great Lord himself should expound this dance! The facial expression of this image is marvellous. It is that of

a lover radiating peace and joy in the company of his beloved.

The dance sculptures in the various shrines and halls of our temple have special characteristics of their own. For instance, in the shrine of



Perplexity

the Goddess Sivakāmiamman, the musical instruments carved along with the dance poses are of great value and significance to the students of sangīta. The dance motif proper receives special attention only in the Gopurams, particularly in the eastern Gopuram. Here the karanas are arranged, one over the other, in the projecting columnar structures, in a regular order from the bottom upwards on the northern side, and irregularly on the southern side, the order followed being that mentioned in the Nātya Shāstra. I shall make a functional classification of these dance poses carved in the gateways, and attempt to show, how admirably, the Sthapatis have succeeded in capturing and interpreting for us, in stone, the living spirit of Bharata Nātya.

Of the eight rasas mentioned by Bharata, Bhayānaka is very important, and its foundation, the sthāyi bhāva 'bhaya,' receives extensive treatment in the dance scheme. We have a striking series of sculptures portraying this fundamental emotion. The mild touch of fear in perplexity or timidity, fear generated by fire, dread caused by the sight of a serpent close at hand and reeling in unconsciousness produced by intense terror, these constitute a regularly graded series of bhaya, and they are all beautifully depicted in the sculptured karanas. The facial expression of these figures is strikingly true to life.

There is a point of special interest relating to these miniature sculptures which reveals the extraordinary skill of the artist. Frequently we find two carvings which seem to be almost identical at first sight, but they represent two different emotions. By just a touch here, and a touch there the Sthapati has managed to represent two entirely different mental states. If, for example, we compare 'snake-fear' with 'elation' we are struck dumb with wonder at the perfect skill of the artist who can differentiate so nicely *in stone* between one feeling and another.

The next series which attracts our attention is the Vīra series. Here again we find a gradation in the expression of the emotion from the mild and excusable elation which an eminently successful Nati may experience when she compares herself with a less fortunate sister in the profession up to the intolerable hauteur



Vira : Up with me and down with every one else

of the 'new rich'. Once again the facial expression is admirably suited to the mental state concerned.

Anger (raudra) is one of the major emotions, and receives adequate treatment in the dance sculptures. Here too, we have a repre-

sentation of several stages of anger, from 'slight irritation' to 'high passion.'

Among the other emotions, hāsya and karunā may be noticed by us. The former is depicted by two poses whose general attitude is so funny, that we cannot help bursting out with laughter at the sight of the 'ludicrous'



The scorpion

figures. We are told that the buffoon is to imitate these mirth-provoking postures. Karunā is represented in three figures all of which are remarkable for the suggestiveness of their facial expression. The last figure indicating sorrow represents the skill of the sculptor in making almost identical images express widely differing emotions by significant touches in the face and limbs.

In addition to these sculptures, which are meant to express emotions, we have several which denote objects or convey ideas. There is a series associated with the name of the venomous creature, the scorpion, but whose purpose is quite harmless. These Vrischika poses are meant to suggest the idea of aerial transit.

In the dance scheme that we are studying there are poses signifying animals such as the lion, the deer, the peacock, the ram and Garuda, to denote objects like the swing, food, a river, and to indicate ideas such as war, retreat, reconciliation, etc., and all of them are beautifully and aptly executed. The expression or suggestion in each case comes pat to the occasion. Besides these poses we have an arresting range of Nritya karanas, or dances not signifying anything, but performed because they are lovely and satisfying in themselves. We have already referred to Lalāta Tilaka. Lalita or grace, as its very name indicates, is another Nritya pose. The coquettish face and the pretty pose of the hands are the very embodiment of delicacy, grace and comeliness.

We have surveyed only a few of the typical dance poses. There are scores of others equally beautiful, and equally suggestive. In conclusion, we cannot but agree whole-heartedly with the significant comment that these dance sculptures are enduring monuments to the superb skill and exalted genius of the great rishi artists who prescribed rules for carving in stone, and to the inspiration of the equally great Sthapatis who translated these rules into living images in granite.



RUBBER TRACED TO ITS NATIVE HOME

Rubber and its Story

By MOORTHY VASAN

WITH the dawn of "vulcanization," rubber has become an indispensable necessity of modern commerce. Of the total world supply of raw rubber more than half comes from the British Empire; India and Ceylon alone contributing one half of the Empire production. Behind this huge development of this raw rubber industry in our country is the story of the 'British rubber planting industry,' an enterprise founded, directed and financed by British hands, British brains and British capital.

Of the various trees and plants which were capable of yielding rubber, by far the largest and best supply came from the trees known as "Hevea Brasiliensis" or the Para rubber tree which was found in abundance in the region of Brazil. It is this tree which has been so extensively planted in India and Ceylon, and is now responsible for nearly ninety-five per cent of the world output. This Para rubber planting industry owed its inception to Henry Wickham who in 1876 obtained the seeds from Brazil by something like a smuggling exploit. Sir Joseph Hooker, the then Director of the Kew gardens, and the then Secretary of State for India, were the persons responsible for sending Wickham on this mission. The first attempt failed. A second and more daring one was made. Chance favoured Wickham. While he was puzzling himself with the few European planters of the locality about trasport problems, news of the arrival of the *Amazon* (a large steamer belonging to a line of steamship company trading between Liverpool and Alto-Amazon) without freight for the return voyage reached him. By one bold stroke he chartered the steamer on be-



When the tree has attained a girth of 20″, generally in its fifth or sixth year, the latex vessels are opened by tapping and the latex (milk) runs down through an oblique slit made half-way round the tree



The latex collects in a cup and is emptied in pails and conveyed to the estate factory

half of the Government of India and arranged with the commander to meet him at the junction of the Tapajos and Amazon rivers. En-



In the factory the milk is measured and the collector is paid according to the quantity collected

gaging as many Indian coolies as he could, he covered the forests between Tapajos and



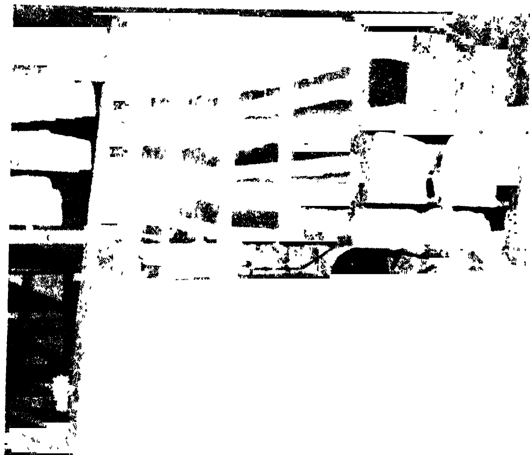
There the milk is brought to a standard dilution sieved and coagulated by the addition of dilute formic acid

Maderia—where the finest of the true Para rubber were to be found—and packed on their backs as many basket loads of seeds as they could carry. Some seventy thousand seeds were collected and brought to the steamer. It was feared that the Brazilian authorities would prohibit the export of the seeds. The captain



The coagulated milk is then poured into small tanks of the size of the required rubber sheet

favoured by fine weather sailed with all precaution and at Para where it was necessary to call, thanks to the good offices of the British consul, the steamer was allowed to proceed



The imprinted sheets are washed and then hung on racks for the purpose of draining. From where after a few hours they are transferred to the smoke-house for the drying and smoking process

without any hindrance. The voyage was quick and the seeds were preserved in the best condi-

tion. The steamer was met at Liverpool by a night goods train and the seeds were conveyed to the Kew gardens. Of the seventy thousand seeds only four per cent germinated when planted. It was certainly a very fortunate coincidence of circumstances that enabled the intrepid Wickham to collect and transport the seeds so quickly and in good condition between



The coagulated sheet is then pressed between rollers, which acts as a wringer as well as a smoother. Then it is passed through marking rollers which gives a ribbed surface by imprinting designs

Brazil and Kew. He was honoured with a knighthood by his country and the world at large showed its gratitude by awarding him the gold medal of the Rubber Growers Association. Of the plants that thrived at Kew, a consignment was sent to Ceylon and Malaya. Nearly ninety per cent of them thrived and from these plants the huge plantation industry of our country, consisting as it does of many millions of acres, has been developed.

The tree is grown about a hundred to the acre. It begins to yield in its fifth or sixth year depending upon elevation, climate and country. Rainfall influences the yield very much, the highest yield invariably follows a period of good rainfall. The tree flourishes well on poor soils and so many tracts not useful for other purposes are chosen for rubber.

When the tree has attained a girth of twenty inches, which is generally in its fifth or sixth year, it is tapped by means of a paring tool which takes off a thin shaving of the bark thus opening the latex vessels; an oblique slit is made halfway round the tree and the latex (milk) runs down into a cup provided for the



Finally the "ribbed smoked" sheet is produced ready for export

purpose. Great skill is required in cutting so as not to injure the lower living layer of the trunk. Once daily tapping was universal, but now finding it injurious to the future welfare of the tree, tapping on alternate days has been introduced on all well-managed estates. On an average a tree gives about twenty or thirty gallons of milk, each gallon producing about 2 lbs. of rubber. The latex collected in cups is emptied in pails and conveyed to the estate factory. There it is brought to a standard dilution sieved and coagulated by the addition of dilute Formic acid. The coagulation is carried in small tanks of the size of the required rubber sheet. Generally coagulation takes about twelve hours. Then the coagulated sheets are taken out and pressed between rollers, which acts as a wringer as well as a smoother. Then

it is finally passed through the marking rollers which gives a ribbed surface to the sheet by imprinting a diamond or a close cut design. The purpose is not only to give an appearance to the sheet but also to provide ridges which prevents the sheets from adhering and forming a compact mass during the shipment from the planter to the manufacturer. The presence of the ridges greatly facilitates the separation of the sheets in the factory.

After marking they are washed and then hung on racks for a few hours for the purpose of draining. Then they are transferred to the smoke-house where they are subjected to the simultaneous drying and smoking process. The purpose of smoking is to render the rubber aseptic. As a source of smoke cocoanut husk or hard wood fuel is used. The temperature of the smoke house is 110 F. and the period of smoking is usually a fortnight. After smoking the "ribbed smoked sheet" is exported and is one of the standard grades of the London Market.

VANITA VISHRAM OF BOMBAY

By K. M. JHAVERI

Vanita Vishram of Bombay founded originally at Surat in 1915 has just (April, 1940) celebrated its Silver Jubilee. Founded by two enlightened Gujarati ladies who had the misfortune to become widows early in life, on the strength of the small amounts of their *stridhan*, with the object of ameliorating the miserable and pitiable condition of women situated like themselves, it has now become an institution with a capital of nearly nine lacs of rupees including the value of immovable properties at Surat and Bombay. Princely donations like that of Rs. 50,000 from the late Srimati Jhaverbai Bhagvandas and of Rs. 100,000 (one lac) from the late Sir Vithaldas Thakarsy considerably helped the cause. Widows and needy non-widows if they happen to be



Silver Jubilee celebration of the Vanita Vishram Society. Sjt. Rajagopalachariar presided on the occasion

poor are lodged boarded and educated. There are 90 such boarders in Bombay at present, and 125 in Surat. The institution conducts primary schools, Anglo-vernacular and English schools and a women's training college. It has appealed for funds, and has succeeded in getting about a lac of rupees. With this amount it hopes to extend its activities still further such as the teaching of child nursing, mother craft, etc. Financially it is always in difficulties: Annual income Rs. 28,000, annual expense Rs. 80,000. Donations have helped to bridge the gap. The institution is conducted by ladies, old and young, and all credit is due to them that in spite of the financial stringency, they do not lose heart but bravely carry on. The Venerable Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, when he was last in Bombay, was taken over the Ashram by one of the founders Mrs. Nani Behen Gajjar, who happily is still amongst us, and he was so pleased with what he saw and so complimentary to the ladies, that that visit of his is still cherished. He said he would like to see such institutions conducted so ably and in such a businesslike way, entirely by ladies, in his own province. The beautiful souvenir book of the institution received by *The Modern Review*, gives in detail all the good work accomplished by it till now and hoped to be achieved in future. Lady Thakarsy, the widow of the donor of rupees one lac, works so wholeheartedly for the uplift of the institution and with such business acumen as to have won admiration of her male colleagues—some of them well-known business men themselves on the managing council. She is unrelaxing in her efforts to advance the cause all round. It is a model institution in the province and deserves all the publicity it can have in order to guide others who desire to work in the same line. The managers will be so glad to help them if they care to visit the Ashram and see its activities.

A BENGALI SAVANT

By PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEA, M.A.

THE first death anniversary of Sj. Jnanendra Mohan Das, the distinguished lexicographer, litterateur and savant who throughout his long and chequered life worked, without haste and without rest, to give a proper orientation to the language, literature and distinctive culture of Bengal in the hierarchy of the great languages, literatures and cultures of the world came off on the 18th April, 1940.

Born at Calcutta on the 31st July, 1872, Sj. Jnanendra Mohan Das manifested quite early in life those sterling qualities of incorruptible integrity, scrupulous veracity, indomitable moral courage, irrepressible intellectual curiosity, and, last but not least, steady and unwavering pursuit of knowledge for its own sake which marked him all through his long and eventful life. After passing out of Canning College, Lucknow, he joined Government service as confidential clerk to the I.-G. of Police, U. P., in which capacity he had many an occasion to travel far and wide and come into contact with many distinguished men of his own province then living in Upper India; and the intimate knowledge thus acquired laid the foundation of his monumental work, *Banger Bahire Bangalee*, that brilliant National Portrait Gallery of Bengalees outside Bengal, which holds the mirror faithfully up to the lives and achievements of a host of distinguished Bengalees in different spheres of life, many of whom, but for him, would, probably, have sunk 'unwept, unhonoured and unsung.' With the flair of a born research-scholar he utilized his extensive tours in garnering a rich harvest of materials for his future work, and in this connection he gladly braved the dangers of inaccessible and inhospitable regions. His visit to Garh Mukteswar to see an ancient manuscript in a temple of Siva, his journey to Badaun to have a sight of the mausoleum of a Bengalee saint of the Nanakpanthi Sect, his trek to Bateswar to gain first-hand information about an idol named *Banakhandeswar*, with the figure of Buddha on one side and that of Siva on the other, to whom the Bhils pay homage, all equally testify to his ardent zeal for knowledge and true spirit of research. In one of his self-imposed Odysseys through the howling wilderness of Ganj Dundwara (in Etawah District) he lost a very precious diary, a mine of rich information on various subjects which had taken years of laborious research to compile.

Now a few words about his literary achievements. During his stay at Allahabad in the nineties of the last century his prolific pen poured forth a stream of miscellaneous literature—a social novel, a dramatised version of Bankim Chandra's immortal *Kapalkundala*, a rollicking farce, two bouquets of verses, and numerous articles and essays. But his real literary career synchronized with the opening of the present century when his first literary venture, *Charitra Gathan*, was brought out by the Indian Press, Ltd., of Allahabad. Apart from its intrinsic literary merit this book is epoch-making in the sense that along with *Prabasi* it inaugurated the Bengalee Section of the Indian Press. With the rise of *Prabasi* on the literary horizon, Jnanendra Babu became a regular contributor, and his rich and erudite articles, especially those dwelling on the career and achievements of Bengalees in U. P. and the Punjab, became a conspicuous feature of this great Bengalee periodical. By his article "Uttarpaschim Pradesh, Ajodhya O Panjabe Bangali" Jnanendra Babu won a gold medal announced for the best essay on the subject by Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee. His literary activities were, however, interrupted for a spell by a malignant type of typhoid in 1905 which had almost cost him his life. But no sooner did this literary labourer come round than he threw himself with redoubled zeal and vigour into literary work, and the years 1907 and 1908 saw the publication respectively of *Riddhi*, a masterly treatise on and a luminous exposition of the principles of domestic economy, and a critical annotated edition of *Meghnad Badh Kavya* which is in the best traditions of Sainte Beuve and Matthew Arnold. But incessant work again told heavily on his constitution, and he threw up his job in 1917 to dedicate himself whole-heartedly to the service of the language and the people dearest to his heart. Henceforth, he devoted himself heart and soul to collecting materials for his epoch-making *Bangla Bhashar Abhidhan* (the nucleus of which is to be found in a compact and concise volume compiled by him during his sojourn at Allahabad), and the no less monumental *Banger Bahire Bangalee*. The first work saw the light in 1917, and was hailed by the press and the public as the most comprehensive, thorough and scientific dictionary of the language. Indeed, it marks the high-water mark of lexicography of which any language could well be proud. One is really staggered by the rich resources of the Bengalee language revealed in this great work. In this as in *Banger Bahire Bangalee* published a year earlier (first two volumes) he has left a rich legacy to posterity, and it is to be hoped that Bengal will not willingly let these works die. In 1919, he wrote a scholarly treatise on Judaism at the request of the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. Henceforth, he concentrated his time and attention on the collection of additional matter for a second enlarged edition of his great dictionary. But even in the midst of this strenuous end absorbing work he could make time to contribute various articles to magazines and to compose a very interesting and instructive book on animal psychology entitled *Prānider Antarer Katha* (1922). Domestic bereavement, however, clouded for a time the serenity of his mind, and he set out in quest of peace to Allahabad where during four years' stay (1926-30) he utilized his time in compiling an Anglo-Hindi dictionary for the Indian Press with the collaboration of some Hindi scholars (a pioneer work for a Bengalee), in composing six text-books for Bengalee school-boys, in translating Mr. Iswar Prasad's voluminous *History of India* into Bengalee, and in contributing articles to the periodical press. But the Herculean labour entailed by these works aggravated his chronic illness, and he could not preside over the Bengalee Section of the seventh session of the *Pravasi Banga Sahitya Sammilan* held at Indore in 1929. However, he sent a masterly address to be read at the session. In spite of ill-health he brought out the third part of *Banger Bahire Bangalee*, the fourth and fifth parts of which are in manuscript. But about this time his long-standing illness took a grave turn and threatened to end fatally. But he came round and resumed his literary vocation. After years of slow, steady and systematic research he finally completed his second revised and enlarged edition of his excellent dictionary shortly before his death last year. In the hope of recouping his failing health and satisfying his spiritual yearnings he set out, accompanied by his wife, sister and grand-niece, on a pilgrimage to the various centres in India. But soon after returning from his All-India tour he was taken seriously ill; and after a brief but painful illness which he bore with examplary fortitude his immortal spirit left the "fleshy nook," and winged its way to the heaven of everlasting peace and beautitude.

Thus ended the glorious career of a noble, selfless and upright man whose life both as a scholar and man ought to serve as a beacon light to succeeding generations of his countrymen and inspire them with lofty ideals.

THE THEORY OF TWO NATIONS

By Prof. ABDULLA SAFDAR

II

Like Islam, Hinduism is also coming into conflict with new needs and new standards of the age. Industrialism is opening up new fields of outlook. The workers of several castes have to work in the same factory. The people of different castes have to travel in the same railway compartment. Many of them cling to old moral ideas, yet they act differently in different surroundings. Among certain sections of Hindu society, this is breeding a dual outlook—cynical and hypocritical. Some flout traditional authority out-right, some do it stealthily, some still cling to the old precepts. A Hindu is not supposed to sell cattle to be slaughtered. Today in places where the standard of living is rising, useless cattle is sold by the Hindus and the Sikhs to the butcher, for instance, in central districts of the Punjab (*See* Darling's *Rusticus Loquitur*). Even south of the Sutlej, where scarcity occurs, many Hindus are driven by economic necessity to sell their superfluous stock, though few do it openly.

This conflict between traditions, religious precepts and practical needs is also visible among the Sikhs. The Sikh religion forbids the use of tobacco. But we now observe that the use of huqqa in some parts of the Punjab has become a habit with the Sikhs. Many Sikhs. though they shun tobacco and the barber, love their bottle. In many parts the Sikhs are cultivating tobacco.

Thus we observe that the followers of each religion are being divided into various classes. Modern conditions of life are splitting the men of the same faith into at least, the following three categories :—

(*i*) Those who defend the old order.
(*ii*) Those who violate in the dark but practise it in the open for the defence of their economic interests.
(*iii*) Those who disregard it completely and adapt their precepts to their needs.

These classes of the same faith now come into conflict with the similar classes of other faiths, sometimes with those that already exist. The Muslim money-lender, who now takes to this profession both stealthily and openly, comes into competition with the Hindu money-lender who is already established. Competition between these two groups takes place with regard to the rate of interest. The Muslim money-lender who takes to this profession openly, has to contend with the Hindu money-lender on economic or business grounds. The Muslim money-lender who takes to this profession stealthily contends with the Hindu money-lender openly on religious grounds. Of course, in certain provinces the Muslim money-lending and feudal classes use the state power for crushing their economic rivals by legislating various quasi-anti-usurious bills and by enforcing them against the Hindu money-lenders. In practice, the state here defends the economic position of the Muslim feudal-lords and money-lenders, though it proclaims itself to be the guardian of the downtrodden masses, particularly the peasantry. The latter is in this way, deceived and misled.

Thus the new economic conditions are making meaningless the theory of "Two Nations" in India. Today in the Muslim community there are capitalists, feudal-lords, peasants and labourers, who have indentical interests with the members of the same class in the other communities. In spite of the difference in their religion the Muslim princes and feudal-lords are collaborating with the Hindu princes and feudal-lords in perpetuating the economic bondage of the peasants, both of Hindus and of Muslim faiths. The Muslims belonging to the landed classes, together with the Hindu landlord, have been organizing themselves in land-holders' or Zamindars' Associations. The distinction in religion is not preventing them from combining their forces against the actual tillers of the soil and for the defence of their class interest. The result of this exploitation of the peasantry is that the peasant adherents of both the religions in India are combining their forces against their feudal slavery. In the countryside the peasants, irrespective of the difference in their religion, are organizing themselves into various associations and Congress committees. The history of our country is full of instances of the heroic struggle and

marches of these peasants* againt their co-religionist oppressors.

The same phenomenon is observed in the modern capitalist concerns where the industrialists of both the faiths are united in resisting the economic and cultural demand of their employees, whether Muslims or non-Muslims. Muslim members of the commercial and industrial classes have been organizing themselves, along with their Hindu class brethren, into various Chambers of Commerce for defending their capitalist class interests. Muslim workers, on the other hand, are collaborating with their Hindu brethren in organizing their Trade Unions, strikes and hartals.

Thus it is evident, that the followers of both the religions in India are being welded together by the powerful economic factors. Consequently the members of both these communities do not and cannot belong to separate national units, but are composite and inseparable parts of New India.

If we take the criterion of language we also observe that Muslims of India, not to speak of the Muslims in other parts of the world, have no community of language. They speak Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali, Sindhi, Kashmiri, etc., that is, they express themselves through the medium of the language in this or that province. It is evident, therefore, that if the Muslims were to be divided according to the language and dialects they speak in various parts of the country, there would then be two hundred and twenty-five nations among them. Hence, it is clear that Muslims do not, as a whole, form a separate nation.

The claim of the Muslim communalists that Urdu is the common language of the Muslims in India is also unfounded, particularly in view of the historical data available. The same is the case with the Hindu communalist when he says that Hindi is the lingua franca of the Hindus only in India.

In their communal zeal the communalist leaders forget the fact that both Urdu and Hindi of today are offshoots of an older Hindi dialect. Both are spoken over a large area, particularly so Urdu, and have undergone much mixture. However there is no doubt that in all parts of India, both Hindus and Muslims, have contributed to the development of these languages. The only difference in them lies in the fact that one, as a written language, is enriched by Iranian and Arabic and the other by Sanskrit. The spoken Urdu in different parts of India has its local peculiarities. The best and the purest Urdu is spoken in the United Provinces and in the vicinity of Delhi. Deccani Urdu is a mixture of Marhati, Telugu and other Dravidian dialects. In fact Hindi and Urdu are different only in name, but one in origin and spirit. Urdu is the Hindi which has been Iranised during Muslim rule in India. And it is more the outcome of Hindu needs than those of Muslims. Mughal, Afghan and Iranian nobles used to speak with each other in Iranian, and their correspondence with each other was also in that language. But the Hindus who worked under them and received education in Iranian, made a mixture of Iranian with their mother tongue. The result of this mixture was what came to be called Urdu, which was used by Muslims in their dealings with the Hindus. All important public transactions, such as Government accounts, Royal decrees, official correspondence, etc. were written in Iranian. Urdu came to the front when the doors of Iran and Afghanistan were closed to India and the Mughals lost their supremacy at Delhi. And they came more and more into direct contact with the Hindus and consequently they became accustomed to speak in Urdu. Thus it is evident that in no case Muslims can claim their exclusive rights over Urdu. It is the common language of the followers of both the religions in India.

Since the days of Muslim advent in India both Hindus and Muslims were responsible for mixing up Hindi with Iranian and founding a new dialect. The best writers in Iranian have used now and then Hindi words in their works. Such was, for instance, Zabuzi, the Iranian poet; Abul Fazl, Akbar's minister, and Emperor Aurangzeb in his private correspondence were also using Hindi words. On the other hand, Hindu poets have freely inserted Iranian and Arabic words, idioms, etc., in their prose and poetry. The result was the formation of an Iranian peculiar to India and a Hindi specialized by Iranian scholars, which afterwards took the name of Urdu or Hindustani. Both Hindi and Urdu are the same in substance and in grammatical construction, but different in script and prosody.

Unfortunately, however, contemporary Muslim writers and poets are paying less attention to the original and natural source of enriching Urdu through Sanskrit literature. This is due to their ignorance of that language. The time has come when the life of Indian people is bound to remove this defect—Muslims must do what they have done in the past; they must remember that Urdu cannot be considered and made an exclusive property of the followers of Islam in India. It has taken its birth in the Hindu-Muslim family; it is an outcome of the

combined efforts of Hindus and Muslims, and no other lânguage in India can claim to such a distinction. Its Arabic script is ill-suited to non-Muslim Indians. Why not, therefore, adopt an alphabet agreeable to those who are accustomed to write it in characters invented on different lines from the Semitic and suitable to Indian vernaculars? Why should not the Muslims in this way do the greatest service for the further spread and development of Urdu in India? Why hinder unnecessarily the process of assimilation of traditions and culture of each other—the process which already started during the period of Muslim rule?

At that time the members of both the communities, since they came in perpetual contact with one another were influencing each other's outlook. Consequently a new culture, common to both, was given birth to, a culture which is neither purely Islamic nor purely Hindu--it is Indian. That it is really so is proved by the fact that Muslims and Hindus expressed their ideas in Hindi as well as in Urdu, in the period of Muslim rule. For instance in the compositions of Chand Bardai, a court-poet of Prithvi Raj, the contemporary of Shahbuddin Ghori, we observe that Iranian words were used in Hindi poetry. Muslim poets also composed verses in Hindi using Iranian words. Abul Fraz Runi and Masud Saad Salman, both of whom flourished in the early days of Ghaznavid dynasty have each left a *diwan* of verses in Hindi with some mixture of Iranian. Shah Sharafuddin Ahmad Yahya Munizi, who was a contemporary of Khilji kings of Delhi composed a number of verses in Hindi. Amir Khusru, the celebrated poet, also composed verses in Hindi. Kabir, and Tulsidas, the two great Hindi poets have used a number of Iranian words in their compositions. Ibrahim Adilshah of Bijapur, a great lover of Indian music and a scholor spoke in the local vernacular. He changed the language of the revenue department from Iranian into Hindi. In consequence of his orders, Iranians had to give way to Hindu clerks, most of whom were Brahmins. Ibrahim Adilshah himself wrote a book on music in Hindi. His contemporary kings of Golconda, such as Mohamad Shah (1611-25), Abdulla Shah (1625-72) and Abdul Hassan Tana Shah (1672-87) were acquainted with and spoke Deccani Hindi, and composed verses in that language. Shuja-ud-din Nuri, an Iranian domiciled in Gujerat, became a tutor to the minister's son in Golconda. He was well versed in Hindi and is considered an early Hindi Muslim poet. While Hindi was replacing Iranian in Deccan, Akbar's minister Raja Todar Mal was forcing Iranian upon his Hindu subordinates. He was a minister of finance and the revenue accounts were kept in Hindi. But he subsituted Iranian and commanded Hindu officials to learn that language. On the other hand, a number of Muslim learned men, such as Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and Faizi, the elder brother of Abul Fazl, had studied Sanskrit. The latter had translated a number of Sanskrit works into Iranian. Among them is the beautiful poem entitled *Nal Daman* or the love-story of Nala and Damayanti.

The Muslim fiction, tales, stories and fables in India have also been influenced by Hindu myths. The Indian Muslim imaginary creatures are in most cases the same as those believed in common by Hindus. Instead of Ghool and Nesnas, they have the Bhuts, Churails, etc. Indian Muslims, largely under Hindu influence, carry sweets, fruits and flowers to banks of rivers or tanks and after offering prayers, consign the same to the water as a present to be accepted by Khwaja Khizr—the imaginary spiritual guide of Sufis, who is also the protector of all in distress.

Thus it is evident that Hindus and Muslims were eagerly familiarising themselves with the language, culture and traditions of one another. Muslims thereby were becoming fully Indianised. Of course, it could not be otherwise. The spread of Islam in India could not result in elimination of all the traditions, customs and other aspects of the life of the original inhabitants. On the contrary, the adherents of Islam had to assimilate cultures prevailing in the country before their advent. And from the very beginning of the Muslim rule in India this process of assimilation was started.

The administration of Muslim rulers in India, for instance, was greatly influenced by the Indians. Of course, in the first period of the Muslim rule in India, when the spread of Islam was limited only to Sind and a portion of the Punjab, Islam affected Indian society to a very limited extent. At this time it only opened the doors of India for trade for western Asia. However, in the second period, lasting for over three centuries, the rulers, though they imitated Iranian administration, yet greatly modified it under the stress of the existing conditions of their subjects. Their military organization was a combination of the Turkish and the indigenous systems. Though high offices were filled up by Muslims from Central Asia and Iran, Hindus and Indian Muslims also held offices. And their number and influence increased towards the last

days of this period, till a Hindu *bania* ruled in Delhi and a Brahman held office of the chief minister in Deccan.

A majority of the Muslims of this period, with the exception of new immigrants from Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan, spoke the current Indian vernacular, and dressed like other Indians, with whom they shared common habits. Even inter-marriages between Hindus and Muslims were introduced at the time. King Feroz Shah's mother was a daughter of Rana Mal Bhatia.

The Indianisation of the Muslim rulers can be seen from the facts that they, *i.e.*, Muslim rulers, (Altamash and his successor Balban), Muslim princes and nobles had begun to adopt Indian nicknames. Thus prince Abdullah, son of Emperor Balban's nephew, was called Chhajju, another noble had the Indian name of Kachchan. Some Indian Muslims even worshipped Indian gods and their idols. Sufi Pirs, who had taken the place of Hindu Sannyasis and Sadhus, were largely responsible for reconciling Hindu ideals with Islamic principles. They expounded doctrines agreeable to Hindus and permissible to Muslims and thus brought about friendship between Hindus and Muslims. The great seekers of truth like Alberuni, Hassan Delhvi, Amir Khusru seriously studied Hindu religion and philosophy and freely mixed with Hindus in order to know them and be one with them. Amir Khusru, a Turk by birth, a Muslim by religion and an Iranian poet, has based his best poetical works on morals drawn from Hindu stories. He even selected Hindu names for some of his heroes. Such familiarity created an atmosphere for the toleration of Hindu religion and admiration for Hindu philosophy and literature.

The third period in the Muslim rule in India—the rise of Mughal power—began in 1526 and ended in the year 1857, when the last titular Mughal ruler was deposed and deported to Burma.

The Mughal administration was based upon the military system of Turko-Mughals, which was modified by their contact with Persians and Indians. The first three of the Mughal emperors were of Turkish or Turko-Iranian blood, but Jehangir's mother was a Rajput princess. The original Turkish national spirit in this way was soon replaced by Indian spirit.

The Lodhi kings had Indianised themselves by adopting the Indian language and customs The Mughals followed the example of the Lodhis, particularly Akbar and his descendants. Emperor Akbar married a Rajput princess and Shah Jahan, was more a Rajput than a Mughal. Pandits were asked by these rulers to recite and read the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and other legendary stories of India to the emperors and princesses. When the Muslim story narrators found that their royal masters were too much absorbed in Hindu fiction, they too wrote and narrated similar stories.

Among the celebrated Muslim writers of the Mughal period who were deeply influenced by Indian culture are, for instance,

1. Abul Fazl—Akbar's minister, whose knowledge of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy was vast. His Ain-i-Akbari gives valuable information on Indian customs and history.
2. Faizi—elder brother of Abul Fazl, was a scholar of Sanskrit.
3. Nakib Khan, who, assisted by Hindu pandits, translated the Mahabharata into Iranian.
4. Prince Dara Shukoh was another enthusiastic student of Hindu philosophy. In 1657, assisted by a pandit, he completed a translation of the Upanishads and named it Sir-ul-Israr, or Sir-uk-Akbar, which means the Secret of the Secrets or the Great Secret. He also caused translation of the Bhagavat-Gita.

On the other hand there were many Hindu poets and writers who composed verses and wrote books in Iranian.

The same trend towards the amalgamation of the two great civilisations—Muslim and Hindu—is visible in architecture, music, painting and all other aspects of life. For instance, we notice that the Muslim architecture in India is in its design a mixture of Syrian, Byzantine, Egyptian and Iranian styles, while in its details it is Hindu, Jain or Buddhist. Among the builders employed by the Muslim rulers and nobles there were many Indian masters. Masons were almost all Indians. Artists and calligraphists were Iranians, Afghans, Indian Muslims and Hindus.

Important monuments of Muslim architecture show that Hindus and Muslims were becoming fused into one entity. For instance, Jaunpur founded by Feroze Shah Tughlaq and completed by Ibrahim Shah Sharqui in 1408 A.D. has gateway and halls, as elsewhere, in Muslim style, but the interior galleries and square pillars are in the Hindu style. In Bengal also the Muslim architecture is of Hindu-Muslim style. The same is the case in Gujerat, where Hindu architecture was well developed long before the Muslim conquest of India. When Alauddin annexed Gujerat it became, a little later, the seat of an independent kingdom

and its rulers adopted the prevalent local style for constructing their buildings, making such modifications as were required for their own purposes. This architecture thus became a combination of the Hindu, Jain, and Muslim styles. Some buildings, such as the mosque at Cambay (1325 A.D.) with its low dome, are of Hindu design; others, such as the mosque of Sardar Khan (1680 A.D.) are in Iranian style. The aisles of the Jumma Mosque of Ahmad are narrow and covered with domes in Hindu style. And the mosque of Muhafiz Khan, constructed in the fifteenth century, has minarets adorned in a temple form. The construction of this mosque is a good specimen of Hindu-Muslim combination in architecture.

In Deccan also the Muslim culture became fully amalgamated with that of the indigenous population, and the rulers adopted the language of their subject as their mother tongue, and gave encouragement to local arts and architecture.

"This period accordingly is found to be a fusion of Hindu and Muslim ideas in architecture." (*Outlines of Islamic Culture* by Shastry).

By the time of Syed and Lodhi dynasties, Muslims were adapting themselves to Indian manners, customs, language and culture. They were gradually becoming Indians in their habit and outlook, forgetting their past distinction. A temporary set-back, however, was given to this process of fusion by the invasion of India by Babar. But after some time this process of amalgamation of Hindus and Muslims continued with great vigour. We see this process at work in the style of Sher Shah and his few successors. This style, though Muslim from the point of view of exterior appearance, shows clearly the fact of Hindu influence in the details of workmanship, especially in the construction of the doorways. Humayun was succeeded by Akbar, who was a master in combining Iranian elegance and richness of colouring and ornamentation with the exactness and mathematical calculations of Hindu workmanship. Laurence Binyon rightly states :

"Akbar's patronage would have resulted in less of value had it not been for the example and opportunities it gave for revival of the indigenous schools of Indian art in local centres. The Hindu element, after his death, came to infiltrate more and more of the Mughal school, while outside the capital, provincial Rajas encouraged artists to give push to ancient native traditions. The whole Mughal school reflects Akbar's political aspirations; its aim is to fuse the Iranian, the Mohammedan with the Hindu style." (*Akbar*, p. 76).

The Muslim music, which was introduced in India after the conquest of Sind, became also blended with the system which prevailed among Indians. Many new tones were invented in which were blended the Iranian and Indian system. The present-day Hindustani music is the mixture of these two systems; it is based on Indian principles with a certain mixture of Iranian, Turkish and Arab tunes.

During this period of Muslim rule in India Hindustani and Deccani music came into close contact, because both found great patrons in the person of Emperor Akbar and Ibrahim Adilshah of Bijapur. Both rulers had a considerable knowledge of musical technicalities. Akbar harmonised as many as 200 Iranian tunes and Ibrahim invented a large number of tunes. Both the rulers had excellent musicians at their courts. Tan Sen was a great favourite of Akbar, at whose durbar were employed many other musicians. Both Akbar and Ibrahim Adilshah were inclined to Indianise their courts. Both made a study of Hindi language and music and adopted Hindu customs; Ibrahim even went to the extent of paying respect to the goddess Saraswati. Shah Jahan also was patronising Indian music; at his court among the musicians was Kaviraj Ram Das, who was once weighed against gold. Among the Mughal nobles Abul Rahim Khan-i-Khan was so fond of Indian music that he presented once one lakh of rupees to the musician Ram Das. Akbar once gave a reward of one lakh of rupees to Tan Sen.

Hindu and Muslim painters were also influencing each other at the time. Hindu artists influenced Muslim artists in changing their Chinese and Mongolian features into Aryan and Indian. Muslim painting, particularly during the Mughal period, was a combination of the Iranian with the indigenous portraiture —the peculiarity of the Mughal period.

The Iranian miniature painting started in Central Asia reached its fullest development at first in Iran and later in India, where it retained not only its beauty and grace but also introduced a new outlook in the painting of Indian landscapes and the splendour of Mughal Durbars.

The same process of adaptation is also visible in the dress of Muslims. Of course, today in all the Muslim countries, the dress of men and women is fast becoming Europeanized. In Iran and Arabia the European overcoats are being substituted for Abe. In India Muslims follow Hindus in Indian villages, though in large cities their dress is a mixture of what prevails among Europeans, Mughals, Arabs, Iranians, Afghans, and Indians. Muslim women are beginning to wear saries, much like Hindus with small modifications. Saries are becoming

most popular not only among Indian Muslims, but even among domiciled Iranians, Afghans and Europeans in India.

The position of Muslim parents in India is also different in conformity with the customs of the country. Of course, everywhere the children pay the greatest respect to their parents. But the form of paying this respect varies according to countries. In Iran and Central Asia, during festivals, after performing prayers, children kiss hands of their parents and receive their blessings. In India under Hindu influence and the custom of the country, the feet of the parents are touched by way of respect.

Indianization of marriage customs among the Muslims is also another characteristic feature showing the fusion of the followers of both the religious communities into a single national entity. It can be definitely stated that the system of marriage among the Muslims in India is in many respects different from the customs prevailing in other Muslim countries. Though inter-marriages between Hindus and Muslims do not exist as a rule, yet there are a large number of ceremonies in India among the Muslims and the Hindus which are taken over from each other and adopted by the members of both the communities.

The ceremony of rubbing turmeric, mehdi, for instance, does not exist outside India, but it is practised by the Muslims in our country under Hindu influence. Further, in India the bride, influenced by the custom of the country, does not speak with her bridegroom for days after the marriage, but in Iran and other countries of west Asia, they soon become familiar with each other.

Even in the religious field, the same process of adaptation began to take place. For instance, the monotheistic doctrine of Islam gradually and unconsciously spread among certain classes of Hindus and cast its influence, subtle in form, but nevertheless effective, not only on religious beliefs but also on high philosophical conceptions. Several new religious movements started in India as a result of such influence. Among these may be mentioned the following :

1. The school of thought founded by Kabir, a Muslim born, who had been greatly influenced by Hindu philosophy. Kabir was born in 1440 A.D. and died in 1518. He was a disciple of Ramananda and recognized Rama as the name of one God and announced monotheism.

2. Baba Nanak was born about 29 years after the birth of Kabir. He died in 1538. He was a believer in the monotheism preached by Islam. His writings are, as a matter of fact, partly in Iranian. Like Kabir, but in a different manner, he attempted to harmonize Hindu ideals with the Islamic doctrine. He was the founder of Sikh community.

There have been a number of other movements purporting to reform Hinduism from within by consciously or unconsciously adopting one or more strong points from Islam. Some of these have called themselves Muslim, while others have remained Hindu, or have taken new names for themselves. Among these are the Husanic Brahmans, who are devoted to Imam Husain, the grandson of the Prophet; the Pirzadas, the Satnamies, the Khojas, Chjju-panthies, etc. The movement started by Swani Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj, has been also influenced, to some extent, by the Islamic doctrine. It is also an undoubted fact that the individual efforts of Sufi saints through seven hundred years of Muslim ascendency have modified the religious views of both Hindus and Muslims all over India. It is a fact that Indian Muslims have been much influenced by Hindu ideals, social customs, religious beliefs and philosophical views. The Sufis, who strived to convert Hindus into Islam have themselves been affected in turn by Hinduism, even to the extent of modifying some essential points in Islam. For instance, one Sadr-ud-din, an Iranian Muslim Missionary, wrote a book entitled *Dasavatar* (or the ten incarnations) in which he has admitted the ten incarnations of Vishnu, and added that Ali, the fourth Khalif, was the expected tenth incarnation of the said diety. The Mughal emperors, beginning with Akbar, dressed themselves partly in Hindu and partly in Irano-Mughal manner. The forehead was marked after the fashion of the Hindus, and Akbar even venerated the Sun and followed certain Hindu ceremonies. His harem was filled with Rajput ladies, who carried out all their Hindu religious customs in the harem.

Thus, while India has been influenced by the Muslim invaders, she has in its turn, influenced them much more in all aspects of their life, not excluding the religious. From the foregoing it is evident that Hindus and Muslims collectively created a new spiritual outlook and culture, which began to develop during the rule of the Slave, the Khilji, the Tughlaq and the Lodhi dynasties, and eventually attained perfection under the Mughals. In this way cultural uniformity was achieved. The process is still continuing and enabling to help the development of new India. Of course, the change of government, with the advent of Europeans, hindered the complete development of this uni-

fied culture, because the latter had to shape itself in a new condition.

Indian culture today is being built up upon an Indo-European basis, in which both the educated Muslims and Hindus are taking part and this in course of time is bound to settle down into a code of uniform national culture for the members of all the communities in India.

Professor Nur Ellahi in a statement to the Punjab Unemployment Committee has rightly noted this fact. He writes :

"Under the Mughal rule Hindu and Muslim cultures seem to have entered into a wedlock, so much so that almost every Hindu scholar knew Persian, and not a few scholars were equally well-versed in Sanskrit, and this happy union produced a common language called Urdu or Hindustani. Still, as long as education was imparted in Muktabs and Pathshalas which were quasi-religious institutions, and it centered round religious instruction, some difference, howsoever artificial, may be said to have been preserved between Hindu and Muslim cultures. But at the present time when education, even in the denominational schools, is almost exclusively secular, and that too modelled on English pattern, the Muslim and Hindu both being but faithful imitators of the West, are culturally indistinguishable, and therefore Muslim and Hindu culture, as distinct entities, have ceased to exist." (page 160).

This historical survey teaches only one lesson to the followers of various religions in India, particularly to the Muslims in India. This is the lesson of mutual trust and co-operation in the task of building up a happy future for all the Indians. Let the Muslims of this country remember that Islam encourages social reform and radical changes in human society. Those Muslims, who have sense enough, for example, the Turks, have torn to pieces all those customs which have proved to be obstacles in the way of progress and yet remain good Muslims. Indian Muslims can do the same.

We do not ask the followers of Islam to give up their religion, but they must give up superstition. They must not be content with Government services, but seek a hundred other avenues of life and source of livelihood. They must strive after economic, social, moral and political betterment of themselves and those with whom they have to live and carry on. They must join their countrymen and minimize their differences with others and evolve a common aim and common aspiration for the country as a whole. The Muslims should remember that Islam preaches manliness and chivalry and not hatred and jealousy. A strong and united India means a strong Iran, a strong Iraq and a strong Arabia. Imperialism is the cause of the weakness of all these countries.

Hindu-Muslim unity is not possible so long as both the major communities strive for their own single betterment. The effort should be for combined, united action, of Hindus and Muslims. The time has come when not only Hindus and Muslims must forget their differences, but others, such as Sikhs and Christians, also must join and show to the world that all the Indians constitute one great people.

The history of the last ten centuries had united all the inhabitants of this country into a single whole—now they must complete this work of unity by composing their differences, and subordinating them to higher interests and aspirations, which may mean so much to India and so much more to Asia and Europe generally and to the world at large. Islam, as a religion, is no hindrance to the realization of this ideal, it is a help towards its realization, if rightly understood by those who profess to follow it. Muslims have the great advantage of simplicity of their religion and the absence of caste system. There can be no obstacle to their progress, if they are only determined to better themselves in co-operation with other communities of the country. This means that they should actively participate in the national struggle.

Of course, by doing so, they shall have to struggle not with one but with several opponents. But the success of nationalism over the bigotry of the reactionaries seems certain. "It is a question of time," writes Professor Shastry in his *Outlines of Islamic Culture,* "but undoubtedly the day has come when religious differences must disappear and the followers of all religions in India must live in harmony and form one solid nation, possessing one common political objective and aim. Islam cannot but contribute its quota to the attainment of such an end."

(*Concluded.*)



ART IN A CHANGING WORLD

By ELIZABETH DAWSON

Are works of art to be judged according to standards which are fixed and unchanging? Are the poets of a bygone age of as much value to us today as they were to the people of their own time? Does modern science have anything to offer us in our effort to evaluate the artist's work? Do the economic problem of our times have any relation to the worth of a painting, a statue, or a poem?

Such questions are being discussed among certain left-wing critics in America today. Prominent among them is V. F. Calverton, author of several works on social and literary questions, and editor of the *Modern Monthly*, a literary magazine devoted to the newer type of criticism. In such books as *The Newer Spirit* and *The Liberation of American Literature*, he has presented an approach to literature which breaks with the old traditions and sets up what might be called a sociological school of criticism. Since much of this new thought derives from the philosophy of Karl Marx, and since many of the terms used can be understood only in the light of that dialectical materialism which forms the basis of his theories concerning economic man, it will be well to present a brief analysis of Marxian theory and its influence on the attitudes toward art of such men as Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, before considering in greater detail the critical theory of Calverton.



V. F. Calverton

In the first place, it must be remembered that Marx began with a materialistic concept of the universe. He took out God or soul from the world. However, though he maintained that reality is material, nevertheless he thought of this matter as evolving, through a "historic necessity," a force acting without consciousness and without will, toward ideal ends. Thus it follows that there is an endless evolution of human society from lower to higher forms, an evolution in which, moreover, human beings actively participate. For only through the conflict of human desires will this material world reach its goal. And so, though man is a product of his environment, and is not free to choose that environment since every force is a product of former activity in the evolutionary process, man himself changes his environment. This is the dialectic upon which Marxist thought is based.

There is, then, a constant interaction among the processes of nature, society, and human intelligence. On the basis of this reasoning, man's thinking becomes an "active historical agent," and Marxian philosophy a philosophy of action.

From this point Marx proceeds, logically enough, to three further propositions:

(1) That human existence is bound up with the processes of material production, which lead to the division into classes and inevitably to class struggle;

(2) That class struggle leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat or the wage-earning class; and

(3) That this dictatorship will eventually lead to the merging of everyone in the proletariat and thus to the abolition of class.

These fundamental principles will be used again and again in the pages that follow. They form the basis for a whole body of critical theory which has developed since the Marxian philosophy was formulated. Marx himself, however, was not very much interested in theories of art as related to his system of thought. He believed that, before people can develop culturally, they must dispose of the material problems of food, clothing, and shelter. In other words, one cannot fully appreciate a work of art on an empty stomach. Moreover, he felt that his theory of social revolution was a science, and that aesthetics was one of the non-scientific forms in which, nevertheless, men may become conscious of social revolution. But he was convinced that the ways of a scientist are not the ways of an artist. He could not visualize the painter or the sculptor or the poet testing and measuring and weighing in a kind of aesthetic laboratory the tone or color or rhythm or melody which he put into his work of art. And though, in accordance with his materialistic concept, he maintained that art forms are bound up with certain forms of social development and that therefore much of the culture of a dead past

is dangerous to the class struggle, still he recognized some of that same culture as capable of being reinterpreted in the light of the present and then built into the new order.

Trotsky holds much the same view. "Art has its own laws," he says in *Literature and Revolution*, ". . . . the Marxian methods are not the same as the artistic . . . . It [the Communist Party] can and must protect and help, but it can only lead indirectly." He goes on to say that the proletariat at the present time cannot create a new culture because its energy will be spent in struggling for "the most urgent needs of existence." Only when it ceases to be a proletariat, when the classless society has arrived, will it have the leisure to turn to artistic pursuits. Then, however, its art will not be proletarian but human. Hence, there is no proletarian art.

Lenin, on the other hand, though he looked toward some ultimate goal, did not exclude a period of cultural work and artistic production before that goal had been reached. Yet he was, like Trotsky, decidedly of the opinion that the greatest art cannot be produced in a society whose members are ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed. Polonsky, founder and editor in Lenin's day of the Bolshevik journal, *Press and Revolution*, says, in his essay, "Lenin's Views of Art and Culture," that Lenin considered the chief aims of Communism to be the education of the masses and the raising of their economic level to a point where they would be able to enjoy art as it exists and to know how to interpret it. Then and only then would their creative powers be released; then and only then would a geniunely new and great Communist art develop.

Lenin loved art and considered it a power. He wanted to preserve the beautiful, take it as a model, and make it a starting point for the new culture which was to be created by the whole development of mankind. He was particularly fond of Tolstoi's writings. Like Tolstoi, he wanted literature not for a few, but for all; and like Tolstoi, he demanded simplicity and clarity in writing so that all could participate in the enjoyment of it.

It is evident that, in general, Marx, Trotsky and Lenin agreed on a very broad and loose application of the theory of dialectic materialism to artistic production. With the death of Lenin, however, and the beginning of the Stalinist regime, a very different attitude arose. As Max Eastman has pointed out in his *Artists in Uniform*, a strict and literal-minded interpretation of Marxist doctrine was applied to cultural pursuits. This narrow view, which has prevailed to a greater or less degree in the Soviet Union since 1924, resolves itself into the dictum that art must be propaganda created and carried out in systematized fashion as weapons of the working class in its struggle for power. It renounces the individualism of the artist and places all art under the discipline and guidance of the Communist Party. One must not understand, however, that this literal-minded interpretation is an inevitable result of Marxist philosophy. The attitude of Marx himself, and of Lenin and Trotsky, as has been shown, proves the contrary. As a matter of fact, in the United States it would be hard to find a Marxist critic who fully subscribes to this interpretation. Even the *New Masses*, the official organ of the Communist Party in America, was denounced by the Soviet for, among other things, keeping secret the anti-Communist tendencies of such critics as V. F. Calverton and Max Eastman, who had formerly been closely associated with the magazine.

Let us now examine the critical theories of Calverton as representative of the sociological criticism developing in America during the last few years. It is hard to see how he could be termed anti-Communist, for, though he certainly does not accept the Stalinist attitude toward the function of the artist in the class struggle, he goes even further than Marx in considering art in general, and literature in particular, in connection with social aims and ideals.

It may be well to begin with Calverton's conception of the "Great Man," as set forth in his book of critical essays, *The Newer Spirit*. A literary genius, he says in effect, is made, not born. That is, a genius as well as any other man is a product of his environment, which includes economic conditions, education (dependent largely upon economic conditions), and inherited and mental combinations (which ultimately come from environment). He is not the result of mystery or accident or a supernatural impulse, but of definite causes that favor him and that can be discovered. In Calverton's own words,

> "When it is said that . . . . Shakespeare is the greatest writer in the world because his knowledge of human nature was so various or profound, or because he was the master of such sublime thought, what we in casual terms have said is that Shakespeare came into contact with those stimuli, those experiences if you will, that, reacting on his nature, could but inevitably make him the man and author he was."

Thus the critic must investigate the various stimuli to which the genius has been exposed in order to evaluate his work correctly.

Many factors must be taken into account in this investigation. There is first the historical background of the artist, which cannot be ignored. Calverton himself furnishes a good example of criticism which builds upon the historical approach in his book, *The Liberation of American Literature*. In order to give his readers the proper perspective on American writers, he shows how literature has progressed through three stages of evolution in the western world:

(1) The aristocratic stage, based on feudalism and a rigid social system and extending through the Middle Ages on down to about 1700;
(2) The bourgeois stage, based on the rise of the middle class in wealth and industrial power and extending roughly from 1700 to the World War;
(3) The proletarian stage, based on the awakening of class consciousness among the working people and only now getting well under way

The historical approach, it can be seen at once, would much better be called the historical-economic-sociological approach. For history is here interpreted, in Marxian fashion, on the basis of economic and sociological changes. Against this background Calverton deplores the colonial heritage of America which harked back to the traditions of a feudal England; praises the frontier spirit which freed it from the colonial complex and produced Mark Twain, "our first American writer of importance;" at the same time regrets the "petty bourgeois spirit" as expressed in the frontier emphasis on morals and religion; and finally hails the proletarian writers of the present time as representing the most significant recent movement in American literature.

But one must not stop with an investigation of the social and economic environment of the writer. There are also those "subtler stimuli" which account for the artist's ear for tone, rhythm, melody—all that goes into the making of what is called style or form in art. These stimuli can be discovered through the application of experimental or objective psychology. It is necessary to get deeper into the individual.

Notwithstanding all this emphasis on environment, Calverton believes that the literary artist is not its helpless victim, but a creative part of it, able to help shape and rebuild it. Here one may detect the influence of that Marxian theory of the constant interaction among nature, society, and human intelligence already referred to. The creative artist must perform his part by rejecting the old world and subscribing to the new. And a writer who refuses to sever his connection with the traditions of the past is condemned as an "escapist," retreating into a dead world because he does not have the courage to face the realities of the present.

If, then, the artist must turn his back upon tradition, it follows inevitably that a work of art does not possess a positive or absolute value which can be established as a basis for aesthetic judgments. The value of a poem or a play or an essay will vary with changes in the social structure and the immediate environment, and *new values must be constantly set up.* Thus Calverton goes so far as to say that Shakespeare's plays about emperors and lords, "the strifes and aspirations of royalty," have far less value now than they had in the feudalistic sixteenth century. Shakespeare should not be condemned for his aristocratic conception of tragedy: being a product of his environment, like any writer, he could not contribute "a single idea which was in advance of his generation." But since his ideas, like those of the Greek tragedies, the Bible, even of Tolstoi's novels, are not fundamentally those of the twentieth century, his rating is now considerably lowered. I use the word *rating* because Calverton attempts mathematical precision at this point. Tolstoi, for instance, who might have had a rating of 90 under the feudal regime of Russia, under the new culture may be reduced to a value of less than 60; and Dickens' *David Copperfield*, which today we assess at approximately 85, may be forced down to a position of 45. In Calverton's own words,

"A critical judgment could only be ultimately permanent considered in historical perspective, if the ideas and customs of man, the concepts by which he reasons, the social organization from which these ideas, customs, and concepts arise, were static, and not in the state of flux that Heraclitus so long ago perceived . . . and that Hegel, Buckle, Marx, and Darwin so eloquently proved"

In plain words, then, we must look to the future and not to the past.

The sociological critic applies the principle of historical evolution not only to subject-matter, but also to technique in literature. Just as there are no absolute values in ideas, so is there no perfect style for all ages. We must consider the social origin of styles. Calverton pionts out that the manner of writing in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* or *The Sermon on the Mount* is not suited to our mechanistic civilization. He refers approvingly to an essay of the American, Sherwood Anderson, in which the latter states that since our land is wide and loose and crude, "our poetry and prose must express this looseness and immaturity if they

are to be an exact reflection of our nation," and suggests Carl Sandburg's *Mid-American Chants* as a good example.

Actually Calverton pays a good deal of attention to style or form in his criticism of modern American writers. Yet he finally makes clear to us that style is to him only a means to an end; the *idea* is that end. And since thought, and thought with social significance, is the object of art, it is necessary to make criticism as definite and precise as one can so that the possibility of error will be reduced to a minimum. In other words, it must be put on a scientific basis, made objective. For instance, until our qualifying adjectives and adverbs, such as rich, severe, soft, elegant, fine, splendid, can be "reduced to definite quantitative character," that is, to actual mathematical formulae, they are dangerous words to use in describing works of art. We must get rid of the idea that the mysterious, the undefined, the unknown are the sources of beautiful in art, and work toward absolute precision of terms exactly as a scientist does. Thus the danger of judging art by the emotions, by mere "subjective caprice," will be avoided. We must look for objective truth in the artistic production, not for the good and bad in it nor the pleasure and pain it affords. Calverton admits that "number" does not now solve the problem of reality nor the difficulties of life and death nor "that unknown content which is the stuff of consciousness." Yet he looks forward to the time when science will have overcome even these difficulties. He envisages a kind of scientific-aesthetic laboratory for the critic, though not, it is true, for the artist. In the meantime we would do well to ignore the immeasurable. To know all the properties of an object is for practical purposes all that we need to know.

In accordance with the above principle, it is not surprising that Calverton wants realism in literature—but a realism that will come as close to scientific truth as possible. In order to achieve this end, the writer should deal with the concrete things that he can know from his own experience. Thus Sherwood Anderson's *Marching Men* is criticized for its mysticism, its allegory; and *Winesburg, Ohio* is considered the novelist's greatest work because it deals with Anderson's original environment, the small town, and is devoted to an objective description of the characteristics of small-town people.

To heighten this realistic effect it is necessary that the action of the story seem inevitable. Calverton points out that in the history of literature there has been an evolution in the selection of material from the impossible (fairy tale, myth, fable), to the improbable (romantic fiction, Elizabethan tragedy), to the probable (most of the nineteenth-century fiction), to the inevitable, which should now be demanded in a story.

As regards characterization, there is a very definite linking up with this theory of inevitability in relation to the recognition of cause and effect in sociology. Since man is a product of his environment, he cannot be held responsible for his evil (or anti-social) acts: they are inevitable. Crime is considered a product of conditions (the injustice of a social system or of some other adverse circumstance), and not of the innate wickedness of human nature. Nor, for the same reason, does he deserve praise for his good (or social) acts. Virtues like honesty and chastity no longer become the embodiment of greatness in character and the source of emotional appeal. Furthermore, it is unthinkable that anyone's environment would produce a wholly good or a wholly bad person. Thus, the onesided character, the traditional villain or hero of fiction, disappears. Instead, we must have the character in which traits are mixed as they undoubtedly are in life—again the realistic approach. The aim of the artist, as of the scientist, is to make one understand—solely that: understand the social forces which account for the actions of the characters and the social consequences that will inevitably follow.

One would think that the idea of the universality of character would not enter into the revolutionary critic's body of theory if the "ideal" good or the "ideal" evil is not to be presented in literature. But not so. There *is* a universality of character, but a very different one from the classical concept. Now a person in fiction must be one who can be readily visualized, felt, and understood by *everyone*, a "well-rounded" person (well-rounded in the sense that he is a mixture of traits) who is representative of people in the real world, not of ideal virtue or of ideal vice.

This idea of universality is carried much further, and in a direction which shows a reflection of Tolstoi's thinking. The final aim of literature should be a universality that excludes no nation, no race, no class. Art should be a part of the life of the whole people, who must be educated to understand and appreciate it, and released from economic pressure so that their creative powers may be given a chance for expression.

Calverton feels that, in America, the pro-

letarian writers have made a beginning toward that goal. He defines these writers as those "who have adopted the revolutionary point of view of the proletarian ideology, and who try to express that ideology in their work." They are convinced that our modern industrial system is bringing distress and degradation to a large part of the human race and that their literature can serve a great purpose only if it contributes to the destruction of present-day society and helps toward the construction of a new society built upon a social or collective rather than an individualistic ideal. When the mass of the people everywhere have become a part of this new society, there will grow up a new social point of view which will make "art serve man as a thing of beauty, and not man serve art as a thing of escape." But that time is not now. And until that time arrives, the artist will serve his own purpose best by using his talents to bring about the new order in which artistic activity will be an accepted part of every man's life.

Thus Calverton on art in a changing world. His ideas are revolutionary ones. They upset the traditional ideas of literary criticism at almost every point. And, of course, as a whole they are not generally accepted in his own country. They rest upon a materialistic basis which is highly controversial. But whether one accepts his fundamental premise or not, it cannot be denied that his theories concerning the artist and the ctritic contain much that demands thought and that they are having an ever-widening influence.

Iowa.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA AND CHARLES FREER ANDREWS

By ASUTOSH BAGCHI

Until 1937, the distinguished gathering of scholars and elite of the city and the young graduates assembled at the Annual Convocation of the University had to remain satisfied with speeches from the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor recounting from year to year a stereotyped tale of the activities of the University during the year under review, only occasionally digressing into economic and political problems of the country and the Province. These speeches must have had their special interest in the academic circle. But to most lay members present at these functions the utterances of the exalted personages were but platitudinous exhortations, except on rare occasions when master-minds delivered inspiring and impassioned addresses.

Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee, youngest of the Vice-Chancellors, introduced the healthy practice of inviting men of eminence to address the Convocation. It was an innovation so far as the Calcutta University was concerned. Nothing could be happier than inviting Rabindranath Tagore, the greatest living Poet of the world, to address the Convocation in the first instance in 1937. The Poet also broke new ground, as is natural with him, by addressing the Convocation in the language of the people of the Province and not in that of their masters, as was the tradition ever since the foundation of this oldest of the Indian Universities. Every one present there hung on his words as the Poet-sage delivered the address in his melodious voice.

In the year following this, the University, yet under the guidance of the same imaginative Vice-Chancellor, invited an universally respected Englishman in the person of Charles Freer Andrews, who had earned by his devoted and unsparing service to India an abiding place in the hearts of millions of this land, to address the Convocation.

This Convocation was presided over by the late Lord Brabourne of happy memory as Chancellor. C. F. Andrews himself was a finished product of a great English University and for the greater part of his life was intimately connected with active educational work.

Robed in simple white *khadi* in the right Indian manner, Andrews stood up to deliver his message to the students. The purity of his life —a life dedicated to the service of God in the "poorest and lowliest and lost" and his radiant and venerable appearance created a tranquil atmosphere and added a simple dignity to the solemn academic function of an official University. His unpretentious address began with the words "Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Friends." The very word 'friends' struck a new chord. From the beginning to the end of his simple address there was not a word that betrayed pompous pedantry. His great learning was completely assimilated in his whole being, it was no burden on him. Here was a man bent with wisdom and age speaking to his

youthful listeners not from a lofty pedestal of conscious greatness or pedantic pride. The student-world perhaps for the first time on an occasion like this listened to a person speaking from their own level simple truths and the homely experiences of his own life in simple unembellished language. Every word that he uttered went straight into their hearts as it fell from the lips of one never used to talking platitudes. The whole address was a spontaneous outpouring of an unsullied soul delivered in quiet accents in the style of a heart to heart talk. He laid emphasis on the personal contact of the teacher and the pupil which is the principal factor in bringing out the latent faculties in the student. He stressed the spirit of friendliness and love between the teacher and the taught as the *sine qua non* to make education fruitful, and bring about that self-expression which is the end of all education.

It was a striking address from this point of view and it could come only from a man like Andrews, the bed-rock of whose life was the bringing about of a harmonious relation between man and man, between the East and the West, between England and India.

It is to be devoutly wished that some Calcutta daily would republish, with the permission of the University, the whole of this singular address in these days of turmoil in the student community.

THE WAR AND INDIAN IMPORTS

By MONORANJAN GUPTA, B.SC.

THE German success in Poland brought out a declaration from the British Parliament that they would soon effect a clearance of German ships from the seas and present an opportunity to the Neutrals and Allies to extend their markets to the East and other countries. The British honoured their declaration and India found in October, November and December, 1939, numerous foreigners arriving by air offering their goods at higher rates in replacement of German articles.

At this hour Indian industries felt keenly the dearth of chemicals required for their processes, and an opinion was afloat that this was an opportunity for capitalists to foster Indian chemical and other industries in order to satisfy our own needs at home.

This reacted on the Government of India to offer a timely warning that capitalists should calculate what would be the result in time of peace when foreign competition and absence of protection from the Government were bound to affect the new ventures adversely. They however advised that all indents should be sent to Imperial Chemical Industries (I. C. I.), a British organisation which had divided territories of trade with Germany before the war.

In the December, 1939, issue of *Advertising Monthly*, London, appears an article "What Price India ?" by Mr. P. G. Rose, London Manager, Stronachs, Ltd. (well-known Advertisement House dealing in International trade). We find in it :

"If the Government really make sooner effort to make known their war aims and the real issues at stake, they will, Congress or no Congress, retain the sympathies and support of the masses in India and British trade will benefit accordingly . . . . The following figures indicate the competitive position of the principal countries of supply during the past two years.

YEAR ENDED MARCH 31ST.

	1936-37.		1937-38.	
	Rs. (lakhs)	Per cent.	Rs. (lakhs)	Per cent.
United Kingdom	48·08	38·4	51·82	30·0
Japan ..	21·25	17·0	22·23	12·7
Germany ..	12·14	9·7	15·31	8·7
U. S. A. ..	8·16	6·5	12·90	7·5
Italy ..	1·21	1·0	2·57	1·7

Who in 1940 will obtain the 1531 lakhs of business that Germany has lost ?

Who will step in and consolidate the business and trade which Germans in India have lost ?

What British firm will be the new Havero Trading Company ?

Will Kodaks obtain all the Agfa business ?

What Aspirin will take the place of Cafiaspirin ?

Is our Motor car Industry, loaded up (we are told) with war work at home, going to hand India on a plate to the Americans ?

What British Radio Receiver Manufacturing Company will answer demand which is daily increasing in India for better Radio Instruments ? (Mr. Power where are you at this hour ?)"

The implications of the above quotation however find an alleviating factor in the shape of a news then prominently printed in India. The news reads, in the *Chemical Trade Journal* and *Chemical Engineer*, London, 12th January, 1940, issue, as under :

"Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member to the Government of India, and Chairman of the recently formed Economic Resources Board, who has been visiting important commercial countries to explain the Government's war supply policy, said in Bombay that it was intended to exploit to the full the unique chance now presented by the indirect protection, import restrictions and the rise in import prices, to develop Indian Manufacturing Industries."

When Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar reads "the unique chance" in the "indirect protection, import restrictions and the rise of import prices" the same Journal in its 2nd February issue gives the following news :

"The engineering employees of the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. (except in its metal group) have been granted an increase of bonus on earnings of 3½ per cent, making the revised bonus 13½ per cent and a war addition on wages of 2 shillings per week. The war addition is to be payable as a fixed weekly amount irrespective of hours of work and period of absence, so long as employees remain on the pay roll of the company, and is to be independent of and have no connection with the wage rates."

The above indicates that the Imperial Chemical Industries are making increased profits in business and this is justified by the favourable situation in which they work. That every line of manufacture is having full consideration by the manufacturers of the world to have a share in the Indian business will be evident from the editorial note of the 1st March, 1940, issue of the abovementioned Journal. The editor writes under the head, "The Indian Dye Stuff Market."

"The opportunity afforded by the temporary elimination of Germany from the Indian Dye stuffs market will not, it can be taken for granted, be negleted by the British Manufacturers of the material nor presumably by such neutral competitors as Switzerland, Japan and the U. S. A."

The easily pleased and beguiled public of India, however, will seek and find solace in the following news :

"The Government of India is to establish a Board of Scientific and Industrial Research. In next year's Budget £37,500 will be provided for the Board's activities."

We have however read with the same news elsewhere that the British Government in England have floated an Associate organisation with its own capital through which the manufacturers will carry on International trade on a more secured financial structure. Let us also quote in this connection from the *Pharmaceutical Journal*, London, 23rd March issue :

"The drive to increase exports of British goods which is now well under way is not likely to be missed by manufacturers of pharmaceutical chemicals . . . Many of the big chemical firms have spent vast sums of money in founding and developing their export business with such countries as China, India and the Dominions, as well as the South American Republics, countries now completely cut off from German sources."

Let us remember in this connection ex-Premier Mr. Chamberlain's declaration that the United Kingdom has always fostered democracy and how they became involved in the present war to support democracy and independence of the aggressed weak nations, and read the following from D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P.'s latest work *Must the War Spread* ?

"The fundamental conflict of interest between the U. S. A. and the United Kingdom in all matters of world trade, commerce markets, investments, raw materials etc., etc., is profound and none the less profound for widely observed convention in Britain to ignore it."

Side-tracking the above issue the *Daily Telegraph* special correspondent in Washington writes, on February 20th that

"Germany appears to be using the United States as a source of supply to a greater extent than the allied powers. Thirteen neutral nations capable of acting as middlemen between the United States and Germany are, Italy, Russia, four Balkan and three Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland Hungary and Switzerland. Since war began American exports to these countries have taken an astonishing leap forward. During the last four months of 1938 American exports amounted to £35,000,000. In the last four months of 1939 they have risen to £52,000,000."

Commenting on the above news the *Soap Perfumery and Cosmetics Journal* of London writes :

"American industry not unnaturally regards the present European war as an excellent opportunity for imperial expansion."

The word 'imperial' may appear to be striking. But I believe I have been successful in showing how this war promotes economic imperialism. That leads me to quote here some relevant sections of the Ramgarh Congress resolution.

"The recent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India demonstrate that Great Britain is carrying on war fundamentally for imperialist ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire, which is based on the exploitation of the people of India, as well as other Asiatic and African countries. Under the circumstances, it is clear that the Congress cannot in any way, directly or indirectly be party to the war, which means continuance and perpetuation of this exploitation.

"The Congress hereby declares again that nothing short of complete independence can be acceptable by the people of India. Within the orbit of imperialism and Dominion status or any other status within the imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India, is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation and would bind India in many ways to British politics and economic structure.

"The Congress has always aimed at a constitution where the fullest freedom and opportunities of development are guaranteed to the group and the individual and social injustice yields place to a juster social order. Foreign interests, if they are not in conflict with the interets of the Indian people, will be protected."

IS THE PAKISTAN PROPOSAL A 'COMMAND PERFORMANCE'?

[Presidential speech at the meeting of Hindu citizens held on the 8th May, 1940, in the Calcutta Town-hall.]

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

The hurling of the Pakistan proposal at the heads of Indian nationalists may or may not be a part of a 'command performance.' But if the British Government ever gets an Act passed in the British Parliament dividing India into a Hindusthan and a Pakistan, it will be of a piece with the Communal Decision and other previous measures of similar character, of which the object has been "the pulling back" of the Muslims "from joining the ranks of" the Indian nationalists.

The first definite enunciation of the two nations theory came from Lord Dufferin, who said:

"But perhaps the most patent characteristic of our Indian cosmos is its division into two mighty political communities as distinct from each other as the poles asunder in their religious faith, their historical antecedents, their social organization, and their natural aptitudes; on the one hand the Hindus numbering 190 millions with their polytheistic beliefs, their temples adorned with images and idols, their veneration for the sacred cow, their elaborate caste distinctions, and their habits of submission to successive conquerors—on the other hand, the Mohammedans, a nation of 50 millions with their monotheism, their iconoclastic fanaticism, their animal sacrifices, their social equality, and their remembrance of the days when enthroned at Delhi they reigned supreme from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin."

It is unnecessary for me to point out in detail the superficial observations and the historical and other untruths and half-truths contained in the passage quoted above. Nor is it necessary to pass in review all that happened before the Morley-Minto and the Montagu-Chelmsford 'Reforms' and those 'Reforms' themselves. Suffice it to say that they were in keeping with the two nations theory.

I need only remind you of the Muslim deputation, headed by the Aga Khan, which presented an address to Lord Minto at Simla on October 1, 1906, which has been so often correctly spoken of as a 'command performance.' This deputation was foreshadowed in Lord Minto's letter to Lord Morley, dated May 28th, 1906, in which the former stated, "I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims," though the counterpoise actually mentioned therein was different from it. The Aga Khan deputation wanted that "the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community" and that the position of the Muslims should be estimated "not merely on their numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of the community and the service it rendered to the Empire." In reply to the address Lord Minto said: "I am entirely in accord with you........In the meantime I can only say that the Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by any administrative reorganization with which I am concerned."

The inner significance of this 'command performance' can be clearly understood from some entries in Lady Minto's Diary. I will refer to only one, namely, that under October 1, 1906 (the day of the deputation), which is characterized therein as "a very eventful day, and epoch in Indian history." That day a letter was received from an official in which it was written: "I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened today, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." The separate electorates, 'weightage,' and the various other devices embodied in the Communal Decision are all parts of the plan of "pulling back" the Muslims "from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition," namely, the Indian National Congress and other nationalist organizations.

Later, Lord Morley felt that the British Government had gone too far in securing the adhesion of the Mohammedans to the imperialist cause. Glimpses of this fact appear in his letters to Lord Minto, dated the 28th August and December 6, 1909. In the former he says:

"Morrison tells me that a Mahometan is coming over here on purpose to see me, and will appear on Monday next. Whatever happens, I am quite sure that it was high time to put our foot definitely down and to let them

know that the process of haggling has gone on long enough, come what may. I am only sorry I could not do it earlier."

In the latter epistle he writes:

"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. (Mahometan) hare. I am convinced my decision was best."

I will not dwell longer on past history.

What we have to ask now is, whether what the British Government have done by passing the Government of India Act of 1935 (based on the Communal Decision) and the issuing of various resolutions, rules, etc., giving preference to the Muslims, in the public services, is not considered by that Government sufficient for "pulling back" the Muslims "from joining the ranks of" the Indian nationalists. Are the powers that be convinced, as Lord Morley appears to have been, "that it was high time to put out (the British nation's) foot definitely down and to let them (the Muslims) know that the process of haggling has gone on long enough, come what may"? Or will they go a step further and approve of and implement the Pakistan scheme?

I ask these questions because Lord Zetland's attitude is not that of clear condemnation of the proposal. It may encourage Mr. Jinnah and his followers to persist in their perverse course. In his broadcast of the 3rd April last, his Lordship said:

"......on the one hand, the Congress is now demanding not the status of a Dominion, but complete independence and a political constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly; on the other hand, the Moslem community refuse to contemplate any such solution and demand a separate Muslim state."

It is well-known now, and it was well-known even before the holding of the recent Independent Muslims' Conference at Delhi, that the Pakistan demand came, not from the entire Muslim community, but from Mr. Jinnah and his immediate followers, many Muslim leaders, some belonging even to the Muslim League, having condemned it publicly. To state that the implementing of the scheme was demanded by the whole Muslim community was an exaggeration which may not be unfairly interpreted as due to Lord Zetland's secret partiality, or at least lack of hostility, to it.

Referring to the Pakistan scheme in the course of the India Debate in the Lords on the 18th April last, his Lordship said:

"I am bound to say that while I fully appreciate the grounds on which this proposal is based, I cannot but regard it as constituting something not far short of a counsel of despair."

Appreciation of the grounds of the proposal plainly means that there is much to be said in favour of the proposal. The value of this certificate is not lessened by calling the proposal a counsel of despair. For the adoption of the proposal in the future may be supported by those of his Lordship's way of thinking on the principle that desperate situations call for desperate remedies.

No doubt the statements issued by many distinguished Muslim leaders and the speeches and resolutions of the Independent Muslim Conference have clearly proved that the Pakistan idea is very widely condemned in the Muslim community. But just as the British authorities have all along ignored the opinions of other Muslim bodies and professed to consider the Muslim League as the only body which voices Muslim opinion, so even now, after all that has happened, the powers that be may continue to think that the whole Muslim community demands a separate Muslim state. Hence, it is not at all unneccessary to protest against and condemn the Pakistan scheme repeatedly.

Another reason, and that of a general character, why we should condemn it is that, though the British authorities take credit for bringing about India's political unity, they seem at heart to repent of what they claim to have done, and they appear to have indirectly attempted to weaken or even destroy that unity. The Government of India Act was based on the *Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitution Reforms*. In paragraph 26, vol. i, of that Report, it is said:

"We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India, but in transferring so many of the powers of government to the Provinces and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity."

Similarly, the British authorities may take it into their heads any day to run the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying India's unity in order to encourage the Muslim and the Hindu communities to develop a separate, vigorous and independent political life of their own!

I have to answer one or two more questions. It may be asked, seeing that very many Muslim

organizations and bodies have condemned the Pakistan scheme, which originated from some Muslims, why need the Hindus and other non-Muslims condemn it? My reply will be to the following effect.

I will not mention names or enter into details. What I wish to say is that, while I fully appreciate the attitude of the vast body of vocal Muslims, some among them appear to disapprove of the scheme because of the financial uncertainties, the inconvenience, loss, etc., to which some of the Muslim majority provinces will be put by it. Supposing the British Government guaranteed subventions, etc., to obviate these difficulties, would those who raised the difficulties approve of the scheme? I will not anticipate any answer. What I say in the most unequivocal language is that, come what may, in spite of all financial or other adverse circumstances, we stand for ever for an indivisible and undivided India. We refuse to exchange our undivided and indivisible India for any promised lands of Hindusthan and Pakistan overflowing with milk and honey. Many persons speak lightly of sentiment. Of the deep-seated, inborn, sacred sentiment associated with our motherland Bhāratvarsha, let none dare speak lightly. There must be millions upon millions ready to live for it and, if need be, die for it.

In the second place, we cannot afford to depend for the integrity of India on the good graces of any community's abstention or refrainment from pushing forward the vivisection scheme. We must assert again and again that we are heart and soul and for ever for the indivisibility of India.

As the opinion of the Indian National Congress is entirely, or at least in great part, that of Mahatma Gandhi, in ascertaining the attitude of the Congress to the Pakistan scheme, we have to take account of what Gandhiji has written about it. I cannot refer to all that he has said. I will quote only a few sentences. In *Harijan* of the 13th April, 1940, he wrote in part:

"As a man of non-violence I cannot forcibly resist the proposed partition if the Muslims of India really insist upon it. But I can never be a willing party to the vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it. For it means the undoing of centuries of work done by numberless Hindus and Muslims to live together as one nation. Partition means a patent untruth ..... I must rebel against the idea that millions of Indians who were Hindus the other day changed their nationality on adopting Islam as their religion.

"But that is my belief. I cannot thrust it down the throats of the Muslims who think that they are a different nation. I refuse, however to believe that the eight crores of Muslims will say that they have nothing in common with their Hindu brethren."

In the previous issue of *Harijan*, that for April 6th, Gandhiji had written:

"Muslims must have the same right of self-determination that the rest of India has. We are at present a joint family. Any member may claim a division."

As an analogy is not always an argument, I do not agree. There are various communities in India. If the Adibasis or the Budhists or the Parsis or the Jews or the Indian Christians or the Sikhs, or any others, claim a division, is India to be bisected, tri-sected, quadrisected, and so on? Though I am not nor ever was a lawyer, I must reply, certainly not.

I do not believe in the divine right of minorities, nor do I believe that it is a sin to be in the majority.

If a minority demanded the vivisection of India, the majority would be for its indivisibility and integrity. This majority would include not only Hindus but some persons of every other Indian community. And the opinion of the majority must prevail. That would ensure the good of the whole of India, including those who might want its vivisection. But even if the majority consisted solely or mostly of Hindus, there could be no reason why they should acquiesce in what would ruin India politically, economically, culturally and spiritually.

It is a fortunate and auspicious circumstance that, except Mr. Jinnah and his henchmen in the Muslim League, all vocal Muslims have had the sense to perceive that the Pakistan scheme would be injurious not only to the Indian nation as a whole but to the Muslims themselves also. Therefore, the prospect of a constituent assembly's decision need not make us anxious. But the exigencies of British imperial politics may make that a probability which is at the worst a mere possibility at present. Hence the very vital and important question of the vivisection of India cannot be allowed to be considered a mere matter of counting votes. Some fundamental principle should be discovered according to which such questions may be decided. For that purpose I shall draw your attention to an historical example, though it is not an exact parallel.

The part of the Earth which is now called the United States of America never formed one cultural or political unit in ancient times. Their political oneness is of comparatively recent growth. Yet when the Southern States wanted to secede from the Northern States and form a separate Union of their own for the sake of keeping their Negro slaves, their desire was resisted by the Northern States, because it was felt that in the interests of the abolition of slavery, of humanity and of all the States themselves the U. S. A. should remain an indivisible and undivided political and cultural unit. The Southern States did not yield easily. There was a bitter, bloody and prolonged civil war, at the end of which the causes of the abolition of slavery and of the unity of the U. S. A. triumphed. I am not now discussing whether the preservation of the Union could not have been effected by any non-violent means, or whether the use of violence was justifiable for the attainment of the object in view. What is generally admitted is that the maintenance of the integrity of the U. S. A. has been in every respect good for them, good for mankind and good for the cause of individual personal freedom as opposed to slavery.

On account of the mountain ranges in the north, north-west and north-east, and the Ocean on three sides of India, it has been marked out from remote antiquity as one geographical unit, which cannot be said of the U. S. A. Moreover, from ancient times India has been one cultural unit and in certain periods of history had almost attained political unity. At present it is one political unit. Would it be good for India, good for its parts, good for all the different communities inhabiting it, and good for the world and humanity to preserve its integrity, or would it be so to cut it up into two or more parts? We unhesitatingly say 'yes' to the first question and 'no' to the second. A divided India could neither achieve nor maintain independence.

If any community or communities demanded its partition, it would be the duty of all lovers of India and of humanity to resist such a demand by all legitimate and non-violent means. To acquiesce in it would be self-determination run mad.

As regards the Bose-Muslim League pact in the Calcutta Corporation, I have already in my *Review* condemned it. Not that I am against Hindu-Muslim co-operation. On the contrary, I am in favour of the co-operation of all communities. But such co-operation can be real, beneficial and practicable only when it is between persons and parties who have in the main the same ideals, principles and objects. But the Congress, whose name Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose continues to give to his group in the Corporation, has ideals, principles and objects which the Muslim League has been opposing tooth and nail. The Congress is for one free country, one nation, one political goal. The Muslim League wants to vivisect the country, keep it practically under British subjection, and professes to believe that there are at least two nations in India, the Hindus and the Muslims, whose political destinies are different. The Muslim League has been continually bringing forward charges of oppression of Musalmans in the Hindu majority provinces, without being able to substantiate a single charge.

So far as the Calcutta Corporation is concerned, it has been all along more than an open secret that the Calcutta Municipal Act was amended to destroy, at least to curb, the influence of the Hindus and the Congressmen in it. As almost all the Congress Councillors and Aldermen in it were Hindus, destroying the influence of the Congress was equivalent to destroying the influence of the Hindus in it and vice versa. It was natural, therefore, for so distinguished a Congressman as Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose to solemnly announce that he would launch an agitation against the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill and Act, unprecedented in its intensity, volume and power in the history of the country. Far from keeping that promise he has walked into the parlour of the Muslim League which has humiliated the Congress and the Hindus.

If the Congress and the Hindus had acquired ascendancy in the affairs of the Calcutta Corporation by any inequitable and unrighteous means, if their influence had not been natural and a thing to be expected, nobody could have objected to any legislation meant to destroy that influence and ascendancy. But the Hindus, from whom the bulk of Congress members came, form the vast majority of the inhabitants and rate-payers of Calcutta, most of the revenues of the Corporation come from the pockets of the Hindus, they form the majority of the educated class and of the public-spirited citizens of Calcutta. To seek to destroy their just and natural influence cannot but be strongly condemned. Entering into a pact with a party guilty of such an unrighteous attempt, an attempt which has succeeded in great part, can never be supported.

BENGAL MUHAMMADANS' SHARE OF THE JUTE EXPORT DUTY

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

According to the Niemeyer Award, a portion of the Jute Export Duty (62½ per cent of the duty collected—now reduced on account of the War—is handed down to the Jute provinces) collected by the Central Government of India is handed over to Bengal since the inauguration of the new Reforms under the Government of India Act, 1935. In a normal year this amounts to some 2½ crores of rupees.

The Hindus assert that 80 per cent of the provincial revenues of Bengal is paid by them. To this the Muhammadans reply that it might have been true in the pre-1935 Reform days, but it is no longer so; as the Jute Export Duty, considering the fact that jute is grown extensively in the predominantly Muhammadan Eastern Bengal,—is an almost exclusively Muhammadan contribution to the provincial exchequer.

Let us examine this Muhammadan claim, and see how far it is true. Let us estimate as carefully as we can the Muhammadans' share of the Jute Export Duty. According to the principles of theoretical economics, and in actual practice the burden of such a duty, like the Jute Export Duty, falls on the shoulders of the foreign consumers outside the shores of India; and is therefore really paid by them.

But in estimating the relative contributions of the Hindus and the Muhammadans to the provincial exchequer of Bengal, we must assume that Jute Export Duty, if not actually paid, is contributed by the people of Bengal, both the Hindus and the Muhammadans. And we are to find out, and estimate, if possible, their respective shares.

In Bengal, the Muhammadans are 55 per cent of the total population. So as a rough approximation it may be said that the Muhammadans' share of contribution to the Jute Export Duty is at least 55 per cent. But jute is grown mostly in the deltaic Eastern Bengal, where the Muhammadans are some three-fourths of the local population, and some districts in Western Bengal, where the Hindus are in an overwhelming majority, do not grow jute at all. The distribution of total acreage under jute is such that in 1936-37 nearly one-fourth of this area was in one district only; 70 per cent in seven districts; 20 per cent in six other districts; 9 per cent more in six districts; 2 per cent in another group of six districts; and *none* in *two* districts. The following Table 1 shows the relative distribution of jute acreage in the different districts in 1936-37 :

TABLE 1
JUTE ACREAGE IN 1936-37
PERCENTAGE OF JUTE AREA IN THE DISTRICT TO—

	District		Total Jute Area in the Province	Net cropped Area in the District
1.	Mymensingh	..	24	22
2.	Dacca	..	12	18
3.	Rangpur	..	11	13.5
4.	Tipperah	..	10.5	20
5.	Faridpur	..	8.8	14
6.	Rajshahi	..	4.1	8.5
7.	Jessore	..	3.9	10.8
8.	Pabna	..	3.5	8
9.	Bogra	..	3.7	14
10.	Dinajpur	..	2.95	5.6
11.	Nadia	..	2.8	8
12.	24-Parganas	..	2.5	6.8
13.	Noakhali	..	2.1	6
14.	Bakarganj	..	1.8	2
15.	Murshidabad	..	1.6	4
16.	Jalpaiguri	..	1.4	4
17.	Khulna	..	1.2	3
18.	Hooghly	..	1.0	4
19.	Malda	..	0.55	0.25
20.–24.	Howrah, Midnapore, Darjeeling, Burdwan, Chittagong	..	0.6	1
25.	Bankura	..	0	0
26.	Birbhum	..	0	0
	Total	..	100	

The total acreage under jute varies greatly from year to year; but what we are primarily concerned with is not the total production of jute or total jute acreage but their relative distribution. Let us see what was the relative distribution of jute acreage in 1929, before the World Economic Depression set in and which year is considered by many to be a normal jute year. The relative distribution is shown in Table 2 below :

TABLE 2
RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF JUTE ACREAGE IN 1929

District		Percentage	District		Percentage
1. Mymensingh	..	23.3	5. Faridpur	..	9.1
2. Dacca	..	10.9	6. Pabna	..	5.2
3. Rangpur	..	10.2	7. Jessore	..	3.7
4. Tipperah	..	9.8	8. Rajshahi	..	3.7

	District		Percentage		District		Percentage
9.	Bogra	..	3.1	18.	Murshidabad	...	1
10.	Dinajpur	..	3	19.	Khulna	..	1
11.	Nadia	..	2.9	20.	Howrah	..	0.5
12.	24-Parganas	..	2.8	21.	Midnapore	..	0.5
13.	Jalpaiguri	..	2.1	22.	Burdwan	..	0.03
14.	Bakarganj	..	2	23.	Darjeeling	..	0.01
15.	Noakhali	..	1.6	24.	Chittagong	..	0
16.	Hooghly	..	1.4	25.	Bankura	..	0
17.	Malda	..	1.2	26.	Birbhum	..	0
					Total	..	100

Comparing the two above Tables, it will be seen that the relative distribution among the different districts is much the same in the two years. The maximum difference does not exceed 1·7 per cent.

We are to find out the proportion of jute grown by the Muhammadans in these districts. Assuming as a first approximation that within the district, the amount of jute grown by the Muhammadans is proportional to their population strength in the district, the proportion of jute grown by the Muhammadans of the entire province may be obtained by multiplying the relative distribution of jute acreage figures given as percentages in Table 2 with the corresponding percentage strength of the Muhammadans in the district as in 1931; and adding all such products as in the following Table 3:

TABLE 3

PROPORTION OF JUTE GROWN BY THE MUHAMMADANS

	District		Relative Distribution as percentages	Percentage of Muhammadans in 1931	Proportion
1.	Mymensingh	..	23.3	76.6	17.85
2.	Dacca	..	10.9	66.8	7.28
3.	Rangpur	..	10.2	70.8	7.22
4.	Tipperah	..	9.8	75.8	7.43
5.	Faridpore	..	9.1	63.8	5.80
6.	Pabna	..	5.2	76.9	3.99
7.	Jessore	..	3.7	62.0	2.29
8.	Rajshahi	..	3.7	75.8	2.80
9.	Bogra	..	3.1	83.4	2.58
10.	Dinajpur	..	3.0	49.1	1.47
11.	Nadia	..	2.9	61.8	1.79
12.	24-Parganas	..	2.8	33.6	0.94
13.	Jalpaiguri	..	2.1	24.0	0.50
14.	Bakarganj	..	2.0	71.6	1.43
15.	Noakhali	..	1.6	78.5	1.26
16.	Hooghly	..	1.4	16.2	0.23
17.	Malda	..	1.2	54.3	0.65
18.	Murshidabad	..	1.0	55.6	0.55
19.	Khulna	..	1.0	49.5	0.49
20.	Howrah	..	0.5	21.3	0.11
21.	Midnapore	..	0.5	7.6	0.03
22.	Burdwan	..	0.03	18.6	0.005
23.	Darjeeling	..	0.01	2.6	..
24.	Chittagong	..	0		
25.	Bankura	..	0		
26.	Birbhum	..	0		
					66.84

Therefore as a first approximation we may say that 66·8 per cent of the jute produced is cultivated or produced by the Muhammadans.

A Muhammadan cultivator grows as much jute as the Hindu. But the family of a Muhammadan consists of more persons, because there are more children, than that of a Hindu. The profit earned by the Muhammadan cultivator is no doubt shared by *all* the members of his family, but in the production of jute, all the members, especially children, do not take part. Therefore, our assumption that the amount of jute grown is proportional to the population strength of the Muhammadans in the district is not quite correct, when the two populations are different in the nature of composition of their families. So the figure obtained above for the proportion of jute grown by the Muhammadans requires modification.

We are now to find out or estimate the average number of persons per Hindu or per Muhammadan family. In the Census Reports the number of persons per house or per commensal family, *i.e.*, per group of persons living together under the same roof and messing together, is given district by district. Taking such a commensal family to be the same as the natural family, which is the case in agricultural families in the interior of Bengal, we may make the necessary calculations and estimate the average number of persons per Hindu or per Muhammadan family. If for a district or districts predominantly Hindu we get the number of persons living per house, and compare the same with the corresponding figure or figures for districts predominantly Muhammadan, we get a very close measure of the average number of persons in a Hindu, and in a Muhammadan family. In selecting and choosing the districts we must also bear in mind the effect of immigration. Taking everything into consideration, for the Hindus we select the two contiguous agricultural districts of Bankura and Midnapore; and for the Muhammadans the two contiguous agricultural districts of Pabna and Mymensingh. The relevant statistics are given in the Table 4 below:

TABLE 4

Districts	Pop. in lakhs	Immigrants per mille of actual pop.	No. of persons per house	Percentages of Hindus or Muhammadans
Bankura	10.2	29	4.5	83.6 H
Midnapore	26.7	26	4.6	88.2 H
Pabna	13.9	33	5.3	75.8 M
Mymensingh	48.4	28	6.0	74.9 M

In the above Table we have sampled about 17 per cent of the Hindus, and 25 per cent of

the Muhammadans. The greater percentage (*i.e.*, 25—17=8) in the sample in the case of the Muhammadans is largely neutralised by their relatively lesser percentage (about 11) in the district or local population. As the proportion of immigrants in the two samples is very nearly equal and comparatively small, its effect can safely be taken to be the same in the case of both the Hindus and the Muhammadans. We may, therefore, take the average of the first two districts giving due weightage for the differences in their population, as the number of persons per Hindu family, *viz.*, 4·6 persons. Similarly, the last two districts may be taken as the type in the case of the Muhammadans; and the corresponding figure for the number of persons per Muhammadan family is 5·9.

The correction, we propose therefore for the proportion of jute grown by the Muhammadans is 4·6/5·9; and the corrected proportion of jute grown by them is 66·8×4·6/5·9=52·1 per cent.

We have estimated the Muhammadan's share from the cultivator's point of view. Now, in the production of jute land plays an integral and important part. Some say it is of equal importance with the labour expended on it in producing the crop. The property in the land is either in the zamindar who pays the land revenue direct to the Government or in the tenant or in both.

The tenancy rights of the actual cultivator of the soil vary in quality, but are subject to the rights of the zamindar. A measure of the rights of the zamindar is obtained by the rent he receives from the tenant. *Assuming* that the tenant or the cultivator is the full proprietor of the soil, we must assess the value of the zamindar's interest and we assess it at the rent payable. This is a large assumption, an assumption made in favour of the tenant and which goes in favour of the Muhammadans.

The Director of Agriculture, Bengal, in his Note on the cost of production of different crops, supplied to the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30 estimated the cost of production of jute per acre thus :

"The labour required to produce an acre of jute may be as follows, assuming an average season and good average ability on the part of the cultivator :—

	Men-days	Bullock-days
Preparation of land ..	14	27
Weeding	25	..
Harvesting	20	..
Extracting &c. ..	23	2
Total ..	82	29

" In the jute growing tracts of the Presidency and Burdwan, Rajshahi, and Dacca and Chittagong divisions, the average wages are annas 11, annas 11 and annas 12, respectively, and the value of a pair of bullocks per day may be assumed at annas 12 or annas 6 per animal. On these assumptions the cost of jute production in the respective Divisions would be :

	Presidency, Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions		Dacca and Chittagong Divisions	
	Rs.	A.	Rs.	A.
Cost of human labour ..	49	8	54	0
Bullock power ..	21	12	21	12
Seed	3	0	3	0
Manure	10	0	10	0
Rent	6	0	6	0
Total ..	90	4	94	12 "

Taking the average cost of production to be Rs. 92-8, the rent paid to the zamindar amounts to about 6·5 per cent.

There is difference between a Muhammadan cultivator who tills his own *lakheraj* or revenue and rent free land, and the Muhammadan cultivator who tills rented land. The difference is the rent paid. To eliminate the effect of the land being not fully his own, we must deduct 6·5 per cent from the cultivator's share of the produce. As among the zamindars, an overwhelmingly large proportion,—some 90 per cent, is Hindu, we are to deduct 5·80 per cent from the Muhammadan cultivator's share of 52·1 per cent, as found before.

Therefore, the Muhammadan's net share in the production of jute is 52·1—5·8=46·3 per cent of the total.

All the jute that is produced is not exported; neither is it exported raw; a portion—a larger proportion is manufactured in the mills around Calcutta into gunny cloth and jute bags, and then exported.

The next question that we must solve is to find out how much of the export value of the different categories of jute is contributed by the producer; and how much of it is contributed by the manufacturer and the merchant.

Even in the case of Raw Jute, it has to be collected from producers, stored locally, made into *kutcha* bales for inland transport, freight and insurance has to be paid to bring it down to Calcutta or Chittagong, allowances for short weight, *dhalta*, etc., have to be made, and other charges have to be met. When it is to be exported outside India, jute in *kutcha* bales requires to be assorted and made into *pucca* bales; and storage cost, fire-brigade charges, transport charges to docks, port dues, ocean freight, insurance, etc., have to be paid. Thus there is

considerable difference in the Harvest price realised by the cultivator, and the price of *pucca* bales on which the export of jute depends. In the following Table, the comparative prices of Pucca Bales and Raw Jute are shown :

TABLE 5 †

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF PUCCA BALES AND RAW JUTE.

Per ton in Rupees.

Year		Harvest Price	Average Price of Pucca Bales
1920	..	164	355
1921	..	164	310
1922	..	273	360
1923	..	245	322
1924	..	327	368
1925	..	513	535
1926	..	225	455
1927	..	225	345
1928	..	245	357
1929	..	218	345
1930	..	97	247
1931	..	116	181
1932	..	95	185
1933	..	95	150
1934	..	95	142
1935	..	114	169
1936	..	114	179

From the above Table, it will appear that Harvest Price is on average 66·4 per cent of the export value of Raw Jute in Pucca Bales.

That there would be great difference between the harvest price of raw jute and that of manufactured jute goes without saying. In the following Table 6, the difference in price between the two is shown.

TABLE 6 †

Year		Harvest Price	Average Price of Fabric
1920	..	164	681
1921	..	164	483
1922	..	273	568
1923	..	245	581
1924	..	327	605
1925	..	513	711
1926	..	225	657
1927	..	225	600
1928	..	245	625
1929	..	218	561
1930	..	97	445
1931	..	116	330
1932	..	95	328
1933	..	95	318
1934	..	95	313
1935	..	114	316
1936	..	114	290

† Tables 5 and 6 have been taken from M. Azizul Huque's *The Man Behind the Plough*, pp. 75, 76.

From Table 6, it appears that Harvest Price accounts for 39·5 per cent of the export value of jute fabrics.

The amount of jute-export duty actually collected by the Government of India since the inauguration of the provincial autonomy is shown below :

TABLE 7

JUTE-EXPORT DUTY COLLECTED ON

Year		Raw Jute	Sacking	Hessian etc.
1937-38	..	1,79,88,924	1,00,17,398	1,52,95,951
1938-39	..	1,64,63,636	90,43,827	1,43,74,354
1939-40	..	(The figures are not yet available)		

The average yearly duty collected on Raw Jute amounts to 172 lakhs; and that on manufactured jute amounts to 244 lakhs.

Producers' share of Raw Jute duty (66·4 per cent or two-thirds) is therefore, Rs. 114·6 lakhs; and manufacturer or baler's share is Rs. 57·4 lakhs. Producer's share of manufactured jute duty (40 per cent or two-fifths), is, therefore, Rs. 98 lakhs; and manufacturer's share is Rs. 146 lakhs.

Of the total producer's share of Rs. 212·6 lakhs, 46·3 per cent goes to the Muhammadans, *viz.*, 98·4 lakhs.

Of the total manufacturers' share of Rs. 203·4 lakhs, a very insignificant portion goes to the Muhammadans. Of the 105 Jute Mills on both the banks of the Ganges, only *one* is controlled by the Muhammadans. In the internal trade, the part played by them has been found by the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee to be insignificant; of the various jute-baling presses in and near Calcutta, almost all are owned and controlled by the non-Muhammadans. Let us *assume* that one or two per cent of the manufacturing interest is owned or controlled by the Muhammadans. Two per cent of the manufacturer's share of Rs. 203·4 lakhs of jute-export duty amounts to Rs. 4·1 lakhs.

So the total of Muhammadan producers' and consumers' share of jute-export duty amounts to Rs. 102·5 lakhs out of a total of Rs. 416 lakhs.

Thus the Muhammadans' share of jute-export duty comes to some 24·6 per cent of the total.

THE WAR AND THE NEUTRALS

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE first phase of the War against Germany was characterised by the longest and most severe winter in living memory. Winter was on the side of the Allies, multiplying the privations imposed on the Germans by the blockade from the sea, cracking up their railway lines and making havoc of their transport overland. There were very few deviations from the state of siege warfare which winter and Allied policy alike dictated. The Germans swept over the Polish plains in less than three weeks. The Russians, fighting in a much more difficult land, could not defeat the Finns in as many months. The British Navy, after months of unspectacular successes in convoying merchant shipping and destroying German submarines, ran into an incident in the old style—the glorious battle of the River Plate. But all these were preludes to the great argument to come. Now the prelude is over and the War has really opened.

At the moment of writing the two-days debate in Parliament on the Allies' decision to withdraw from Southern Norway is still ahead. Until then, we have been asked to suspend judgment. Meanwhile, we are encouraged with the news that we are heavily shelling Narvik. And that considerable French and British naval reinforcements—available as a result of our crippling the German Navy in Scandinavian waters—have steamed through the Mediterranean (past Italy) and arrived at Alexandria.

One must accept perhaps Mr. Chamberlain's plea that to have given us the full story now might be to imperil the safety of our forces which are still taking part in the withdrawal. But nothing can restrain neutral comment, or French comment for that matter, and however good or convincing a case the Government may put forward tomorrow, Mr. Chamberlain's position is certainly severely shaken. All the heads of the fighting services are to speak too. And no doubt they will put up an impressive performance. But if they carry the day, it will only be an injection prolonging the life of this Government which, it is generally admitted, requires new and fresh blood—if not an entire reconstruction.

A great actress once remarked that she never read any Press criticisms of her performance lest they should confuse her in her own conception of the part. I often wonder if this same dangerous arrogance prevails amongst the leading members of our present Government. Are they really impervious to what is thought about them abroad? Or, if they are not, when will their self-confidence at last be shaken? England is always caught napping. England always arrives too late. The quality of the assistance that England can give—see Poland, Finland, Norway—is not enough to off-set the danger of standing up to aggression. Such are the under-tones in all the foreign comment. It is misleading to suggest, as semi-official sources such as the B. B. C. suggest, that foreign comment on our withdrawal from Norway is, in the main, sympathetic. We don't want sympathy, we want co-operation. We want the whole European continent to put their money on us, instead of on Germany, and concert with us in advance the plans to resist the aggression which, they know, may strike them at any moment. Only if we concert measures ahead, have we a chance of succeeding. But what do we find? In Scandinavia, the principal neutral, Sweden, who as things are has only such leave to live as Russia and Germany allow her, opines: "We small neutrals have found confirmation of the belief that, if threatened, we must rely on ourselves." (If Sweden had trusted the Allies, and allowed passage to their troops, the undefeated Finns might have saved the day. If Sweden had given the Allies one airport, the Nazis might have been held in Southern Norway). On the continent Holland, which England has never allowed to be over-run by an enemy, preaches the same suicidal policy. Indeed the Amsterdam *Handelblatt* goes out of its way to dissociate Holland from England quite as much as from Germany. It asserts that "Neutrals must defend their neutrality against attacks from *any side* not only by defensive measures, but also by constant watchfulness both passive and active against *both sides*" (Italics mine). In other words, the key to Scandinavia and the key to the narrow Straits are not to be entrusted to Allied hands. In a broadcast speech from London yesterday, Professor Halvdan Koht, Norway's

Foreign Minister, speaking in Norwegian to his countrymen, admitted that Great Britain rightly blamed them for having been "too strictly neutral". "Now unhappily", he went on, "we must pay for that attitude."

This defeatism abroad—this parading of the illusion that it is safer to cling to neutrality than to the Allies—is a great triumph for German propaganda. A withdrawal in Norway cuts more ice with them than the fact that the Allied Navies have reduced the German Navy to a class below that of the Swedish Navy. The fact that the Germans secured the initial advantage in Norway by treachery, by dispatching troops in vessels disguised as merchant vessels and flying the flags of any nation but the German nation, is not given its value. All that is considered is that the Germans took the initiative. ... All that has happened is what has happened before. Axis aggression has once more succeeded. China, Abyssinia, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Albania, Poland, Finland, Denmark, Norway. All these have been invaded and despoiled. All these looked in vain, they say, to France and England to head off the rising aggression in Europe. *And all through these aggressions the same Government has been in power in England.* Indeed, at the zenith of their aggressions, the Axis Powers delighted in leading the English Premier by the nose! Did he not "raise his glass to the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia"? Did he not fly back from Munich with a paper purporting to renounce war for ever between England and Germany? No wonder then, if events for the time being appear to go against us, the Neutrals think that England is still going on in the same ineffective way. But it is essential, if the war is not to drag on as did the last war, that the Neutrals should line up with France and England and Poland and Norway. But they will not do so until they have confidence in the Allied conduct of the war. (Although of course, as some of the more perspicuous amongst them may realise, Nazi-ism being what it is, it would be better even to lose the war in company with the Allies than to be the last survivor to be last swallowed.) **And that is one of the many reasons why Chamberlain, Simon, and Hoare, all those who looked with blind eyes on past aggression, ought to go. Would that, by the time this reaches India, they will have gone. . . Or been so "translated" as to amount to the same end.**

In England, incidentally, the set-back in Norway has not had the very slightest effect on that over-worked thing *morale*. The striking successes of the Navy, the next to negligible degree of rationing, the steady progress in the calling-up of men (and the steady fall in the already small number of conscientious objectors), the unnatural comments that the Budget was not nearly stiff enough, all combine to show that England is feeling rather that the war is getting into its stride merely. I don't know whether it is a disadvantage or not that so many people remember the last War. It certainly seems to make them accept set-backs as temporary and all in the day's work. It even makes them indifferent to the accession of another enemy, *i.e.*, Italy. The only comment one hears on the dispatch of the naval forces to Alexandria is that "it will be just like the last War before it is done." Will it really have to be like that? These long months of keeping constant watch at sea—but of inaction on the Western Front—had led some of us to hope that this war might remain a war of siege. That scarcity, not bloodshed, would defeat the German people and bring the Nazi regime to its knees. It had been plain that our blockade was becoming intolerably irksome. German women, presumably, would not indefinitely put up with Nazi announcers telling them how to wash without soap. German morale appeared to be languishing. How otherwise explain the spate of forged documents? There were the forged army orders of the day, circulated to foreign diplomats and pressmen in Berlin, and designed to prove that Britain planned to invade Norway before ever the Nazis did. There were the famous minutes, said to have been found in the Polish Foreign Office, and attributing most unneutral sentiments to U. S. Ambassadors abroad. Nazi forgeries are no new thing. But tenderness for world opinion is. Both these forgeries, of course, were designed primarily for American consumption. The one was intended to strengthen those isolationists who are for ever looking for reasons for staying out. (As if *our* short-comings, real or imaginary, in any way let *them* off. ...) The other was a stab in the back for the Roosevelt Administration, which at times has shown itself altogether too interested in the state of Europe. But why this tenderness for foreign opinion? It looks as if the Nazi regime is beginning to be shocked by its own crimes.

But of course the real proof that the blockade was wearing down Nazi resources is to be found in this very invasion of Norway. As one commentator has remarked, Hitler, like the gangsters that he models his statecraft on, is

"trying to *shoot* his way out." At all costs, if he is to survive, he must find some means of replenishing the German larder *now*. It will take a year or two before the long looked for Russian supplies, supposing Stalin does indeed come up to expectations, can be put into regular train. Somehow or other Hitler has got to fill in the gap till then. (And somehow or other, time being of the essence of the business, the Allies have to see to it that he does not succeed in these mauraudings.) The booty from Denmark and Norway will not profit him long. He can cream what is there already, but after that he will have to look elsewhere. Denmark's far-famed agricultural economy was dependent on imports, imported feeding stuffs, oilcakes and cereals. Now the Nazi gangster has cut her off from the outside world. If the War continues for only another year, it is estimated, Denmark will be ruined and become a liability to Germany. The same situation confronts him in Norway where, to aggravate matters, he has not had the walk-over he anticipated. (How, to use a favourite phrase of his, he must deplore the Norwegians' "lack of logic"! With a traitor planted in every key position; with soldiers smuggled in as harmless traders; with every vital port, except Narvik, and every aerodrome, in the invader's grip—where is the "logic" in resisting?) Not only is he still as far off as ever from gaining the use of the all-the-year-round port of Narvik and so increasing his imports of iron ore, he will not be able to exploit Norway's mineral wealth. Norway depended for doing this on the copper, nickel, zinc, manganese, etc., imported from abroad. And so—as in the case of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Denmark—the Nazi invader will strip the country of all he can carry away, but there will be no continuing fatness. The wolf will have to descend on some other fold.

Or will he? Hitler's dilemma seems to be that he must at all costs save the German people from going through another winter such as the last. To do this, he must somehow break the blockade. But, if this means in any event invading some fresh neutral territory, fighting the Allies there perhaps but fighting in a side-show, and using up his precious supplies of petrol, might it not be wiser to put all to the hazard and try to meet the Allies, and defeat the Allies, this year? That he is debating this tremendous decision is believed in many quarters in London. There are many reports that this Hitler, who has always so strangely used "patience" as an asset, sometimes losing it and sometimes pretending to lose it, is feeling his tether shortening. It may be that this man, who has always acted on feeling and cared not at all for judgment, who, as somebody has pointed out, has all the cunning of the Central European peasant, knows now that the decisive moment has come for him.

The difficulty which confronts anyone who tries to find his way through the tangle in Europe is that he has first to understand that he is not dealing with protagonists who have any traditions or any settled convictions. Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini have all, within the last year or two, thrown to the winds the ideas for which they formerly stood and for which they invited their followers to die—in Spain. Over the body of Spain, as the Fascist and Communist can now reflect, and making use of young volunteers who believed on each side in a new dispensation, the Dictators were only trying out weapons and seeking strategic footholds. Once the experiment was over and strategy required it, Fascist and Communist Dictators were ready to give each other a temporary kiss. Fascism or Communism, it was clear, to the Dictators at the head of such States, meant in the last analysis only this—that his particular armed State should ride on top of the world. Strategy was the only consideration. It led Russia, the self-styled People's Government, to make war on the most democratic country in the world. It has led Italy, the heir to the ancient culture of the Mediterranean, the home of the Papacy, to turn her back on all these deathless values and applaud the barbarian Nazis, who have re-written the New Testament and set up a race worship in its place.

Just as long as it suits them, however, and no longer do these Dictators hang together. And of course the only real bond between them is that they are all aggressors. And the cream of the joke is, if it were not a joke at the expense of defenceless neighbour States, that the only reason why they make treaties with each other and agree to each other annexing this or annexing that, is that they are all manoeuvring for strategic positions against each other . . . Thus it is that Russia made war on Finland, being quite resolved that Germany should not establish herself in that Gulf. Thus it is that Russia may make war on Roumania, so that she may recover Bessarabia and with it a dominating position in the Danube estuary (which would put Hitler in a very docile mood—what with the Allies blockading the sea routes.) All the signs at the moment, it might be added, are that Russia

intends to have Bessarabia. To this end she is entering into very friendly trade relations with Roumania's discontented neighbour Bulgaria. Whereas there is no real reason at all for these countries trading with each other. Each has the same surpluses as the other.

Neutrals complain all the time that the Allies always let the enemy take the initiative. As taking the initiative, in Dictatorship parlance, always means invading a Neutral, how in Heaven's name are the Allies to forestall such initiatives unless the Neutrals invite them in advance to enter into a defensive alliance? The Neutrals will not yet do this. They prefer to wait for the lightning, however great the certainties, rather than invite it. Then after they have been struck, and the Allies are unable to rescue them straightaway, they reproach the Allies for not having succeeded in a task which their own short-sightedness had made a million times harder. This, though I have said it before, is the corollary to any speculations as to where the Dictators may strike next. If Hitler does indeed intend to embark on full-dress war, he will probably strike in all directions. On the Western Front he will advance through the Netherlands or Switzerland, in order to get round the Maginot Line. (In spite of Dutch disclaimers, there are some who believe that the Dutch command may, in fact, have an "understanding" with Allies. It would not be surprising since Holland has been on the alert for a Nazi attack ever since last autumn.) In the Balkans he is credited with so many projects—and so is Stalin and so is Mussolini—that it would seem that the whole unfortunate area might soon be in a state of uproar. On the other hand, the one certainty there is that Turkey has never wavered, that the Allies have armies waiting under General Weygand, and that the Allied Fleet is already at Alexandria. Powerful arguments.

Hitler is known to be a prey to nervous promptings. What are his reactions to the present moment? Is the set-back to the Allies in Norway such a fillip to German morale that he feels the moment is ripe to take the offensive—or has the crime against Norway been just one too many and is he losing face with his uneasy partners, Mussolini and Stalin? The Italian reaction to the Allied set-back must be amusing to those outside this struggle. After days of jubilating in the Italian press at the fancied sinkings of British battle-ships, the first real check to the Allies has filled the Italians with secret dismay. They fear lest the all-conquering Hitler may now turn his land hunger to their part of Europe.

And Stalin, it is rumoured, has had enough of his co-partner in greatness. Mme. Tabouis the well known French journalist, declares that the Soviet are now backing out of Treaties they entered into with Germany on December 5th and February 6th. These Treaties "gave" Norway and Denmark to Germany and Sweden to Russia. Stalin is also said to have intimated that he does not consider that the time has yet come for other people's alterations in the *status quo* in the Balkans. (Stalin, judging by his aggression in Poland, prefers to wait for the moment of minimum risk. He has no wish to embark on a full-scale war. No doubt then he will wait to see how events are shaping in South-Eastern Europe before he decides to intervene).

Hitler has indeed little to gain by war in the Balkans. That is the way to dry up his best source of supplies. The only reason why he should contemplate such war must be that he is persuaded that total war, war on the Allies on all sides, is the only way to bring about a speedy conclusion. He is credited with grandiose designs for re-drawing the map in South-Eastern Europe, as he re-draws the map of Europe generally, and of the British Empire, and of the world. At the moment, for instance, he is credited with a desire to compromise the Czecho-Slovakian tragedy still further by giving Slovakia to Hungary. (And parts of Jugo-Slavia to Italy. And parts of Greece to Jugo-Slavia, and so on and so on). But all this was to be part of the great Domesday when he had won the War and was imposing the *pax Germanica.*

If war is about to explode in the Netherlands and in the Balkans, if Italy decides to put everything to the touch, if the Nazis decide to use up their long kept-in-reserve petrol and engage in extensive bombing in Britain, the War will certainly have got a move-on. It remains to be seen how such a "rash, fierce, blaze of riot" will affect the Allies. The Prime Minister has repeatedly assured us that if we could come through the winter without any major development having happened, it would place us in a very strong position. Hitler has pooh-poohed that contention, replying that he too has been making ready. One thing will be worth noting. If the Nazis bomb English towns, we shall retaliate. And the only reason, aside from conserving petrol, why the Nazis have not yet bombed us, is that Dr. Ley has assured the German people that they are immune from the air terror—and so the Nazis would not draw

it on. Well, we shall see how the German people react to the murder raining from the skies, the murder they have poured on Spain and Poland and Norway.

As for Italy, she cannot win a war. As soon as she enters the war in earnest—instead of waiting on the side-lines and applauding the the Nazi frightfulness—she will *ipso facto* be blockaded at both ends of the Mediterranean and cut off from her African empire. She is strong in submarines. She may be able, for a time, to do some damage to the British and French Navies. But all the hopes she has centred in General Franco may be dashed. General Franco, it is reported, is more inclined to come to an understanding with the British over Gibralter, than to join in a war against them. (Thanks to the long, cruel Civil War, long because it needed the outside help of German and Italian armies to put him in power, Spain is today a wretchedly poor country. Alarmist travellers go so far as to say that she is gradually starving to death . . .).

The Allies, finally, have no fear of whatever may be in store for them. Even if everything went according to Hitler's nightmare plans, they must still win the war in the end. As someone has remarked, there is a lot of ruin in a great Empire. Moreover, the Allies are confident that they will prevail because, when all is said and done, their's *is* the side of sanity. The Neutrals may not have come to that conclusion yet. America may take a long time to admit that France and England are fighting not only for their own lives, but for the life of Europe. Even for the life of Germany, since this recurring Prussian menace is as great a tragedy to Germany as it is to the world—and *il faut en finir*.

Meanwhile, though we listen with interest to the broadcasts of Mr. Raymond Gram Swing, we are not impressed. America, he assures us, will not wake up to the war until she feels what he calls the point of danger. When is that ? Is it when the Allies have lost the War ? The Allies are getting a little tired of these Neutrals who expect the Allies to make the world safe for Neutrals.

London, 6th May, 1940.

THE MUSLIM PROBLEM IN INDIA

By V. M. KAIKINI, B.A., F.R.C.S. (Edin.)

JANAB Jinnah Saheb a few years ago made an attempt to transform Hindusthan into Arabisthan, during one of the sessions of the Muslim League at Karachi. The Muslim descendants of the people who built the city of Mohenjo-daro, were made to wear long flowing Mishlahs and head-scarfs with Ekals imported from the looms of Bait-al-Falaz in Oman, and Ashar in Iraq, and made to parade on the back of camels (one does not know if these were also imported from Hejaz) in streets decorated with festoons brought from the date-palm groves of Ali-al-Garbi, and the oases of the Arabian desert Ruba-al-Khali. The brave cavalcade reminded one of the Arab army under Mahomed-bin-Kasim, when he invaded Sindh and defeated the Dahir King. One wonders if any among the camel sawars were the lineal descendants of Moka Basaya, the traitor noble of the Dahir King who was responsible for the defeat of his Sovereign. However, soon after the sitting of the League was over the camel-hair head-scarfs were exchanged for the Sindhi pugree, and the camel hair Mishlahs for the baggy Sindhi trousers, and the 'Arabs' were transformed into Sindhi Haris. the effort to transform the Sindhu Desh into Arabia, and the river Sindhu into Nahar Dujailah (river Tigris), was not successful. It seemed to be an impossible task to divert the Arabian Shumal to the valley of the Sindhu, and grow the *tamr* (date) in its fertile soil; and the land of the Mahabharata hero Jayadhratha has its desert sand still wafted by the Indian monsoon winds, and the long staple cotton growing in its sandy plains, as it did in the epic times thousands of years ago. Now the Qaid-e-Azam's next move is to transform some part of India into Muslim India (Pakistan) by appealing to his co-religionists to assert that the Indian Muslims are in every respect different from the Hindus, and that their new homeland should not be made *napak* (unholy), by having the impure appellation Hindusthan applied to it.

In the first place the Qaid-e-Azam may be

reminded that the word Hindu is derived from the Sanskrit word *Indu* meaning the moon. According to Yuan Chang the great Chinese traveller :

> "This land (India), has a succession of holy and wise men to teach the people and exercise rule, as the moon sheds its bright influence.—On this account the country (India) has been called Yin-Tu. The country was called moon, because it was as great and distinguished above the other countries of the world, as the moon is great among the stars of the night—*velut inter ignes Luna minoris*". (Thomas Watters in *Yuan Chang's Travels*).

So the word Hindu really signifies the inhabitant of the country which had the proud privilege to bear the appellation *Indu*, the moon.

Abu Mashar, a Muslim savant from Arabia, of A.D. 885 quoted by Ibn-ul-Kifti, says :

> "The kings of India were known as philosopher kings, because of their great interest in science. The Indians were considered by all nations of the world as custodians of knowledge and the very source of justice, and righteousness. But India being far away from us, very few of the works of Indians reach us."

Thus Janab Jinnah Saheb has no reason to be ashamed of his Hindu Bhatia ancestors, and the word Hindusthan, although he has every reason to be proud of his recently adopted great religion of Islam.

It would not be an easy task for the Qaid-e-Azam, to convince the Awans, Tiwanas, Ghakkars, the Janjuas, Chibs, Bhattis, and the other Musalmans of the Punjab—which according to him is going to be the main province of Pakistan —that it is a sacrilege to call themselves by their old Hindu denominations, *viz.*, Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, etc. The fine community of Janjuas, still call themselves Anuvis, claiming to be descended from Anu, the grandson of the legendary hero King Yayati of the Lunar race. Subedar Khudadad of the 129th Baluchi regiment of the Indian army, the first Indian V.C., from Jhellum district, is proud to call himself a Musalman Rajput. During the last war I remember my orderly Rahmdad Khan, a Musalman Chib from Jammu, saying in Punjabi with a feeling of pride, "Kashmirda Maharajah sadi komda hai (The Maharajah of Kashmir belongs to my caste)." Only recently during the last year's Dusserah celebrations in London the Indian Trade Commissioner Mr. Feroze Khan Noon, declared in a public meeting that he was proud of his Rajput and Hindu ancestry. The Kaimkhanis and Ranghars, from Rajputana and the Eastern Punjab, who supply a large number of cavalry soldiers to the Indian army, would certainly deem it an insult if the denomination Musalman Rajput is not used in their case, so Janab Jinnah Saheb will have to work very hard from now to make these magnificent men from the Punjab to change their race and also their Sanskritized Landi and Eastern Punjabi language into Arabicized and Persianized Urdu before his dream of Pakistan is realised.

One wonders what lies at the bottom of the extra-territorial vision of some of the Indian Moslems. The modern Irani Moslems take pride in being the descendants of the ancient Zoroastrian Iranis, and are trying to free their language and culture from Arabic and other foreign influences. The modern Turks are doing the same. The present-day Mexicans, many of whom got the blood of their Spanish conquerors in their veins, have been lately acclaiming before the world that they are proud of their descent from the Aztec Emperor Montezuma, and are beginning to, adopt the old Aztec names. But here in India the descendants of Krishna, Asoka, Jaipal, and Ramdev, when they change their religion to that of the Arabian Prophet, not only alienate themselves from their motherland, but adopt names of foreign origin, although the original possessors of these names might not have been the followers of their newly adopted religion. Thus an Indian Muslim would never dream of calling himself Ramsingh or Virsingh, and would proudly bear the name Rustam Khan and Shikander Khan although Rustam was an Irani Zoroastrian, and Shikander was a Greek, worshipping at the altars of Janus and Apollo. The Russian Muslims are as proud of their motherland as the Christian Russians, and the Chinese Muslims are fighting for their country with as much zeal as the Chinese Buddhists. But only here in our country does a section of the Muslims make an attempt to regard themselves as foreigners in their own mother country. Perhaps the inferiority complex created in the minds of a subject nation makes some people discard their love for their motherland, as they deem that their country being at the mercy of other and more powerful nations, is not worthy of their love and respect. It is not an uncommon sight that meets one's eyes in the Portuguese territory of Goa, where many Christian descendants of old Hindu converts, adopt the Portuguese language as their mother-tongue, and pose as Portuguese *hidalgoes*.

Once while examining a young Sindhi Muslim graduate, for physical fitness, I happened to remark to him, "Well, you are quite fit physically. There is nothing wrong with you." The young man said in an off-hand manner, "Oh! We Arabs are very careful about our health."

Rather surprised I asked him, "You are not an Indian although you come from Sindh? You are an Arab!" To this he replied "Well my ancestors came from Arabia. That's why I call myself an Arab." "Look here," I said sarcastically, "You know I claim to be descended from one of the seven heavenly Rishis (sages), that form the constellation Ursa Major (the Great Bear). But still I call myself an inhabitant of our planet and an Indian. Don't you think that it is a sign of our decadence that we should be ashamed to call ourselves the nationals of the country of our birth and domicile—Indians? You know the Earl of Beaconsfield was descended from Austrian Jews; Mr. Montagu's ancestors were Spanish Jews. But they were proud of being Englishmen and never claimed to be either Austrian or Spaniard. In our own country when we were a great and independent nation during the Mughal times, the Mughals who were originally foreigners—Turks, regarded themselves as and were proud to be Indians. There is an anecdote told about Aurangzeb in this respect. The Emperor was discussing with his sons, about the doings of a certain Turkish General in the Imperial Army. Prince Muezzim, referring to the General, remarked, 'That Kizilbash, Oh! he is a rogue. After all he is a Turk.' The Emperor looked at the Prince sarcastically and said with a smile, 'Am aim atrak aim. (We too are Turks).' 'Thus the Mughals had forgotten their Turkish origin and were proud of their Indian nationality." "Yes doctor," the young man said in reply, "I know the incident. I am a student of history, and am writing a thesis on Bijapur history for my M.A. degree under my Professor F......, I am an Indian and am proud of it."

This I think represents the mentality of that section of Indian Muslims, who are ashamed to look at their motherland with an eye of love and pride, and get dreams of the mirage of Pakistan.

Perhaps the Qaid-e-Azam is not aware how not only racial ties, but cultural ties as well, closely bind together the Hindus and Muslims in India. Surajmal Kashmiri and Manuhar who did the carving work in marble, had as much a hand in building the immortal Tajmahal, as Ustad Isa and Ustad Peera, who designed and built the dome. According to Havell, the main design of the beautiful edifice is based on the ancient Indian style 'Pancharatna.' The Hindu Anupchitar and Daswant, added as much glory to the Mughal school of painting, as did the Muslim Abul Samad and Mansur. But it is in the divine art of music that we see the real cultural unity of Hindus and Muslims. In modern times it is the Muslim Amir Khusru, Tansen and Sadarang, who were responsible, more than the Hindus, in preserving and developing the Indian science of music as described in the old musical works, Sangit Parijat and Sangit Ratnakar. They never made an attempt to change the Sanskrit names of the 'ragas' into some Arabic or Persian forms, as their present co-religionists are trying to change the name of Hindusthan into Pakistan. In fact, many of the classical songs composed by some of these old masters are in praise of Hindu deities although the authors were strict Muslims. For instance the well-known song* sung in praise of Krishna in the beautiful mode Tilak Kamod, was composed by the father of the reputed singer Bande Ali of Indore. So also the authorship of another oft-sung song† in the Bhairavi mode in praise of the goddess Saraswati has been ascribed to the well-known Baroda Court singer Moula Bux. That cultured and scholarly gentleman, the Rt. Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, once quoted an incident which proves that high Indian culture and fine arts, especially music, recognized no differences in religion. A famous Muslim singer was entertaining the audience with beautiful classical music and was singing a song in praise of Lord Krishna. It was noticed that while repeating some lines of the song he was so much overcome with emotion that tears from his eyes were rolling down his cheeks. Mr. Jayakar asked him in a tone indicating surprise, "Khan Saheb, what is this? How is it that praise of our Hindu deity Krishna is exciting the sentiments of love and devotion in you and bringing tears to your eyes?" "Maharaj," said the old Gavayya,‡ in reply, "What are you saying? Is Lord Krishna only your deity and not mine? Look, look, there I see in front of me, the divine and beautiful form of Lord Krishna, bedecked in his yellow *pitamber* and peacock feathered crown, dancing to the music of his divine flute, and the heavenly strains emanating from it are vibrating in my ears. Please don't say that he is not my deity."

According to the Pakistanis, the N.-W. F. Province, the Punjab, Kashmir, Sindh, and Baluchistan are to be included in the Muslim province. Now are these communalists sure that the four millions of brave Sikhs, the gallant Dogras, and the proverbially stubborn Jats from

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* नोर भरन कैसी जाबू सखेरी...

† सरस्वती शारदा विद्यादानी दयानी...

‡ Singer.

the Eastern Punjab, are going to submit meekly to the communal Muslim rule ? The Sikhs not long ago were masters of the whole of the Punjab and the N.-W.-F. Province, and the exploits of their heroes Harisingh Nalwa and Shyamsingh Atariwala are still fresh in their minds. They are aware that even to this day the Pathan mother frightens her naughty child that Harisingh will take him away, if he does not behave himself, just as in bygone days the English mother used to invoke the aid of the Black Douglas, and the Bengali mother of the Mahratta "Bargi," to silence their recalcitrant babies.

Receiving indirect encouragement from interested quarters, these Pakistanis are relying too much on the help they might receive from the neighbouring Moslem countries of Afghanistan and Iran. They are not aware that these countries have their hands already full in putting their own houses in proper order, and in saving themselves from the deadly embrace of the Bolshevik bear, whose growls on the other side of their frontiers, are too audible to be treated lightly. These dreamers think only of Afghanistan as a strong and friendly nation which would come to their help. Unfortunately they ignore the presence of another independent and powerful country, practically within the borders of India, *viz.*, Nepal, with its magnificent army, and its population of warlike Gurkhas, 'the smallest among whom' according to Lord Roberts (in his book *Forty Years in India*), 'possesses a heart much bigger than that possessed by the most stalwart of the Afghans.'

So one wonders how this section among the Indian Muslims, entertains such chimerical schemes, which will mean nothing but disaster to our country. Every one of us must realise by now, that the India of the future is going to be neither a Hindu nor a Muslim India, but an Indian India. Sooner or later the Indian Muslim along with his Hindu countryman will proclaim before the world, like the modern patriotic Irani,

> "Gar Hindu wa Mussalman wa Nasara wa gar az Zartushtem
> Lek yak pidar wa nasab wa yak pushtem.
> Bar kafe kishwar pindar panq angushtem"
>
> (Whether we be Hindus, Muslims, Christians, or children of Zoroaster
> We are sons of the same father, descended from the same line and race.
> On the palm of the motherland we are like five fingers.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Relative Pauperism among the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal

We have read with pleasure and profit Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta's article—"Relative Pauperism among the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal" in the April issue of your Review. He has rightly stressed and proved a fact, which we Hindus out of sheer vanity so often forget, that the number of poor men amongst ourselves *is* proportionately much larger than that amongst the Muhammadans. Mr. J. M. Datta might have added that in 1921, the respective numbers of Hindu and Muhammadan field-labourers, *i.e.*, agricultural labourers without any land, were 19,24,881 and 22,10,050. Thus out of every 10,000 Hindus 925 were landless labourers; the corresponding figure for the Muhammadans was 867. The position has since then become worse for the Hindus. We hope the authorities for the 1941 Census will publish a Table, similar to Table XX of the 1921 Census, showing distribution by religion of workers and dependants in different occupations; and we are sure our forebodings will prove true.

Hari Dhan Ganguly

Sukchar P.O.
Dt. 24-Parganas.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

IMMORTALITY—COUNT HERMANN KEYSERLING. *Translated by Jane Marshall. Published by the Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto. (1938). Pp. 232. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

This book is the translation by Jane Marshall of Count Hermann Keyserling's German book *Unsterblichkeit.* The original book in German ran through three editions. Keyserling has been one of those scientists who have gradually worked their way from the outer reality to the inner. He claims to have obtained the realisation of the metaphysical self from an observation of nature. He is a believer in supersensible reality. Keyserling has drawn his inspiration from many sources, *e.g.*, Egyptian, Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Greek and others. In the different chapters of the book, the author has studied, from the comparative standpoint, the questions of immortality, death, belief, consciousness and life. One may not be always willing to follow Keyserling in his metaphysical flights but there is no doubt that every reader is bound to be deeply attracted by his discussions. His views of life and death remind one of those of Freud. Keyserling writes "Only in this flux of becoming does permanent being make itself known. Thus permanence is one with transiency. A life which does not die away from moment to moment is unthinkable : if I pine for any other, I am turning away from Life........Do I will to live ? that means : I strive towards the grave."

G. Bose

VERELST'S RULE IN INDIA : *By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. 1939. Pages 299.*

Verelst, who succeeded Clive as the Governor of Bengal, does not figure much in the current historical texts. The Oxford History of India, for example, devotes only a single sentence to him. Yet there are many important events that mark the brief tenure of his office as Governor. Dr. Chatterji has therefore done a great service by rescuing from oblivion an interesting chapter in the history of Bengal which has hardly received the attention it deserves.

By an industrious study of the original state-papers Dr. Chatterji has reconstructed the history of Verelst with an wealth of details which is truly amazing. Although mainly based on official documents which usually make a tedious reading, Dr. Chatterji has succeeded in infusing his narrative with a charm which fascinates the readers. This is indeed a remarkable gift and we congratulate the author on his excellent performance. The chief episodes of Verelst's Governorship are dealt in separate chapters with fulness of details and in a remarkable spirit of detachment. Attention may be specially drawn to the 'menace of Abdali invasion,' 'the treaty with the Vazir of Oudh,' 'the deportation of William Bolts,' and 'the plan of supervisorships.' The author's judgment of Verelst will, we hope, be generally accepted as correct. Verelst's career was not indeed such as might dazzle the imagination, and this is admitted by the author. But the personality of the Governor and the general spirit of his administration certainly invest his career with an importance which has not been properly appreciated by the historians. As a man he was marked by 'integrity, humanity and intelligence' to a degree almost unknown in those days among the Company's officers, though he lacked firmness and decision. His administration, although not characterised by any striking innovation, laid the foundations upon which Hastings built a well-conceived structure. By his labour and scholarship Dr. Chatterji has drawn a vivid picture of Verelst and we commend this book to every student of Indian history.

R. C. Majumdar

COMPOSITIONES VARIÆ : *By R. P. Johnson. Published by the University Press, Urbana, Illinois. (1939). Pp. 116. Price $1.50.*

The work is the fruit of the research of a scholar of the University and bears the unmistakable impression of patient and laborious enterprise. The writer points to the fascination of the subject and we have to admit that the contagion has reached us in our reading. It is extremely interesting to follow the author in his work. We have been fascinated by his presentation of the subject. The codex, which is the subject of the inquiry, contains recipes or formulas which alchemy, the forerunner of scientific chemistry, discovered from ancient times, in combining metals and colours for the adornment and embellishment of our artistic life. The art of decoration naturally goes back to the times when civilization started. No sooner had the elementary needs of hunger and thirst been supplied by a settled agricultural life than mankind started decoration and embellishment. The Compositiones Variæ are a record of this achievement. "The Compositiones Variæ stands as a landmark in the history of science and industrial art" (p. 30). In vain would the reader look for the scientific precision and accuracy of modern Chemistry. In the codex are to be found the first attempts of an inquisitive race. These experiments are rightly described as recipes not mathematical formulas, pointing to their fragmentary and provisional character.

Compositiones Variæ, being a collection of recipes

handed down to posterity from ancient days, the first task of the writer is the examination of the sources from which the recipes are drawn. The collection is therefore of the utmost value in so much as it preserves for the best thought of the past and the ingenuity of artistic workers. The contributions of Mesopotamia and Egypt are first examined. The recipes for making of Tersitu or blue frit or glaze from copper are given in detail. Passing on to examine the Indian contribution, the writer observes that "in India also, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. there was a considerable body of technical knowledge." Other sources are also examined and the writer concludes: "Remembering that our earliest record....and our own treatise are really laboratory manuals, we are fully justified in assuming that the known technical knowledge was transmitted continuously to the successive generations of artisans not only by means of literary records such as we have now, but also orally and by written records, similar to the cuneiform tablets, the papyri, and the Compositiones Variæ, but now lost." (p. 44).

The character of the work can be inferred from a brief summary of its contents which are classified under twelve different headings: "(1) Dyeing, including the dyeing of mosaics, glass, skins, cloth, bones, woods, (2) Dyes and colours, including yellow, red, green, blue, and purple, (3) Gilding, including the gilding of mosaics, iron, cloth, skins, silver and tin leaves, (4) Varnishes both for gold and for silver, (5) Soldering of gold, silver, copper and tin, (6) Glues for both stone and wood, (7) Chrysography, (8) Minerals and the working of gold, silver, copper, tin, orpiment, sulphur, and quicksilver, (9) Substances, (10) Stones and earths, the source, definition and description of various stones and earths, (11) Miscellaneous, including the manufacture of parchment, glass, and (12) Construction work, recipes for building construction, etc."

The important contribution of the Christian Church to the development of the arts is duly acknowledged by the author. "We have noted also that such artisans were not only employed almost exclusively by the Church but that at the period when our MS. was written the monks themselves practised these arts in the various quarters of their own monasteries." p. 95.

The study ends with an equally interesting study as to how the recipes have come down to us. "Our collection," the writer concludes, "stands as the earliest Latin document in that tradition of technical-chemical recipes on the arts, which establishes the unbroken transmission of the same from the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians through the Hindus, Greeks and Romans, and later peoples down to our own time." (p. 188).

P. G. Bridge

DENMARK—A Social Laboratory: *By Peter Manniche. Published by the Oxford University Press. (1939). Price 5s. net.*

This book is not meant to be a complete description of Danish life. It is merely an introduction to some of the social experiments undertaken by the Danish people and to some of the phases of Danish social life which have won attention outside the country and which can be studied to some degree even on a short visit to Denmark.

These social experiments are mainly of three kinds, in the realms of the education system, the schemes of expert advice and research, and the co-operative organisations for buying, selling and credits. The development of co-operation in Denmark—today, out of 205,000 farmers in the country over 190,000 are members of one or more co-operative associations—is not the result of State compulsion or regimentation; it has been a spontaneous, sporadic and non-political movement, prompted solely by practical needs and maintained by socially minded local supporters. Even today there is no State regulation of the different co-operatives, although Denmark is a veritable farmers' co-operative commonwealth.

What is particularly striking about Danish co-operatives is that they have developed much further than in any other community and without in any way sacrificing the individual liberty of the farmers. This has been possible owing to the high level of adult education, fostered by the Danish folk high school system. The Danish folk high school system, evolved about the middle of the 19th century by the great Poet-Bishop Grundtvig, is in fact the pivotal feature of the Danish social life. Grundtvig 'saw that education might go far astray if it aimed too much at pumping into the juvenile mind information that was supposed to be applied in adult life. The child was given time to keep in touch with the farm and, in the early stages of adolescence, he was held to devote himself to farm work. The time for further education, he thought, came later on, at the threshold of adult life. The folk high school was thus just a civilised adaptation of the processes of initiation that so many of the peoples of the world have worked out for themselves....Characteristically, the further education planned for the young people was not a training in farming or in business or even in the sciences behind these activities. The folk high school set out to help young people to work and live together as members of the Danish community; they were taught the social history and the literature of their country, the use of their mother-tongue, especially at the spoken word, free and sincere debate, and bodily exercise as a key of health." These folk high schools have attracted to their winter and summer courses, since 1870, every third or fourth member of the youth of the countryside, and have inevitably 'furnished the workshops where the farmers forged their weapons for the fight against forces of reaction in the towns and among the great landholders.'

Denmark is essentailly a country of small farmers and villages. There have always been very limited opportunities for the acquisition of considerable wealth in the country and plutocracy as such has never arisen in Denmark as in most of the other industrial countries of the west. Standards of spending have not been artificially forced up and people have, on the whole, lived up to the ideal of plain living and disinterested work. "The contact with teachers who work for very moderate rewards has had an interesting result in encouraging young farmers to trust disinterested experts as well as their fellows," and the State system of expert advice has become very effective indeed.

It will be clear from all this that Denmark is a veritable social laboratory. The character of the people and their particular environment ensure a democratic tradition in education and politics and make far-reaching social experiments possible. Mr. Manniche has special qualification for the writing of this book. He is the Principal of the International People's College, an institution which was founded in 1921 by the Danish Board of Education as an experiment in international adult education. The book itself is interesting in more ways than one. The sociologist, the educationist, and the economist, each will find in this description of Danish communal life a great deal of interesting material for his study. In the introduction and a

couple of pages of bibliography at the end, the author has given a list of more advanced and specialised works that the reading of this book might lead to.

Bool Chand

THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL VAISHNAVISM IN ORISSA : *By Prabhat Mukherjee, M.A., Dip. Ed., Maharaja's College, Parlakimedi, Orissa. R. Chatterjee, Calcutta. Crown Quarto (size of "The Modern Review"). Pp. xiii+200. Cloth gilt-letters. With stout jacket. Neatly printed on thick antique paper in bold legible type. Price Rs. 6.*

The author has explained in his preface what he means by medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa :

"The history of early Vaishnavism in Orissa is obscure, and cannot be systematically traced. The medieval period in the history of Orissan Vaishnavism begins from the eleventh century A.D., with the accession of Chodaganga on the throne of Kalinga. Vaishnavism not only predominated during this period, but it also absorbed certain ideas from the existing schools of faith in Orissa. This catholicity of spirit was the distinguishing feature of the Medieval Vaishnavism. In the sixteenth century A.D. the Chaitanya Movement spread in Orissa and the Medieval Vaishnavism decayed. The Modern Vaishnavism in Orissa is an offshoot of the Chaitanya Movement."

The high praise bestowed on the author's work by so distinguished a historian as Sir Jadunath Sarkar is sufficient commendation of the book. He says that it "carries our knowledge of a very interesting aspect of India's religious history a long step forward. In this collection of studies he has not only brought the fruits of former research together in a compact form but also directed a critical and detached mind to a fresh valuation of the evidence, and supplied a wealth of information from hitherto unknown or neglected Oriya manuscript sources of very great value and relevancy to this subject." Owing to historical causes and to the inaccessibility of Orissa in ages past, there is in that region a "chequered mosaic of faiths and fables," of which "only a few outstanding features can be recovered from the extant books nearly all of which are in manuscript and some now known by name only."

According to Sir Jadunath our author has undertaken one part of "this laborious task" "with adequate linguistic equipment, patient industry, and, what is rarer still, the spirit of scientific inquiry untinctured by dogmatism or love of airy theorising. He occupies a position of distinct—probably unique, advantage, by reason of his mastery of the Vaishnav literature of Bengal (without being a sectarian propagandist), which is here combined with his thorough exploration of Oriya manuscript sources and printed fugitive periodical literature."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar draws special attention in his Foreword to two chapters of the book. In his opinion, "one chapter of striking originality and profound interest" "is the Tenth, in which Professor Mukherjee studies Chaitanya as the *incarnation of Buddha-Jagannath* and suggests a novel solution of the veil of mystery with which all early Vaisnav writers have shrouded the passing away of their Great Master." About the other chapter Sir Jadunath writes : "A chapter marked by great historical acumen is the eleventh, where Professor Mukherjee successfully combats the popular theory that 'the Chaitanya Movement was responsible for the fall of the empire of Orissa,'" etc.

In the concluding words of Sir Jadunath, "A new world of study has been opened to us by the young author of this book." The glossary, bibliography and index add to its value.

JYAISHTHOTSAV NUMBER OF "THE INDIAN MESSENGER." *Editor, Amiya Kumar Sen, M.A. Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Three Annas.*

The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was founded in the months of *Jyaishtha*. Hence an anniversary festival is held by that Samaj every year in that month. This year its organ, *The Indian Messenger,* has published this special number. All its contents are thoughtful, thought-provoking, instructive and interesting. The extracts from the writings of persons of great distinction who are no more are not less important. For example, the following is from Dr. Annie Besant :

"The Brahmo Samaj marked the awakening of the Indian Nation from the state of coma produced by the East India Company."

An article reproduced from the writings of Bepin Chandra Pal begins thus :

"I claim that to understand the inwardness of the present fight for Swaraj in India, a knowledge and appreciative understanding of the message of the Brahmo Samaj and its past thought-history is essential. Nay, more. I hold that as long as this Swaraj Movement does not consciously filiate itself to the ethical and spiritual movement represented by the Brahmo Samaj, we shall never be able to build up successfully in this country that truly Democratic State of the most advanced modern type which is, or ought in any case to be, the objective of all our present political endeavour.

"Swaraj, even in the limited sense of complete political independence, was present in the mind of Raja Rammohun Roy. Raja Rammohun Roy stands before us not only as the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, but also as the father of Indian Nationalism."

X.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF SIR JOHN ANDERSON, GOVERNOR OF BENGAL, 1932-1937 : *Edited by B. Roy, B.L. Publishers : Macmillan & Co., London. Pp. 394. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

The volume under review is a collection of the speeches of Sir John Anderson as Governor of Bengal during the years 1932-1937. It is dedicated by permission to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon'ble Neville Chamberlain. Every Provincial Governor in India has to deliver speeches on a great variety of subjects, composed and collated for the most part by his official subordinates and the Private Secretary. It is part of his official duties, and Sir John's speeches are of the usual official variety, of local and ephemeral interest only, often unimaginative and generally superficial in treatment of the subjects he deals with. Perhaps because of his position as a Governor he could not do otherwise.

The Editor's Introduction is a tissue of misstatements from the beginning to the end. To give one example only, the editor says, "Before Sir John Anderson left Bengal, the Calcutta University had inaugurated an Employment Bureau to find career for its numerous alumni." The three speeches collected under the heading Calcutta University do not give the slightest indication that Sir John took any the last interest in the unemployment problem of the graduates. Then as a matter of fact, it is Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee who is responsible for the establishment of the Employment Bureau and whatever success it may have achieved.

There is a limit even to political sycophancy. The editor has added brief notes to the speeches; his notes suggest that he was not sure who would be likely to read his collection. Presumably, he had Americans and Englishmen in view, when he explains *ryots, thanas, chaukidars,* etc., etc., and adds that the Bhagirathi is another name of the Ganges.

In India from a deputation to the Viceroy to demand separate electorates for the Muhammadans down to the presentation of an welcome address, many things are command performances. We suspect the publication of this book to be a command performance also.

J. M. DATTA

EAST & WEST—A DENIAL OF CONTRAST : *By P. Kodanda Rao. With a foreword by Prof. Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by George Allen & Unwin. Price 10s. 6d.*

Today, more than ever, there is a genuine need for an understanding of the various culture-traits in order that a common civilization may emerge out of this chaos. It is clear that neither the old divisions of East and West nor of race will ever satisfy that urgency. Such bifurcations have done mischief in taking the mind of peoples away from the underlying unity beneath human behaviour and in fostering a sense of superiority that runs counter to the facts of the case. What the world wants today is a stress in the unity and universality of human values without jeopardising the variety of specific patterns of culture created by local conditions. Every thinking person will admit that the problem of the hour is to equitably divide the emphasis as between civilization and cultures. In my opinion, an Indian is best fitted to discharge this supreme obligation. He is supported by his social heritage as well as by living examples of leadership. Mr. Kodanda Rao is a noted Indian and he has ably acted up to his duties in denying the existence of a malicious contrast. His vast knowledge of sociological literature has stood him in good stead.

So far so good. But, apart from the fact that the author's motive and efforts are both laudable I do not consider the book to be constructive. There is an academic touch in the handling of the relevant issues which is not helpful in laying the foundations of the much-desired harmony. For brevity's sake I shall quote only one sentence : "If civilization is to be sub-divided at all, it can be done only on the basis of culture-traits and complexes, like Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, democracy, dictatorship, manual industry and machine industry, science, superstition, slavery, war, and the thousand and one other culture traits. But not on the basis of East or West or white or negro or brown, or tall or short." The first sentence is academically sound, in the sense that nearly the entire corpus of the American sociological and anthropological opinion would endorse it. (Though I am afraid an important section of continental thought will not). But if that opinion is tested in practice we are sure to discover differences much wider and more mischievous than between the East and the West. Does Mr. Rao subscribe to Mr. Jinnah's two-nations theory which is alleged to be grounded on cultural vital dissimilarities? I am sure he does not. Or again, let us take patterns of manual industry and machine industry cultures. These are more or less concurrent with those of Atlantic coast culture and of the rest of the world. And for all practical purposes the former is known as the Western and the latter Eastern, which includes the African. Similarly, democracy and dictatorship have been held by many to belong to one *genre*. In mentioning alternatives Mr. Rao has given his real case away.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

FEDERAL FINANCE : *By Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. Baroda State Press, 1939.*

This monograph is based upon two lectures delivered by the author in March, 1939, at Baroda, outlining within a short compass the salient features of the financial structure of the Indian Federation, and dealing briefly with many of the important problems which were the subject of prolonged discussions in the Round Table Conferences in London between 1930 and 1933. After a brief reference to the character of Provincial Autonomy before 1919 and the structure of provincial finances Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan puts forward a vigorous plea for a generous approach to the question of allocation of revenues between the centre and the provinces, and between them and the Indian States in the interest of creating a united Indian nation.

The lectures appear to have been conceived more with a view to create an active interest in the minds of the people of the state in the political aspects of the financial structure of the Act of 1935, than in the economic implications of the different provisions. If that were so, the author must be regarded as having performed his task well.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

BAHARISTAN-I-GHAYBI, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH : *By Dr. M. I. Borah, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Head of the Department of Urdu and Persian, University of Dacca : Published by the Government of Assam. Pages 930.*

Baharistan-i-Ghaybi is one of the most fortunate discoveries of Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the *Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris He published the first notice of it in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1921. Since then this valuable history has engaged the attention of many scholars in India and abroad. Dr. M. I. Borah has rendered a great service to average students of history unacquainted with Persian language by making the contents of *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* available in English. The translator has discussed the importance of the work in his Preface. The learned translator says, "In translating the *Baharistan* into English I have tried to render it as free and idiomatic as the text would permit. Long sentences have been broken up into component parts for better sense and lengthy narrative of events have been divided into short paragraphs with headings of the main theme described therein." (Preface, p. xxvii).

Dr. Borah has not spared any pains to make the translation intelligible to the average reader by adding copious notes, historical and topographical. Specialists will perhaps find this translation of *Baharistan* much less satisfactory than the works of Beveridges or of Raverty. But any one acquainted with the original MS. cannot but admire the fair amount of success on the part of the translator.

KALIKARANJAN QANUNGO

TO THE STUDENTS : *Being select speeches and writings of Gandhiji. Compiled by Anand T. Hingorani, Upper Sind Colony, Karachi. Pp. 317. Price Rs. 2 only.*

Mahatma Gandhi has been one of the victims of the strange but common practice, born of ignorance, of accusing people for views they do not hold and things

they have not said. It is popularly believed, for example, that Gandhiji is against *all* machinery *as such* and that he has ruled out all consideration of art from his scheme of national regeneration; examples may be multiplied. This anthology brings together, in a comparatively short compass, Gandhiji's views on a variety of subjects ranging from art and literature to marriage and sex education, and should be read with profit by those who do not find more extensive study convenient or possible.

We make no apology for quoting Gandhiji's views on Students' strikes, a question that is now engaging serious attention of educationists.

"A labour strike is bad enough, a students' strike is worse, whether it is justly declared or unjustly. It is worse because of the consequences it entails in the end and because of the status of the parties. Unlike labourers, students are educated and can have no material interest to serve by strikes, and unlike employers, heads of educational institutions have no interest in conflict with that of the students. Students, moreover, are supposed to be embodiments of discipline." . . .—"Duty of Resistance," 1929.

It is not impossible, however, to conceive occasions which warrants strikes on the part of the students, says Gandhiji :

"Thus, for instance, if a Principal running counter to public opinion refuses to recognise a day of universal rejoicing as a holiday which both parents and their school- or college- going children may desire, students will be justified in declaring a strike for that day."—"Duty of Resistance."

This in 1929. Gandhiji's views on the question seem to have undergone some modification in 1937. Approached for his opinion on students taking part in strikes like Andamans Day, he wrote :

"Whilst I have pleaded for the removal of restrictions on the speech and movements of students,

I am not able to support political strikes or demonstrations.

Students should have the greatest freedom of expression and of opinion. They may openly express sympathy with any political party they like.

But in my opinion they may not have freedom of action whilst they are studying. A student cannot be an active politician and pursue his studies at the same time. It is difficult to draw hard and fast lines at the time of big national upheavals. Then they do not strike or if the word 'strike' can be used in such circumstances it is a wholesale strike ; it is a suspension of studies. Thus what may appear to be an exception is not one in reality"—"Students and Strikes," 1937.

PULINBIHARI SEN

THE CATTLE WEALTH OF INDIA : *By E. V. S. Maniam. Second Edition. Published by Messrs. Patt & Company, Cawnpur, 1938. Pages 122. Price Rs. 3.*

The book is a collection of facts and statistics regarding Cattle in India. There are six chapters on—Indian peasants; The problem of milk; Cattle breading and Dairy farming; Composition of milk; Denmark and India; Co-operation—the only cure.

The book begins with a description of the poverty of the people and the poor quality of cattle in India, and ends with an appeal to make India profit by the lessons from Denmark and organise Indian milk industry after the Danish Co-operative system. The book is a valuable collection of opinions and statistical figures of importance to the general reader. From the publisher's notice annexed to the book, it appears that some Indian States have patronised the book by buying copies.

The author relies upon Co-operation for the betterment of the condition of cattle and also of the milk industry. It is however, a regrettable fact that co-operative work started by the Government, all over India, has not been much of a success and there is nothing to inspire from the Government example. The author however has not gone in to the problem of making co-operation a living and successful organisation in India. Perhaps under the present circumstances where the interests of the rulers and of the ruled clash, no real co-operative movement is possible. But that is a different subject.

SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

YOGIC ASANAS, (A PHYSIOLOGICAL EXPOSITION) : *By V. G. Rele, L.M. & S., F.C.P.S. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, 1939. Pages xi+113. Plates 16. Price Rs. 3/12.*

It is a very healthy sign of our times that increasing interest is being taken in different methods of physical culture. The present book deals with the Yogic system, long in vogue in India; but which has, unfortunately, become shrouded in an air of obscure mysticism. The author is a medical practitioner himself; and he has attempted to describe the physiological action of the fifteen asanas dealt with in the book. One can thus gain an intelligent appreciation of the yogic system of physical culture.

The illustrations are very good; and help the student to attain the final pose in each *asana* through certain preliminary stages.

We hope the book will amply serve the cause for which it has been published.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON WORLD AFFAIRS :

CZECHOSLOVAKIA : *By R. Birley, (No. 15).*

PROPAGANDA : *By E. H. Carr, (No. 16).*

THE BLOCKADE, 1914-1919 : *By W. Arnold-Forster, (No. 17).*

NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY : *By N. Micklem, (No. 18).*

CAN GERMANY STAND THE STRAIN : *By L. P. Thomson, (No. 19).*

WHO HITLER IS : *By R. C. K. Ensor, (No. 20). Published by Oxford University Press. Price each pamphlet 3d.*

These brochures are timely publications and will prove helpful in understanding the present European situation. The authors are well-known scholars and publicists with intimate experience of the last Great War. These are statements of British point of view and are intended to counteract adverse propaganda.

SOUREN DE

COMMON COMMERCIAL TERMS : *By Professor R. B. Bose, M.A., B.Sc., B.Com., Cert. A.I.I.B., R.A., A.S.A.A. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Ltd., 14, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 211. Price Re. 1 only.*

This is a dictionary of commercial terms containing about 1,000 terms used in practical commerce. Students as well as persons engaged in practical commerce will find it useful as a ready reckoner, though some of the terms require a little more elaborate treatment.

P. B. S.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE, VOL. II, SANSKRIT POETESSES: *By Prof. J. B. Choudhuri, Ph.D. Published by the author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5/-.*

This is a collection of Sanskrit and Prakrit poems written by women. There are 140 Sanskrit and 16 Prakrit verses in the book. These represent 33 Sanskrit and 9 Prakrit poetesses. There is an Introduction in English from the pen of Prof. Roma Choudhuri and an English translation of all the poems by the same writer. The Prakrit poems are also rendered into Sanskrit. There are several appendices containing a list of the subjects treated by the poetesses, an index of first lines, and a bibliography. There is also a brief Foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett.

Apparently it is a learned and a carefully prepared edition. The printing and get-up of the book also leave little to be desired. But most of the poems are only stray verses; and a glance at the list of the subjects dealt with and the stanzas composed on them will show that we have not always poetry of a very high order in them.

The English translation is on the whole quite good. But is the translation of the second half of verse 83 correct?

The author's scholarship is beyond doubt. It is only wide and extensive reading that could enable him to make this collection. And lovers of Sanskrit will welcome this volume as an addition to their library.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

ASTAVAKRA SAMHITA—TEXT WITH WORD FOR WORD TRANSLATION, ENGLISH RENDERING AND COMMENTARY: *By Swami Nityaswarupananda. Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayabati. Price Rs. 2/-.*

Whoever the sage Astavakra was, there is no doubt that he was a great teacher; and his teachings to the king Janaka, as embodied in this book, are held in high esteem, not only for their philosophical, but also for their practical importance; because in going through them the reader is sure to feel that he is being led, stage by stage, to the height of realization.

The translation is easy; the comments elucidate the import of each sloka and these are all the more valuable owing to the fact that any standard commentary on this important book on Advaita Vedanta is not available.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

RAMACARITAM OF SANDHYAKARANANDIN. EDITED WITH SANSKRIT COMMENTARIES AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION: *By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., Ph.D. and Pandit Nanigopal Banerji, Kavyatirtha. Published by the Curator, Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.*

The volume under review will remove the long-felt want of a critical edition of the Ramacarita, a highly interesting and important historical poem in Sanskrit, as much useful to the student of the history of Bengal as to scholars interested in the history of Sanskrit literature. Brought to light and first edited by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri as early as 1910 with the help of a single and imperfect manuscript the work created a welcome sensation in the scholarly world of Bengal. But the absence of any translation or a complete commentary combined with the occasionally unsatisfactory character of the text restricted its use to a considerable degree. The edition of Pandit Ayodhyanath Vidyavinoda (Calcutta, 1344 B.S.) with a Bengali translation and a Sanskrit commentary of the first two chapters scarcely improved the situation. It only served to make accessible a valuable work long out of print, without adding to its usefulness in any other way. The present edition which is the fruit of the patient and hard work of the learned editors for a long number of years, has improved the text by a further and careful collation of the manuscript as well as by thoughtful emendations. It contains a complete Sanskrit commentary and English translation of the entire text, occasional but useful explanatory notes, an introduction giving a critical account of the contents of the work and an index of what seem to be proper names and selected words. The most difficult task of the editors has been the compilation of the commentary on the portion on which no commentary was available, especially as the work is composed in *double entendre* and as such abounds in obscurities and unfamiliar terms and expressions. But it must be admitted to the credit of the editors that they have done the best of a difficult job and thereby deserve the gratitude and congratulation of the world of scholars.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

NAVAJATAKA—A BOOK OF POEMS: *By Rabindra nath, Tagore, published on behalf of Visvabharati Publications Department by Sri Kishori Mohan Santra. First Edition, Vaisakh, 1347 B.S. Price Re. 1-8.*

There are people for whom even the profoundest of thoughts and poetry of the most delicate flavour have very little appeal unless these are served up to them in an ever changing unfamiliarity of forms. They would fain demand of a poet like Tagore, who has, for upwards of half a century, given the world almost as many new artistic forms as he has given it ideas, a continual breaking away from his own artistic traditions for the satisfaction of their cloyed palates. The book is not for them. It is exactly what it should be, a fit and beautiful sequel to Tagore's immense contributions to thought, poetry and form that have gone before. Its individuality lies in that it is prophetic of an age coming to an end and of a new order waiting to come into being. That the poet himself is nearing the end now of his own earthly existence is a sublime coincidence. Side by side with the destinies of the world and its nations, he has thoughts, therefore, on the destiny of the human soul, of his own soul, which make the book interesting even as a purely human document.

In some of the poems in this book Tagore reaches depths that even he has never reached before, and no one will ever reach who is not endowed with as great and sensitive a soul and has not the same vastness and maturity of experience. In the encircling gloom of uncertainties the poet places a lamp revealing at the same time that which lies behind and that which is in front spread out in a chequered pattern of light and shade. It points to the acceptance of an end which is inevitable and for that reason good and beautiful; night contributes some of its charms to daylight; in the darkness of an all-pervading night wakes the hope of a coming morning. But at times this hope does not seem to be there also. There is almost a complete denial of a death which shuts out the promise of a new life or even

interrupts life's continuity, but at places this denial is not quite complete. It is this that makes the book so poignant reading, and not merely the fact that it presses upon our consciousness the realisation that a world order with which we are familiar and a great and beloved poet are fast moving towards an unknown destiny. A faith that has always transcended reason and a hope born of undying enthusiasm are being put to the severest of tests, and *Navajataka* records some of the reactions faithfully as well as beautifully. Whenever this faith and this hope emerge out of the struggle, we stand face to face with a new revelation and a new light.

S. K. Chowdhuri

RABINDRA-RACHANAVALI : *Collected works of Rabindranath Tagore. Part III. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Five Plates. Price Rs. 4-8, Rs. 5-8 and Rs. 6-8. Limited edition, with author's autograph signature, Price Rs. 10.*

The volume under review includes Sonar Tari in the section of Poetry; Chitrangada, and Goday Galad in the section of Drama; Chokher Bali in the section of Fiction; and Atmashakti in the section of Essays. Atmashakti, which was long out of print, contains a number of Tagore's political essays and speeches of the Swadeshi days. As the name of the book indicates, the essays and speeches stresses the importance of the nation relying on its own strength, that being the keynote of the author's politics.

This edition of Rabindranath's works is being edited with great care; many passages that occurred in the original edition but were deleted in later ones, have been restored, to the extreme satisfaction of serious students of Tagore's works, in the present edition. Textual notes, which contain among other things, Tagore's own comments on some of his poems are appended, and the author contributes prefatory notes to most of the books included in the volume. These prefatory notes are very important. In some of them, for example in the prefatory note to *Chitrangada,* the Poet tells us the occasion, the incident and the inspiring idea which led him to write a particular work.

P.

PRACHIN HINDUSTHAN : *By Pramatha Chaudhuri, M.A., Bar-at-Law. Published by the Visva-Bharati Granthalaya, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 1346 B.S. Pages ii+117. Price annas eight.*

It is a happy sign of the times that our educated public has been conscious about the responsibility of spreading education amongst the masses, and that the claim of the uneducated adults has not been neglected. We regret that our universities and the education departments of the government have not taken up this most important and vital work. So it is in the fitness of things that the Visva-Bharati under the guidance of Rabindranath has come forward and sponsored a series called *"Loka-siksha Granthamala."* The book under notice is no. 2 in the series. In the brief preface written by Rabindranath himself the *raison d'etre* for such a series has been very nicely pointed out. We know that long ago he planned a similar scheme for popular education, and we are glad that it has matured now.

This little book provides a running story of the past of India before the Muhammadan period, and it is a matter of satisfaction that it is not like a "text-book" at all, that is, dull and lifeless. Coming as it does from the pen of Mr. P. Chaudhuri, it has all the characteristics of his style; it is racy, vivid and systematic. One does not at all feel that one is reading history and geography, yet one is led through all that modern researches have brought to light. The literary flavour in the delineation of these two subjects will, we are sure, induce the readers to know more of them and this is an achievement. The first part dealing with the relation and position of India in Asia, Eurasia and the world is a fascinating study and fully justifies the author's claim of turning geography, a science, into literature. Outer and further India has also found its proper place. In the second, that is, history section, we have all the various periods of Indus Valley, Vedic, Puranic, Buddhistic and later civilizations described in a nutshell. It is to be marked that the author has discussed the views of European scholars but has not been dominated by them.

We can safely say that not only those for whom this book is primarily intended, but others also, will enjoy reading it. And we hope it will be translated into other Indian vernaculars.

Rames Basu

AMAR BAI (my book) : *By Srish Chandra Das. Published by Parimal Das Gupta on behalf of Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Pages 106. Price Re. 1/-.*

This small volume of short, delightful essays will be highly appreciated by readers of literary taste, specially because books of this nature are so rare in Bengali literature. Most of the essays are written in an attractive, humorous vein. The writer takes his readers into confidence and talks in a friendly way. Nevertheless, he makes us think while he makes us smile; and never frightens us with pedantic frowns. Cheerfully disposed readers would thank him for this favour.

Dhirendra Nath Mookerjea

HINDI

GUPTA-SAMRAJYA KA ITIHASH, Vols. I & II: *By Vasudev Upadhyaya. Published by the Indian Press, Limited, 1939. Pp. 237 & 369.*

In these two volumes written in Hindi, the author has dealt with the history of the Gupta age with a short account of the periods that preceded and followed it. The first volume deals with the political history, while the second deals with the administrative system, social and economic condition, and art and literature of the Gupta age. In the two concluding chapters he has dealt with Greater India and the greatness of the Gupta age. More than twenty pages are devoted to illustrations of art and coinage.

The author is conversant with the standard literature on the subject and his treatment is both critical and comprehensive. Few books of this kind have been written in an Indian language, and the author has enriched Hindi literature by his labour.

Some of the views of the author are, however, open to criticism. The identification of Davaka with the districts of Dacca and Chittagong is hardly acceptable. Davaka must now be identified with the region round Doboka (in Nowgong district in Assam) which contains ancient ruins. But occasional lapses like this do not detract from the real merits of the book.

R. C. Majumdar

PRANON KA SAUDA : *By Shri Ram Sharma. Published by Sahitya-Sadan, Kirthara, P.O. Makhanpur (Mainpuri), U. P. Pages 212. Price Rs. 3.*

Here is a first-class "thriller,"—only the thrills, which are provided are not derived from the suffocating drawing-rooms of powdered and painted "society," but from the open arena of instinctive and adventurous life,—the jungle. It is a serial picture of those menacing moods of Nature which the poet has described as "red in tooth and claw." But it is also, when viewed from another standpoint, a hair-raising saga on the unrivalled courage of the hunters, who gamble with their lives while in search of their prize or prey. Thus, *Pranon ka Sauda* is a study not only in the various ways of the animals, but equally of the whole gamut of emotions which is evoked in the heart of the hunters as they tread, with their rifles slung from their shoulders, through the dark and dangerous forests. And this is so because the author himself was once an expert marksman. (*Vide* his *Shikar*, which made such a hit when it was published some years ago).

But unlike his *Shikar*, the author's present book is only, in part, based on his own experiences and adventures with his rifle, the major portion being a translation of a number of thrilling episodes described in such English books as *Hunters and the Hunted, Dwellers in the Jungle* and *Kill or be Killed*. This does not however take away from his position as a premier and pioneer writer, in Hindi literature, of books, which describe the thrills and terrors of jungle life. The inclusion of fourteen illustrations of the latter, combined with the excellent get-up of the book, has but deepened the reader's delight. If one were asked to recommend a book to our students which would inculcate in them the virtue of fearlessness on the one hand, and that of fellow-feeling, on the other one would straightaway say, "Read *Pranon ka Sauda*."

GURDIAL MALLIK

GUJARATI

LUKE NI LAKHELI SUVARTANO KHULASO : *By Rev. W. Graham Mulligan, M.A. Printed at the Mission Press, Surat. Cloth bound. Pp. 338. (1939). Price Re. 1.*

The Gospel according to St. Luke, with introduction and commentary by Rev. Mulligan is a remarkable book. The introduction is a scholarly one and paints a perfect background for the picture that is to follow. The full effects of the rise and development of Christianity cannot be understood unless one knows the state of society—social, religious and political existing in pre-Christian times. The author has given us ample materials, the result of wide reading and a scientific study of the subject from which we can very well reconstruct the state in which the Jews then lived, their philosophy, their slavery to ritualism—somewhat resembling the slavery of conservative Hindus—and their practices. This work has never been done so successfully by any other writer in Gujarati. The commentary is also equally valuable. The outstanding feature is, however, the almost faultness language written by the author, and it certainly deserves great praise. Books written by Padris for their Gujarati-knowing flock are increasing in number and amongst them Rev. Mulligan's productions take a front place. They are carving out a special niche for themselves in Gujarati literature now.

PARAJAY : *By Dhumketu. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 400. (1939). Price Rs. 2-8.*

Parajay is a novel, and maintains a high level throughout, in painting pictures of love, sympathy, pain, distress, unkindness, of the world and other evils. The impression left on our mind after viewing these pictures, is very pleasant on the whole, as out of all these evils, the writer has been able to create beauty. Some situations are very feelingly narrated and familiar cameos of village life skilfully presented.

MHARI SINDH YATRA : *By Muniraj Vidyavijayji. Printed at the Prabhat Press, Karachi. Cloth bound. Pp. 368. Illustrated. (1939). Price Rs. 2-8.*

Although a very large number of their followers are to be found in Sind, somehow or other, the Jain Munis had looked askance at the Province and never cared to pass the four months of the rainy season there. Muniraj Vidya Vijayaji, however, took it into his head to do so, and the book describes the arduous journey on foot from Marwar to Sind (Karachi) undertaken by him and his companions. As a guide book it is complete with maps and routes. As a book of information about Sind, historical, religious and social, it is very useful also. This is the first time we have got such a book about Sind in Gujarati.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

WORLD AFFAIRS : *By Roth Allim. The World Fellowship Club, Karachi. Pages 152. Price Rs. 2/-.*

HAPPY AND MARRIED : HOW : *Roth Allim. Pages 73. Price Re. 1/-.*

ANCIENT AND ROMAN LAW : *By R. A. Sujan. Standard Guide Publishing Co., Bunder Road, Karachi. Pages 86. Price Re. 1/-.*

ALCOHOL ITS USE AND MISUSE : *By Dr. H. P. Dastur. Foreword by B. G. Kher, B.A., LL.B. D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.*

WAR—AND AFTER : *By C. Jinarajadasa. The Indian Book Shop, The Theosophical Society, Benares.*





Isn't She Hindu? No. She is from Mexico, but has typical Hindu expression on her face



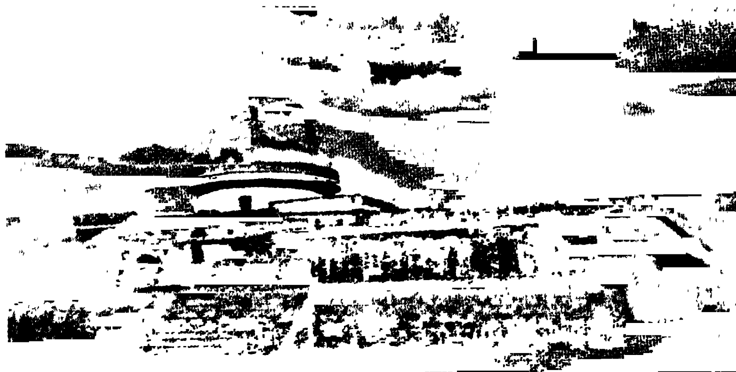
Central American Woman going to community bakery to get *chapati* prepared



Hindu Eyes in Mexico
The name of her village is Rajapura



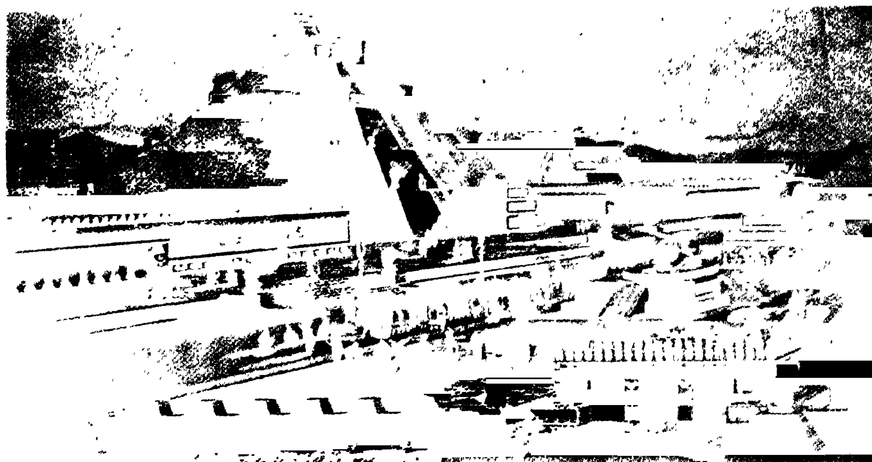
Red Indian Woman in Saree



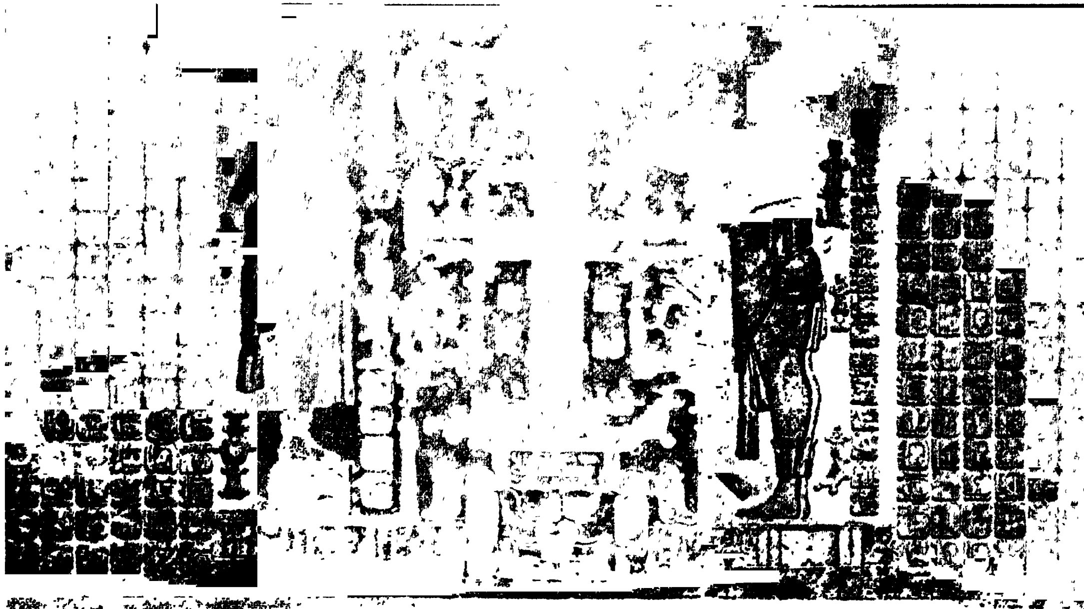
Maya Observatory in Mexico



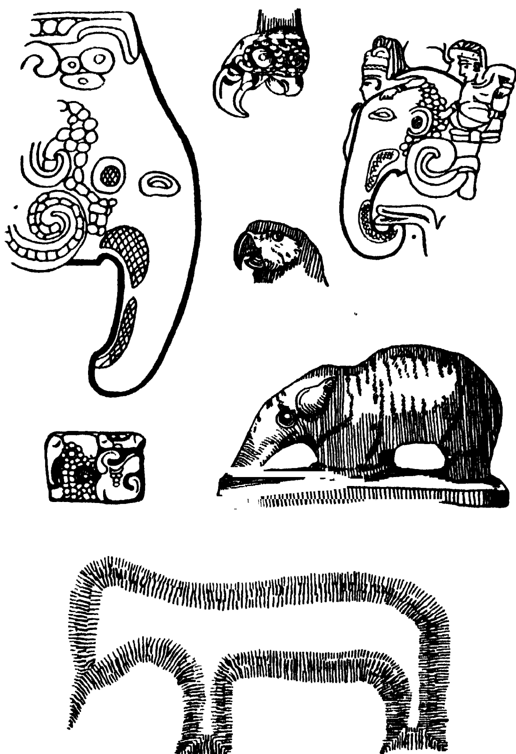
Not in Bengal but in Central America



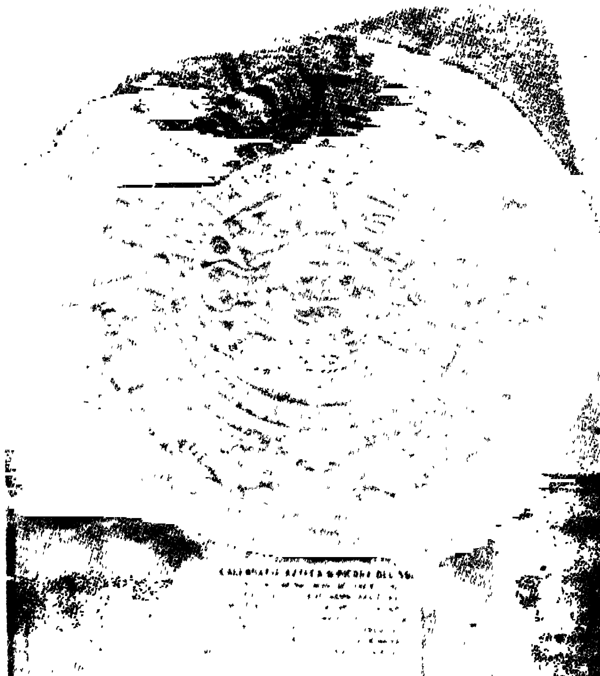
The Great Temple in Mexico
The opening ceremony of this great temple, alas, now buried under a church, was attended by six lakhs of people. The Havan Kund had nonstop Yagna day and night
[Photo from a reconstruction of a model by Maudsley]



Rig Vedic Ceremonial in America
This slab from a Central American temple depicts the ceremony of slaying the year bird (*Shyena*) mentioned in Chapter IV of the Rig Veda



Indian Elephant Symbols in Mexican Temples
[*Pre-Columbian Myths of America*



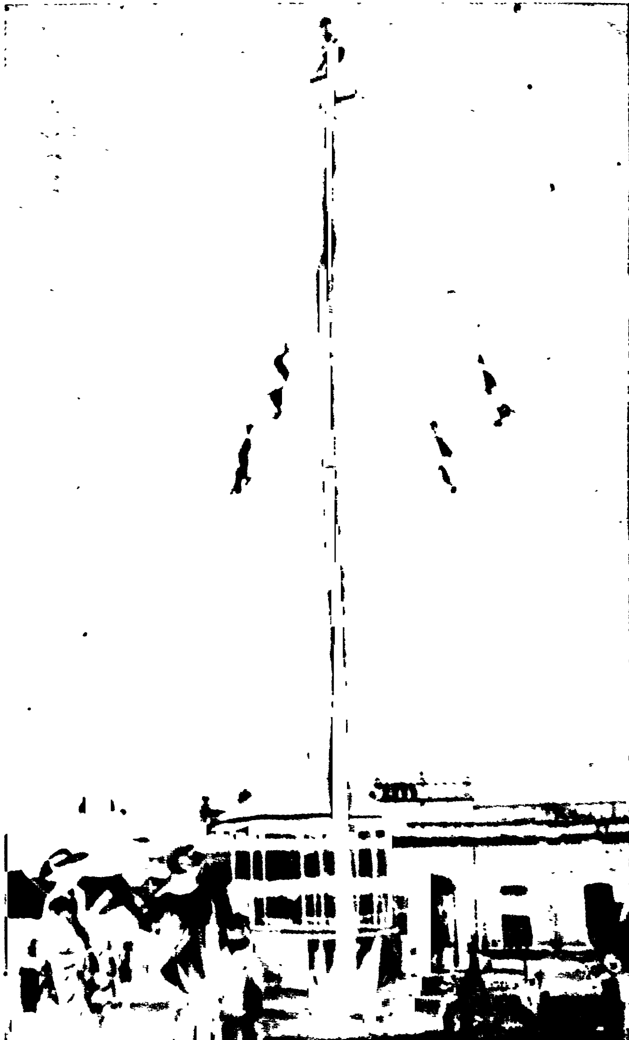
The Astec Calendar
This monolith preserved in the National Museum of Mexico gives the whole story of four Hindu Yugas (epochs). The Sun is in the centre



Gond Ceremonial in America: Mark the drum, flute and feather head-dress of American Indians so similar to Gonds of India



The "Sil Bata" is inevitable
The American Indians use *Sil Bata* in every home to prepare chutney, etc.



Bengali Ceremonial in America
This is a picture of the famous Bengali ceremonial of *Charak Puja* performed in Mexico, and also in South America

HINDUS DISCOVERED AMERICA

By CHAMAN LAL

"Those who first arrived on the continent later to be known as America were groups of men driven by that mighty current that set out from India towards the East."—History of Mexico (Mexican Government Publication).

* * * * *

"The (Maya) human types are like those of India. The irreproachable technique of their reliefs, the sumptuous headdress and ostentatious buildings on high, the system of construction, all speak of India and the Orient."—Professor Raman Mena, Curator of the National Museum of Mexico.

* * * * *

"Hindu merchants brought to Mexico the eighteen-months years of the Pandavas and the custom of trade guild and Indian bazaar."—Hewitt—Primitive Traditional History, pp 834--36.

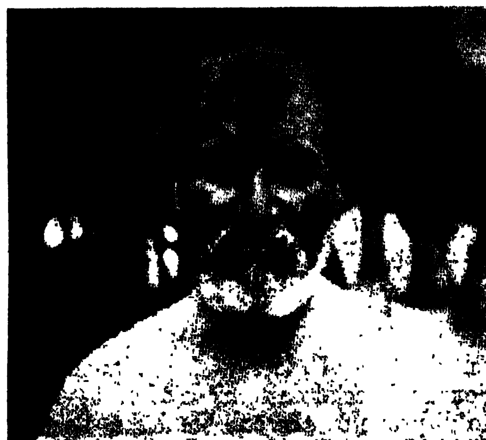
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"That the North-American Indians belonged to a Northern race, who made their way to the Southern Hemisphere, both in America and Asia, is proved by the absolute identity between the national system of relationships of the Irakuois (American Indian tribe) and Indian Dravidians, shown in the tables of consanguinity in Morgan's Ancient Society; to co-exist with the form of marriage which he calls Punuluan. This I have shown to be a union between alien races, in which the bridegroom received the bride into his clan by making blood-brotherhood with her, and marking the parting of her hair with vermilion, a rite still preserved by all Hindu castes."—Ruling Races of Prehistoric America, p. 234.

One of the most fascinating features of the ancient civilizations of America, is the mystery that shrouds them even in the twentieth century. No other country offers such mysterious problems as the vast continent of America. Innumerable theories, suppositions and surmises have been offered by imaginative brains, and while some of these theories appear reasonable, yet they fail to withstand thorough analysis. Despite the vast amount of research devoted to the ancient American civilizations we actually know very little of them. We find ruins of magnificent palaces, splendid temples, great monuments, beautiful idols. But there is no written history to prove the origin of the great people who left such wonderful monuments.

The difficulty of sifting the documentary accounts concerning ancient America has long been recognized. Nearly fifty years ago, Adolph Bandelier wrote :—

"Not only the history of ancient Mexico, but the true condition and degree of culture of its aboriginal inhabitants, are yet but imperfectly known. Nearly all architectural remains have disappeared; the descendants of the former aborigines have modified their plan of life, and we are almost exclusively reduced, for our knowledge of Mexican antiquities, to the printed and written testimony of those who saw Indian society in Mexico either at the time of, or not long after, its downfall. But these authors, whether eye-witnesses of the conquest, like Cortes, Bernal Diaz, Del Castillo Andres de Tapia, and others, or missionaries sent to New Spain at an early date, as Toribio of Benavente (Motolinia), Sahagun, or (towards the close of the



Frontier Gandhi Type

16th century, or beginning of the 17th century) Acosta, Devila, Mendieta and Torquemada, are sometimes, on many questions, in direct opposition to each other. Thus the uncertainty is still increased, and the most difficult critical labour heaped upon the student. Furthermore, to magnify the task, we are placed in presence of several Indian writers of the 16th and 17th centuries (like Kuran, Texozomoc, and Ixtlilxochitl), who disagree with each other, on as also with the Spanish authors. It may appear presumptuous, while knowing of the existence of such difficulties, to attempt the description of even a single feature of life of Mexico's former Indian society."

Undoubtedly, as Bandelier says, the task is very difficult and a layman like me hesitates to raise his pen on such a mysterious subject. Yet, fortunately, there is enough evidence still left in America itself to encourage me to write on the origins of the ancient people and civilizations in America. 'When the people of one nation have been conquered and killed by

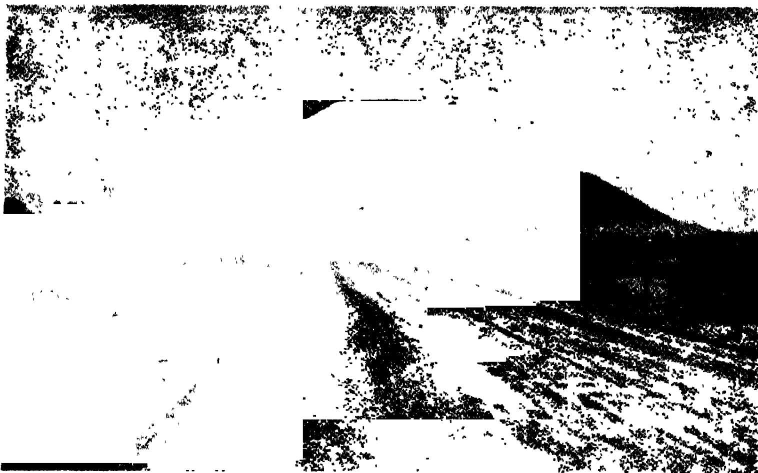
another nation, their property confiscated and the remnant of the people made slaves, and all written records burnt by invaders, nearly everything that is known of them is derived from what has been told by the invaders.' Fortunately the Spanish historians who accompanied the invaders have left some valuable records of the condition of the people, and their customs and life in the early sixteenth century.

The research into man's presence in the New World is very interesting and the reader will come across some fantastic theories advanced by various scholars in their zeal to justify their imagination, but it is not by conjectures and suppositions that we can arrive at a solution of this great mystery. Identity of or at least similarities in facial appearance, food, clothing, religious customs, habits, and above all, similarity in basic philosophy and culture must decide the issue.

Twenty Theories.—The obvious impossibility of attributing an autochthonic origin for the Astecs, the last of the ruling races on the American continent, of which Mexico was the cultural centre, in the face of the evident mixture of races, dialects, languages and religious and social customs in Mexico—all tending to disprove on the one hand the racial unity of the ancient Mexican peoples and, on the other, to lend support for theories of succeeding waves of immigration into the country—has led to the propagation of a number of conflicting theories about the immigrant origin of the Mexican people and their ancient civilization. Miss Cora Walker, an American research scholar in this field, sums up in her book *Cautemoc* (the last of the Mexican emperors) no less than twenty different such theories. It is needless to go into all of them in detail, but they may be briefly referred to here.

In Mexico there were white races, a yellow race with almond shaped eyes, brown races, and a black race. The more than thirty-seven different languages and many more dialects of the country are proofs against the racial unity of the ancient Mexican peoples. Human life in Mexico is believed to be coeval with that of Asia, 10,000 B. C. or more.

This mixture of races and languages in Mexico, according to one school, is accounted for by immigration into Mexico of people from Atlantic, the Lost Continent, occupying the region now comprised by the gulf of Mexico, and the Caribbean Sea. This continent, it is supposed, got submerged in the ocean as the result of a series of earthquake shocks. In



Pyramid of the Sun

addition, there are four African theories, seven Asiatic theories, and six European theories—all attributing the origin of the ancient Astec civilization to immigrant waves from different countries and of different races in these continents. While these theories are mutually conflicting, yet they unmistakably prove that the Astec culture and civilization are not autochthonous, but have an immigrant origin.

A further reason for accepting this theory is that Mexican traditions themselves claim that their ancestors came from a far and beautiful country. Montezuma, Emperor of Mexico, told the Spaniards that his ancestors came from the far east, across great waters and they were white people.

Imprints of India.—The theories about European migration to America before Columbus are not supported by research scholars and archaeologists of Mexico. It is quite possible that some people from some of the European countries may have visited America, but there is nothing to prove that any European migration took place to America before the visit of Columbus, whom Europe applauded as the discoverer of America. But the presence of hundreds of thousands of people with Hindu and Mongol features, following Hindu religious customs, worship of Hindu gods—Ganesha,



Thousand-columned Temple in Yucatan
It corresponds with the famous *Sahasra-sthamba* temple of Madura

Indra and others, the Hindu educational code, system of priesthood, marriage customs, observance of cremation and even Suttee, definitely prove that Hindus and Mongols did migrate to America in large numbers by land and sea. The existence of a sea route between India and Mexico is admitted by many research scholars. According to the Hindu epic Mahabharata, American rulers participated in the great battle of Kurukshetra and a Hindu prince (Arjun) married the daughter of an American ruler. America was then known as Pātāla and it was reputed to be very rich in gold. A beautiful description of this unique land is given in the Puranas.

Patala—Home of Gold.—"According to the Vishnu Purana, the regions below the earth number seven, Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Gabhastimat, Mahatala, Sutala, and Patala. They are embellished with magnificent palaces, in which dwell numerous Danavas, Daityas. Yakshas, and great snake-gods. The Muni Narada, after his return from those regions to the skies, declared amongst the celestials that Patala was much more delightful than Indra's heaven. "What," exclaimed the sage, "can be compared to Patala, where the Nagas are decorated with brilliant and beautiful and pleasure-shedding jewels? Who will not delight in Patala, where the lovely daughters of the Daityas and Danavas wander about, fascinating even the most austere; where the rays of the sun diffuse light, and no heat, by day; and where the moon shines by night for illumination, not for cold; where the sons of Danu, happy in the enjoyment of delicious viands and strong wines, know not how the time passes? There are beautiful groves and streams and lakes where the lotus blows; and the skies are resonant with the Kiol's song. Splendid ornaments, fragrant perfumes, rich unguents, the blended music of the flute and pipe and tabor; these and many other enjoyments are the common portion of the Danavas, Daityas, and snake-gods, who inhabit the region of Patala."[1]

Some biased Americans may not have much faith in Hindu records, but American and British authorities can be quoted to prove that the Hindus discovered America thousands of years before Columbus was born.

1. *Wonderful Race From India.*—Professor Raman Mena, Curator of the National Museum of Mexico, in his book *Mexican Archaeology*, says :—

"A deep mystery enfolds the tribes that inhabited the state of Chiapas in the district named Palenque. Their wonderful works of art of perfect design and finished workmanship, seem to say that these people were greatly advanced and of recent age. Yet their writing and the anthropological type, as well as their personal adornments, and finally their systems and style of construction clearly indicate the remotest antiquity. The arrangement of calculliform writing, certain characters and even certain objects vaguely bring to mind the Maya people. But precisely the placing in series of the written blocks, and by the general appearance of the writing it is considered of oriental origin and of greater antiquity than that accorded to the Nestorian Stone, *i.e.*, more than ten thousand years.

"THE HUMAN TYPES ARE LIKE THOSE OF INDIA. THEIR PERFECTION IN DESIGN, THE IRREPROACHABLE TECHNIQUE OF THEIR RELIEFS, THE SUMPTUOUS HEAD-DRESS AND OSTENTATIOUS BUILDINGS ON HIGH, THE SYSTEM OF CONSTRUCTION, ALL SPEAK OF INDIA AND THE ORIENT."

2. *Sea Route from India.*—"The crosses (sacred god tree), birds, also sacred, are eminently Oriental Buddhistic. Orozco Y Berra has demonstrated this indisputably and AS THERE EXISTS THE POSSIBILITY OF A ROUTE BETWEEN INDIA AND OUR COASTS, WE ARE VERY NEAR SOLVING THE MYSTERY THAT ENFOLDS THIS RACE."

3. *Hindu Origin of Languages.*—The same author writes :—

"At present we are studying the native tongues and find that at least as far as Nahuatl, Zapoteca, and Maya languages are concerned, they are of Hindu-European (Sanskrit) origin. The aforementioned studies are by Dr. Magana Peon and Professor Humberlo J. Cornyn, both members of the Geographical Society of Mexico."

Ten Thousand Years Old.—The Mexican Professor concludes :—

1. Perry : *Children of the Sun,* p. 257.

"In Palenque we find what is probably the oldest civilization in America, at least ten thousand years old, yet its calculliform writing is wonderful, though not legible in all its parts, for as yet we have deciphered only certain dates, Oriental phonograms and signs which are isolated without connection. This is all we have been able to read of the venerable writing in square figures, found in bas relief on stones and earthen vessels."

4. *Hindus Reached America first.*—And this is what the official historian of the Mexican Government says in *General Outline of the History of Mexico* :

"What is called the discovery of America is the meeting of two great current of races of people, who, after a separation extending over many centuries, were again joined after going right round the earth.

"Humanity which originated in Asia, was scattered by movements of expansion, on the one side towards the West (Asia Minor, Egypt, etc.) to create there western culture, Graeco-Latin or European, and on the other towards the east, to India, China, Japan and the Islands of South Seas. AND THOSE WHO FIRST ARRIVED ON THE CONTINENT, LATER TO BE KNOWN AS AMERICA, WERE GROUPS OF MEN DRIVEN BY THAT MIGHTY CURRENT THAT SET OUT FROM INDIA TOWARDS THE EAST."

5. *Hindus as World Traders.*—The Mexican historian's theory about a trade route between India and Mexico is supported by Hewitt, a renowned research scholar. He says :—

"It was only in an age of peace, when the kings and their principal advisers were merchants like Anatha Pindika, the trading Prime Minister of the King of Sarasvati in Buddhist history, and the Khewat fisherman kings of Tamralepti in south-west Bengal in the Bronze Age, that the commerce of the Turvasu Yadavas, sons of the date-palm-tree, with China, the Malacca Peninsula, and the islands of the Malay Archipelago in the east, and with Persia, Egypt, North Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy in the west, could be maintained."[2]

Hindu Merchants in Mexico.—Hewitt proves how Hindu merchants introduced the Hindu bazaar system in Mexico. He writes[3] :—

'*This commerce and the emigration accompanying it extended to China and also to the southern islands of Polynesia and Melanesia, and, as we shall now see, emigrant tribes instructed in its creeds and imbued with traditional Indian beliefs brought to Mexico the eighteen-months year of the Indian Pandavas,* the worship of the Indian elephant cloud-god Ganesha, the ritual of the Antelope worshippers of the corn-god represented in Mexico and North America by the maize sheaf, the reproduction of the rice sheaf of the Malays of Eastern Asia and India, and of the barley-god of India, South-western Asia, and Europe; also the Naga snake and antelope dances which were introduced into Mexico in forms as ancient as the oldest survivals in India of the popular worship of the antelope-god Krishna and the Naga snakes of the Naga Kushika era, who appear so prominently in Buddhist sculptures and the Jataka birth-stories. The Mexican founders of the state of society in which the eighteen-months year was made the official measure of time were the trading and artisan Toltecs, whose name Toltecatl, originally meaning the dwellers in the land of reeds (tollan), came to mean skilled artisans. Among them, as among



Punjabee Type
Hindu Types in America

the Kushikas, each trade had its own guild, to which a special quarter of the city was assigned as in Indian bazaars. Each guild was ruled by its own tutelar deities of the festivals held in accordance with the guild ritual. The profession of artisan was looked on as most honourable, and as in the South-western Asia portrayed in the Arabian Nights and in Buddhist India, the merchants held the highest rank in the state."

Hindu Army in America.—Hewitt continues :—

"Those who trade in foreign countries travelled in caravans guarded by an armed escort, which was sometimes so large as to amount to an army, as in the siege of four years during which they defended Ayotlan and were finally left in undisturbed possession of the town. These traders marked their identity by their own insignia and devices, like those on the banners of the Yadu-Turvasu chiefs in the Mahabharata, and in Tezcuco their Council of Finance controlled the state expenditure. The King called them Uncle, and they held their own civil and criminal courts, and were in short the chief rulers of the land."[4]

2. Hewit : *Primitive Traditional History,* p. 832.
3. Hewitt : *Primitive Traditional History,* pp. 834-36.

4. Cheyne—Circumcision, *Encyc. Brit.,* Vol. V, ninth edition, p. 790. Bancroft : *Native Races of America,* Vol. iii.

6. *Astecs came from Abroad.*—Montezuma (the Astec Emperor of Mexico) informed Cortes, the invader, that his ancestors had been conducted to Mexico by a ruler, whose vassals they were and who having established them in a colony returned to his native lands in the East (Land of the Sun). This refutes the Americanist theory that Astec culture was American in origin.[5]

7. *Migrated from the Orient.*—Mr. A. Hyatt Verril, author of *Old Civilizations of the New World,* is definitely of the opinion that people from the Orient migrated to America via the Pacific. He writes :—

"As a matter of fact, it would not be at all difficult for any large canoe or *catamaran* to cross from Polynesia to South America even at the present time, and if such a migration ever took place thousands of years ago the chances are that at that time there were many islands or archipelagos which have since disappeared. It has been fairly well established that Easter Island is merely the remnant of an archipelago that existed in comparatively recent times, and it is not at all impossible, nor improbable, that the submergence of this or some other archipelago or island was the primary reason for its inhabitants imigrating overseas to America. In fact, with the prevailing winds and currents of the Pacific, about the only course that could have been followed under such conditions would have been towards America. Also, there is the undeniable fact that among nearly all the tribes of Western South America we find words, not one or two—but scores, which are strikingly like and in many cases identical with words of the same meanings in Oceanian dialects. In some of their arts, habits and religious beliefs there is a great similarity between the natives of Oceania and the tribes of Western South America, while many of these South American tribes are astonishingly like the natives of the Pacific Islands in features, color and other respects. Finally, we have the strange bearded Indians or Sirionos of Bolivia, an isolated, primitive race with slightly wavy, fine hair, great bushy beards, and typically Oceanian features, who bear no faintest resemblance to any other known Indian tribe.

"Moreover, we know positively that there was some communication between the inhabitants of our Pacific coast and the inhabitants of mid-Pacific islands in prehistoric times. In excavating prehistoric graves on the Californian coast, members of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, obtained adzes, and axeheads of Pacific islands.

"Also, among the thousands of artefacts recovered from the remains of the exceedingly ancient Cocle civilization in Panama, I found a number which can be explained only on the theory that the people who dwelt there were more or less in direct communication with the Orient."

8. *Mayas Mighty Navigators.*—Colonel James Churchward, author of *Lost Continent,* referring to the KUSAI ISLAND situated at the south-east corner of the Easter Island group, says :.

On this and the surrounding islands art found similar ruins to Panape, but not nearly so extensive. On the south side of the harbour of this latter island are several canals lined with stone. They cross each other at right angles. Between their intersections are artificially made islands, which originally had buildings on them. One tower still remaining is about 35 feet high.

Native traditions of this island say :—"*The people who once lived here were very powerful. They had large vessels in which they made voyages far distant, east and west, taking many moons to complete a voyage." Does this not entirely agree with Valmiki, when he says; "The Mayas were mighty navigators, whose ships passed from the eastern to the western oceans and from the southern to the northern seas,"* concludes Colonel Churchward, who has spent fifty years in exploring the connection between India, the Lost Continent and America.

A Traditional Story.—Of Zamna, a sage and high-priest of the Chanes (Mayas) to whom they owed their culture and their knowledge of writing, tradition records that he witnessed the construction of Chichen-Itza and that he assured the Mayas of having come from the Orient.



Simla Hill Type
Hindu Types in America

9. *Incas came from Abroad.*—That the Children of the Sun (Incas), the rulers of South America, came from abroad, is proved by Dr. Morton, whose valuable work contains several engravings of both the Inca and the common Peruvian skull, showing that the facial angle in

[5] Bernal Diaz—Official historian of Cartes.

the former, though by no means great, was much larger than that in the latter, which was singularly flat, and deficient in intellectual character.—(Crania Americana, Philadelphia, 1829).

10. *Hymn Relating to Ships.*[6]—To prove that the forefathers of Mexicans came from abroad by ships, Seler quotes the following significant Mexican hymn :

Over the water in ships came numerous tribes,
To the coast they came, to the coast situate in the North,
And where with ships they landed—
That was called Panutla[7] ("where they go over the water"), that is now called Pantla.
Then they followed the coast,
They beheld the mountains, especially the Sierra Nevada and the Volcano (Popocatepetl),
And came, still following the coast, to Guatemala;
Thereafter they came and reached
The place called Tamoanchan ("we seek our home"),
And there they tarried long.

Seler identifies Panutla (Pantla) with the present Panuco in Huaxtec territory, and writes :

"The districts inhabited by the Huaxtec peoples—Tuxpan and Panpantla and the coterminous coast lands, the land of the Totonacs and of the Olmeca Uixtotin—were the seat of a very ancient and highly developed culture, and from the early times carried on an active intercourse with the Mexicans of the central tableland. By the Mexicans the Huaxtecs were also called Toueyo, which in his ethnographic chapter Sahagun explains with the term touampo 'our next,' 'our neighbour.' But in reality toueyo means 'our greater,' pro- in the sense of 'our elder brother'," (in Hindustani *Taya* means father's elder brother).

Buddhist Influences.—Mackenzie, commenting upon the subject, asks :—

"Whence came the highly cultured aliens whose civilization is represented by Quetzalcoatl ? They were evidently seafarers who settled on the coastlands and introduced the dragon beliefs so like those found in India, China and Japan; they introduced various arts and crafts and well-defined laws, and their Quetzalcoatl priests were penitents given to self-mortification like the Indian Brahmans; they hated war and violence, and instead of sacrificing animals made offerings of flowers, jewels, &c., to their deities. That they came under Hindu or Buddhist influence, as did sections of the Chinese people, is a view which cannot be lightly dismissed, except by those who cling to the belief in the spontaneous generation in different parts of the world of the same groups of highly complex beliefs and practices.[8]

Like the Buddhist missionaries, the disciple of Quetzalcoatl, the Toltec priest-god, "went forth at the command of their master to preach his doctrines". They founded several centres of worship in Oajaca. At Achiuhtla, the centre of Mextec religion, there was a cave with idols in which religious ceremonies were performed.[9] "A large transparent chalchiuitl, entwined by a snake whose head pointed towards a little bird," was a specially sacred relic which was worshipped as "the heart of the people". The relic was, according to Burgoa, supposed to support the earth. Quetzalcoatl was represented as an Atlas in Mexico.[10] The "heart symbolism is met with in Japanese Buddhism." "The Essence of Zenshuism", writes Professor Arthur Lloyd, "is the 'Heart of Buddha'. But what that 'heart' is, cannot exactly be said. "[11]

"The cave-jewel-serpent has been linked by not a few 'Americanists' with votan ("the heart"), a Maya god. As we have seen, the chalchiuitl jewel was, like the green scarab of Egypt, regarded as the heart—the seat of life, and was placed in the mouths of the Mexican dead like the jade tongue amulet in China., It contained life substance (yang). "Votan was, like Quetzalcoatl, the first historian of his people, and wrote a book on the origin of the race, in which he declares himself a snake (Naga), a descendant of Imos, of the line of Chan, of the race of Chivim."[12]

12. *Nagas in India and America.*—Mackenzie adds :—

"Whatever may be thought of this view, the interesting fact emerges that there was a snake people in America as there were and are Naga peoples in India.

"The Votan peoples were seafarers who settled on various islands, and were called by one of the peoples with whom they mixed the Tzequiles ("men with petticoats") because they wore long robes. Votan is said to have returned to Palenque, where he found that "several more of the natives had arrived; these he recognized as 'Snakes' (Nagas), and showed them many favours."

13. *Saint's Foot Prints.*—"A similar personage, if not the same, called Wixepecocha by the Zapotecs, who arrived by sea from the south-west, was a celibate. He called for repentance and expiation. Persecuted and driven from province to province, he took refuge on the summit of Mount Cempoaltepec, vanishing like a shadow and "leaving only the print of his feet upon the rock"—quite a Buddhist touch ! Votan was supposed to have "hollowed out of a rock his cave temple by blowing with his breath". There are also references to his entering the Underworld through a subterranean passage—one of the passages too familiar in Old World mythologies.

6. *Myths of pre-Columbian America.*
7. This sounds like Hindustani Pani—(water) tla (tank)—meaning a lake.
8. *Myths of pre-Columbian America.*
9. The Buddhist clergy favoured caves in which they meditated and performed ceremonies.
10. *Codox Vtisnns* B, p. 93.
11. *The Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism.*
12. Mackenzie : *Myths of pre-Columbia America*, pp. 265 & 266.

14. *Four more Legends.*[13]—Here are four more legends to prove that American culture was founded by outsiders.

"Peruvian legends, according to Torquemeda, tell of giants who came across the Pacific, conquered Peru and erected great buildings."

15. "Sume of Brazil was a white, bearded man who, however, came from the east, not the west. He introduced agriculture, and had power to raise and still tempests. The Cabocles of Brazil persecuted him, and, before he retired from their country, he left the prints of his feet on rocks, as did Buddha in Ceylon and elsewhere. Payetome was also a white man."

16. "The apostle of the Chilians was a white man who performed miracles and cured the sick; he caused rain to fall and crops to grow, and kindled fire at a breath. In like manner, Buddhist priests 'caused rain' by repeating sutras as rain charms."

17. "Bochica, who gave laws to the Muyscas, was a white, bearded man, wearing long robes, who regulated the calendar, established festivals, and vanished in time like the others. He was supposed to be a 'son of the sun."[14] (Surya—Vanshi).

"It is remarkable that these legends of white, bearded men, wearing long robes, should be so widespread and persistent over wide areas in America. *In all cases they are seafarers, teachers and preachers, like the Buddhist missionaries who for centuries visited distant lands and left the impress of their teachings and the memory of their activities in the religious traditions of many different and widely-separated peoples,*" concludes Mackenzie..

18. *WHY THEY MIGRATED ?*—Mackenzie, writing on the reasons for migrations to the Pacific Islands and America (all rich in mineral wealth), opines that love of gold was a great stimulus to immigrants. He adds :—

"A difficulty experienced by not a few, regarding the migration of even small groups of peoples from Asia to America, is the great distance that had to be covered by the ancient mariners. The Pacific was undoubtedly a formidable natural barrier. It was, however, a less formidable one than the mountain ranges and extensive deserts of the Old World, and even than the more formidable barriers formed by organized communities in fertile valleys, because these communities were invariably armed and had to be overcome in battle. *On the trackless ocean, nature alone, a less formidable enemy than man, had to be contended with.* That the ocean was traversed by considerable number of seafarers in ancient time is demonstrated by the fact that Polynesia was peopled by Indonesians and others, and that even Easter Island was colonized. The distance from the Malay peninsula to Easter Island, as has been already indicated, is vastly greater than from Easter Island to America. Indeed, longer voyages were made by Polynesians within the limits of Polynesia than those which were necessary to cross from their island to the New World. *The Pacific barrier was no more formidable than was the barrier of the Indian Ocean. If the voyage was longer it was not less possible of achievement, and the wide distribution of islands must have enticed and encouraged explorers to venture farther and farther to sea.*"[15]

19. *Goldsmiths from India.*—Mackenzie continues :

"Sahagun tells, as has been stated, that the ancestors of the Nahua crossed the ocean and moved southward in America searching for the earthly paradise. According to Torquemeda, the strangers were silversmiths and goldsmiths and accomplished artisans, and collected and worked precious stones. They introduced religious beliefs and practices of distinctive character from the Old World. Dragon and naga myths were imported among other things as is shown in the Tlaloc chapter. The Maya god B was undoubtedly of Indian origin and connected with the elephant-headed god Ganesha and the god Indra, as has been shown."[16]

20. *Hindu Stock in America.*—Hewitt writes :

"That the North-American Indians belonged to a Northern race, who made their way to the Southern Hemisphere, both in America and Asia, is proved by the absolute identity between the national system of relationships of the Iroquois (American Indian tribe)



Not a Hindu but a Mexican

13. *Myths of pre-Columbian America,* pp. 266, 269 & 270.

14. Authorities quoted by Bancroft in the *Pacific States,* vol. 10., pp. 23-24 and note 53—58.

15. *Myths of pre-Columbian America,* pp. 299-300.

16. *Read* chapter 'Indra in America' in this book.

and Indian Dravidians, shown in the tables of consanguinity in Morgan's *Ancient Society,* to co-exist with the form of marriage which he calls Punlagan. This I have shown to be a union between alien races, in which the bridegroom received the bride into his clan by making blood-brotherhood with her, and marking the parting of her hair with vermilion, a rite still preserved by all Hindu castes except those who tie the hands of the wedded pair together with Kusha grass, or unite them by tying their clothes. The identity of strain in the American, Indian and Hindu stocks is still further proved by the existence in both countries of tree-totemism, in which tribal clans trace their birth to a tree, and finally to plants, such as the reed and the ear of corn."[17]

21. *Worship of Shiva Linga in America.*—Hewitt continues :

"But though totemism gave birth to isolated tribes with shifting alliances, it never produced a national religion, common to a permanent tribal confederacy. This was introduced by the fire-worshippers and rain-worshippers, the first of these national creators tracing the descent of the confederated totemistic clans to the fire-stone, producing the heat necessary to sustain life, and the second to the mother bird of the Northern agricultural races, who brought the spring rains which melted the snows of winter. That these two national parent-gods are worshipped by all the North-American Indians is proved by the elaborate reports published by the Bureau of Ethnology of the Government of the United States. These prove that the chief gods of all North-American Indian tribes are Tunkan (Ingan), the stone-god, to whom daily prayers are said, and Wakinyan, the thunder-bird, the god of war, to whom national sacrifices are offered. The stone-god was originally the fire-making flint, which in the Gond Song of Lingal made fire for the Gond immigrants into Central India from the North-eastern Himalayas, before they learned to make fire by the fire-drill from the forest agricultural tribes they found settled in the country. This god, who, with the mother-bird, unites the totemistic hunters and the agriculturists of the North into the consolidated nucleus of a nation, is the god called by the Akkadians, Zends and Hindus, the Shiva-stone, or the Salagrama, the begetter of life, found by the fire-god Adar in the mother-mountain. It is worshipped as the black stone of the Kaaba at Mecca, and is the origin of the stone-gods of Arabia, and of all the Semitic races. The thunder-bird shows, in its Indian name Wakin-yon, that the cult was imported into America after the age which called the mother-bird the frost (shya) bird, the shyena of the Rigveda, and the Saena of the Zendavesta, for it means the bird which brings to earth the Waka, or the mysterious germ of life."

22. *Hindu Gods in America.*—The Mexicans and especially the Maya people worshipped the Hindu gods Ganesha and Indra, says the *Mexican Life* of July, 1935.

"When the Spaniards arrived in Yucatan they found an immense number of gods being worshipped. Essentially, the great god was the Rain-God, Chac, the migrated and transformed Ganesha of the Hindu systems. With him marched Indra as Maize God, and around and upon these two deities arose a vast number of minor divinities, earth gods, rainbow goddesses, and what not. It is possible that into its cultured ferment came not only great driftages of ideas and beliefs from orthodox Hinduism and Brahmanism, but from Buddhism as well."

23. *Customs from India.*—Hewitt, the renowned British research scholar, makes a very positive assertion on the subject when he says :

"THE RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN ASIATIC, EUROPEAN, AND AMERICAN-INDIAN HISTORICAL MYTHS AND RITUALS, PROVE MOST CONCLUSIVELY, AS PRESCOTT HAS ALREADY POINTED OUT, THAT THE AMERICAN-INDIANS BROUGHT WITH THEM TO AMERICA, NATIONAL TRADITIONS AND RITES, WHICH HAD FIRST ORIGINATED IN ASIA AND EUROPE; THAT THE GREAT NATIONAL EMIGRATION TOOK PLACE, AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MARITIME COMMERCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, WHILE THE SIA RITUAL PROVES THAT THE IMMIGRANTS FROM WHOM THEY TRACED THEIR DESCENT HAD, BEFORE THEIR DEPARTURE FROM ASIA, CELEBRATED A FESTIVAL TO THE RAIN-GOD, VERY SIMILAR IN ITS DETAILS TO THE SOMA SACRIFICE OF INDIA, THAT THEY WORSHIPPED THE MOTHER CORN-PLANT, AND USED THE FERTILISING SACRED POLLEN OF THE HINDU AND BABYLONIAN WORSHIPPERS OF THE DATE-PALM."[18]

BENGALI CEREMONIAL IN AMERICA: Hewitt, referring to the practice of penance in India and America, writes :

"It is still preserved in India, in the ceremony of swinging the young sun-god in August;[19] also the Dakota (U. S. A.) swinging-penance is exactly like that annually performed in Bengal by the devotees, who swing themselves on hooks at the Charak-pooja, while the preparations for cutting down the mystery tree are very like those observed in Chota-Nagpore, in cutting down the kurrum tree (Naudea parvifolia), at the barley festival in August, and in both cases, those who cut the tree must fast.[20] It is all but utterly impossible that this peculiar form of swinging-penance should have originated independently both among the Bengalis and Dakotas, and when the numerous other coincidences between Hindu, Chinese, Japanese, and American myth and ritual, especially the measurement of time, both in India and America, by the Pleiades, Orion, the Pole Star and Great Bear, are also taken into account, I CANNOT SEE HOW IT IS POSSIBLE TO DOUBT THAT THE AMERICAN INDIANS CAME TO AMERICA FROM ASIA, SOME OF THEM PASSING THROUGH CHINA AND JAPAN, AND SOME PERHAPS BY DIRECT VOYAGES."[21]

25. *Indian Cotton in America.*—India, which introduced culture and gods into America, also introduced cotton. Hewitt referring to an Indian tribe in America says :

17. *The Ruling Races of Pre-historic America*, p. 317.

18. *The Ruling Races of Pre-historic America.*
19. *The Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times*, Preface, p. xv.
20. Ibid. Essay iii, pp. 232, 233.
21. *The Ruling Races of Pre-historic America.*

"The Sia Kapina did not grow rice, but spun cotton, a dry crop, over the land, thus showing that they came from India to America, for cotton is an indigenous plant of India, first used for weaving purposes in India and China, whence it was brought to America by the immigrating races.

"They also made a latticed road of wood towards all the quarters of the earth. And these stories tell in mythical fashion, how the weavers and carpenters of American history became like the weavers of India, who called the mother-stars the spinners,[22] and the Takkas or carpenters of the Punjab who worshipped the growing tree, the leaders in the progress of the agricultural communities hitherto composed only of farmers and horsmen."[23]

India, the Home of Cotton.—The following observations made by Dr. James A. B. Scherer, author of *Cotton as World Power*, will be read with interest :

"India is the original home of cotton. Cotton cloth was first seen in Europe when the soldiers of Alexander the Great brought some of it back, as a curiosity, in the fourth century before Christ. All India was clothed with it then, as to-day; some of the ancient textiles being so delicate and beautiful as to give rise to the poetic description, 'webs of the woven wind.'

"Centuries passed before the new goods made any impression on England, whose people wore wool exclusively. When cotton goods did begin to come in, a fierce conflict ensued with wool, which was then styled 'the flower and strength, the revenue and blood of England,'—so important was it in the economic life of the people. Opposition to the new Indian 'fripperies' became so pronounced that the wool weavers of Lancashire, already influential in politics, secured the passage of extreme excise laws, one of which (in 1666) actually imposed fines on the survivors of any dead person not buried in a woollen shroud —perhaps the strangest of all English laws. But when Lancashire weavers finally understood that their fellow countrymen and especially their fellow countrywomen were bent upon cotton goods, they decided to make a virtue of necessity. Inventors succeeded in producing a marvellous succession of machines for spinning and weaving cotton, instead of wool wherein lies the origin of the British Industrial Revolution."

It is reasonable to assume that America, like all other countries, received cotton from India. Those interested in details may read the *History of Cotton.*

Immigrants from Asia.—Professor Elliot Smith, in his epoch-making work, *The Evolution of the Dragon*, refuses to believe the 'Americanist' theory that there was no immigration to America until the 'Discovery of America' by Columbus. He writes :

"The original immigrants into America brought from North-Eastern Asia such cultural equipment as had reached the area east of the Yenesei at the time when Europe was in the Neolithic phase of culture. Then when ancient mariners began to coast along the Eastern Asiatic littoral and make their way to America by the Aleutian route there was a further infiltration of new ideas. But when more venturesome sailors began to navigate the open seas and exploit Polynesia, for centuries, there was a more or less constant influx of customs and beliefs, which were drawn from Egypt and Babylonia, from the Mediterranean and East Africa, from India and Indonesia, China and Japan, Cambodia and Oceania. One and the same fundamental idea, such as the attributes of the serpent as a water-god, reached America in an infinite variety of guises,[24] Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian, Indonesian, Chinese and Japanese, and from this amazing jumble of confusion the local priesthood of Central America built up a system of beliefs which is distinctively American, though most of the ingredients and principles of synthetic composition was borrowed from the Old World."[25]

Mayas from India.—The Mayas, mention of whom is made in the Mahabharata as great builders and architects and whose immortal palaces and temples (now in ruins) still recall their glory in Mexico, definitely belonged to Hindu stock.

"The Mayas and Nahuas of Yucatan and Mexico were emigrants of the Magha and Nahusha tribes, who pertained to the race of navigators known by the Greeks as the Phoenicians . . . . . and who continued in their new land, America, the worship of the rain god, to whom, as their fathers in Central Asia, they dedicated the sign of the cross."[26]

Snake the Common Deity.—The worship of the snake in India and Mexico is one of the important links between the Hindus, Mayas and Astecs. Mrs. Nuttal writes :

The name of the culture hero Kukulcan or Quetzalcoatl incorporates the word serpent in Maya and Nhuatl. The conventionalized open serpent's jaw forms the usual head-dress of the lords sculptured on the Central American stelae and bas-reliefs. The existence of totemism in America is too well-known to require comment, and the arbitrary method by which it was established by the Incas of Peru, when they founded the new colony, has been described. She quotes Hewitt on the subject as follows :

" . . . . have already shown that the snake-father of the snake races in Greece and Asia Minor and of the matriarchal races in India was the snake Echis, or Achis, the holding snake, the Vritra, or enclosing snake of the Rig-Veda, the cultivated land which girdled the Temenos. This was the Sanscrit and

22. It is the mythology of these artisan rulers which is preserved in the saying in the Rigveda, that the Twins (Yama) spun the first web in which men clothed themselves, the web of Time (Rigveda, vii, 33, 10, 11), and it was these ruling weavers of the age of the Twins, who made Penelope, the spinner of the web, the wife of Odysseus, the wandering sun-god. (See *The Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times.* Essay iii, pp. 210, 211).

23. *The Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times,* Vol. II, p. 263.

24. All these countries received culture from India.

25. *The Evolution of the Dragon,* p. 87.

26. Hewitt, p. 492.

Egyptian snake Ahi.... But the Naga snake was not the encircling snake, but the offspring of the house-pole and in this form it was called by the Jews the offspring of Baal of the land. But as the heavenly snake it was the old village snake transferred to heaven, called the Nag-ksetra, or field of the Nags, and there it was the girdling air-god who encircled the cloud mothers, the Apsaras, the daughter of Abyss, the Assyrian Apsia, and marked their boundaries as the village snake did those of the holy grove on earth. But on earth the water-snake was the magical rain-pole, called the god Darka, set up by the Dravidian males in front of every house...." (p. 194). "They are the Canaanites, or dwellers in the low country, and the Hivites or the villagers of the Bible and the race of Achaeans of Greece. These are the sons of the Achis, the serpent, the having or holding snake, the girdling snake of cultivated land which surrounded the Temenos or inner shrine, the holy grove of the gods."[27]

Mrs. Nuttal commenting on the above remarks:

"Attention is drawn here to the twin serpents which enclose the Mexican Cosmical Tablet whose bodies may be seen to consist of a repetition of the conventional sign for tlalli=land, consisting of a fringed square. Each square in this case encloses a sign resembling that of fire—tletl and the numeral ten. These girdling serpents, whose heads unite, being directly associated with land, appear as the counterpart of the Old World Achis, a curious fact when it is considered that they are represented as springnig from the sign Actl.

27. Hewitt, p. 175.

"On the other hand, the heavenly "feathered serpent" of Mexico and Yucatan is distinctly associated with the air and the circle; its conception curiously coinciding with that of the "girdling air-god" (of the Hindus) mentioned by Hewitt. It is well-known that the walls enclosing the court of the Great Temple of Mexico were covered with sculptured serpents. It is remarkable that the sign Acatl not only figures conspicuously on the Great American Tablet, but also on the allegorical figure of the "Divine Serpent," which may well represent the totemic divinity and ancestor of a snake tribe, associated with the word Acatl, possibly conveying their name. The undeniable association, in Mexico, of the serpent with Acatl, curiously agrees with the name of the "sons of Achis, the serpent" = the Achains, and deserves consideration.

"Twin pillars, sculptured in the form of great serpents, whose names signify twinship, support the entrances to the ancient temples of Yucatan, Central America, and have been found on the site of the Great Temple of Mexico."

The fire of sacrifice that was kindled by our forefathers in Patala Desha is still burning in the hearts of many million Americans (Indians) and the day is not far off when free India will reclaim America to her cultural fold.

Bande Mataram

MUHAMMADANS IN THE HOLI FESTIVAL

A Brief Historical Survey

By Prof. ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

A careful reading of the history of India, during the Muhammadan period, reveals that there are recorded instances of Muhammadans of high rank participating in the *holi* festival.

1. The Story of Keshar Khan

This story occurs in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Col. Todd. But it has been made familiar to readers of Bengali poetry by the immortal poem on the subject by the world-renowned poet, Rabindranath Tagore. The facts of the story, briefly stated are as follows:

Two Pathan chiefs Dhakar and Keshar seized the small State of Kotah. Bhonang, the Rajput chief of Kotah, was banished to Bundi and his wife found shelter in the friendly State of Kaithan. The wife of Bhonang, an intrepid Rajputani, hit upon a clever stratagem for recovering her husband's kingdom, for, to attempt it by force was out of the question. The plan of recovery of the kingdom was based upon a combination of cleverness and daring courage. The Spring festival, *i.e.*, the *holi*, was approaching. Laying aside her womanly decorum for the time being, she sent a request to the Pathans in the palace fort of Kotah to allow her and three hundred young damsels of Kaithan to play *holi* with them. In the language of Todd—"the libertine Pathans received the invitation with joy." The Rajput queen then collected three hundred young men of the Hara tribe among the Rajputs who had the handsomest physique and complexion as well as strength and courage. Bhonang, the dethroned chief, was himself disguised as the queen in attractive female dress,

When this party approached the gates of the fortress, the Pathans received what they thought to be a procession of charming females, with rapturous joy. Then commenced the fatal *holi* play. The youthful Rajputs threw the crimson powder among the Pathans, and the queen engaged Keshar Khan himself. In the midst of these joyous gambols, the supposed queen broke her vessel of crimson *abir* upon the head of the Pathan leader. This was a pre-arranged signal for common action. Suddenly, from beneath the *ghaghras* or petticoats of the Rajputs, flashed out the three hundred swords, and in a few moments the dead bodies of Keshar Khan and his men were strewn on the terrace of the palace. Kotah returned to the possession of the Hara Rajputs. The masjid of Keshar Khan is said to be still existing within the palace.

It is needless to point out that his tragic tale of a *holi* festival is not a product of the imagination but is based on historical facts. The point to be noted here is this—that the Moslems did not think it irreligious or improper in any way to join the *holi*.

The remark holds good also in the instances given below.

2. Azeem Ushan, Governor of Bengal

This prince was the second son of Bahadur Shah and so grandson of Aurangzeb. He was appointed Governor of Bengal in 1696. Azeem Ushan was a man of very liberal views. He took a fancy to some Hindu customs and the Hindu dress and did not scruple to adopt them. Stewart has summarized Azeem Ushan's attitude towards Hinduism in the following words :

"He in order to gain popularity with the Hindus, celebrated their holidays; putting on yellow and rose-coloured garments and entering into the sports which are practised on the anniversary of the return of Spring."

For his love of this Hindu festival as well as for his general fondness for Hindu customs and manners, Azeem Ushan was reprimanded by Emperor Aurangzeb. The Emperor wrote a letter of reproach to his grandson which ended in a verse whose English translation is as follows :

"A yellow turban upon the head,
A crimson coat upon the shoulder;
Your Highness is, I believe, full forty-six :
This is making indeed a blessed use of your beard and mien."*

* Haji Mustafa's translation of *Seir-ul Mutaqherin* Cambray, Calcutta, Vol. III, p. 174 footnote.

3. The Barha Sayyids and the Holi

The powerful Sayyid brothers of the age of the later Mughals were, according to Irvine, true Indians in their practices.

"Thus it is no surprise to learn from a contemporary historian that Abdullah Khan (the elder Sayyid and Qutb-ul-Mulk) observed the Basant or spring festival and the *Holi* powder-throwing usual among Hindus."

Incidentally, Irvine describes another Hindu superstition of the Qutb-ul-Mulk :

"In another direction, he displayed superstition. Anand Ram Mukhlis noticed that every time he gave public audience, two men called *majamra-gardan*, or censer-swingers, stood at the head of his carpet swinging silver censers full of smoking rue-seed. This was done to avert the evil-eye."†

4. Mirjafar's Holi

Seir-ul Mutaqherin (Haji Mustafa's translation, Vol. II, p. 265) describes Mirjafar, Nawab of Bengal, as practising the festival of *holi*. He celebrated the festival in the garden called Chehelsootoon.

5. Holi by Mubarak-Udowlah, Nawab of Bengal, and other Muhammadan Grandees

According to Seir (Vol. III p. 143-144), Mubarak-Udowlah, third son of Mirjafar Khan, performed not only *holi* but also *dewali*. In the language of Haji Mustafa :

"He sets apart a sum of five or six thousand rupees for performing the rites of the Diwaly which is a festival of Gentoo institution, etc., etc.

"As for the *Huli* itself, it is again a festival of Hindoo institution, but held so sacred amongst our delicate Grandees, and so very obligatory, that they never fail to spend a deal of money in dancers, and such kind of spectacles, and specially in making presents to low people......... In one of these Hulis, I happened to be at Moorshidabad when Muberec-uddowlah was circumcising his children, a ceremony in which he spent thirty-seven thousand rupees in clothes and presents to his slave girls, to his favourite women, to his principal eunuchs and to those of his mother."

6. Shah Alam II's Toleration of Holi Fun

When the powerful Mahrattas were in possession of Delhi, a party of them, in the year 1780, during the *holi* festival and its attendant merry-makings, made fun of the Emperor Shah Alam publicly; but the Emperor, out of his goodness not only enjoyed the joke but rewarded the party of jesters. The account of the incident given in *Ibrat Namah* by Fakir-khairuddin Muhammad Allahabadi (Elliot, Vol, VIII) is as follows :

† *Irvine's Later Mughals*, edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. II, p. 100.

"In the 20th year of the reign of Shah Alam on the *Holi* festival day (of the Hindus), Anand Rao Narsi dressed up a person in fine garments to represent the Emperor and applied long false moustaches and a beard to his lips and chin. This person was placed on an old bedstead, with a lad in his arms, in the dress of a woman to represent the Emperor's daughter, whom he very tenderly loved and always kept in his presence, when he went out in a litter or on an elephant. The bedstead was carried on the shoulders of four men and before it went several persons of low caste in the habit of the Emperor's attendants with clubs, umbrellas and other insignia of royalty in their hands. In this manner, they proceeded in regular procession, beating drums and surrounded by a multitude of spectators. They passed by the Jahan Numa palace and where the Emperor was sitting."

The *Ibrat Namah* also says that the Emperor, when he saw their caricature of his, took no offence; on the other hand, he sent a reward of 500 rupees to Anand Rao.

But Maharaja Scindhia, in whose hands the helpless Emperor was at the time like a puppet, took strong action. When the matter was reported to Scindhia, in whose camp Anand Rao was, the former first—ordered that Anand Rao's property in the camp was to be plundered and then he was caught and placed in front of a gun. But the Emperor sent word that he pardoned him and so Anand Rao was expelled from the camp.

Up to this, we have seen that, in some cases, the *holi* festival tended to create Hindu-Moslem amity. But there are instances where it was the cause of violent rupture of feelings too.

7. Hindu-Muslim Riots over the Holi

In the reign of Farukh Shyer, a serious riot occurred at Ahmedabad (Gujarat) during the *holi*. The account of it given in Seir-ul Mutaqherin (Vol. I, p. 72 etc.) is briefly as follows :

On a plot of open land lying between two houses, one belonging to a Hindu, the other, to a Muhammadan, the Hindus, by permission of the local Governor, burnt the *holi*. The Muhammadan's objections were not heeded. The next day, the Muhammadans, in retaliation, slaughtered a cow on the same spot. The locality being predominantly Hindu, a Hindu mob made a combined attack on the Muhammadans, who were put to flight and left their houses. The Hindus, in their mad frenzy, killed a Muhammadan on the very spot where the cow had been slaughtered, in order, as they said, to atone for the sin. Then again, the Muhammadans of the city combined and, aided by the whole body of the Afghan soldiers of the Governor, burnt and pillaged Hindu houses. At one place, Hindus resisted with guns with desperate courage. These disturbances continued for some days and many lives were lost.

Another *holi* riot took place in Delhi in the same reign. According to the same authority (Seir-ul Mutaqherin, Vol, I, p. 263), during the *holi*, in the midst of the usual disorders, a Haji (Muhammadan returned from Mecca) was killed by the Hindoos, no doubt accidentally. At this the Panjabi shoe-makers of the city and some other Muhammadan tradesmen rose in a body and created serious disturbance. Dissatisfied with the attitude of the Qazi, they pursued the Wazir and another minister, both of whom were mobbed—the shoe-makers even putting to flight the Afghan soldiers who were bodyguard of the Wazir, by showers of slippers. This disorder lasted for a few days.

Brief accounts of these Hindu-Muslim riots are also given by the historian Khafi Khan.

8. An English Governor's Prompt Decision in a Hindu-Moslem Quarrel

Haji Mustafa, the English translator of Seir-ul Mutaqherin narrates the following incident (Vol. I, p. 263 footnote) :

"Once in my time there happened a fray between Mussalmans that were in their Mohurrum or days of mourning and the Gentoos that were in their *Hooly,* or day of frolic; and both parties applied to an Englishman, the chief or Governor of the country. At what time, asked the Governor, does your festival fall every year? At this very time, answered the Gentoos, and never at any other. And your mourning, at what time does it recur every year ? Sometimes at one season and sometimes at another, answered the Mussalmans. Then your mourning, said the Englishman, is the aggressive party, and it is you that are in the wrong; an answer that did honour to the man's good sense, and quashed the dissension."



THE KHAKSAR MOVEMENT

BY AN INDIAN STUDENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

I

ON THE 15th of October, 1937, Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, the Leader of the Khaksars, issued from his headquarters at Lahore the fourteen points of the Khaksar creed in the following words :

1. We, Khaksars, stand for the establishment of an order that will be equal, non-communal and tolerant, yet non-subservient, by the crushing of all communal sentiment and religious prejudices of mankind by our good and serviceful conduct; an order which will afford proper treatment and protection to all communities and will be founded on eternal justice, goodness and goodwill.

2. The true Islam is the practice of the 'Qurn-i-Awwal' (*i.e.*. the earliest period in Islamic history). The Khaksar soldier does not recognise anything as true Islam other than the practice of the Prophet.

3. The creed preached by the Moulvi today is quite wrong. The Khaksar soldier considers it his duty to stamp out this false creed from the surface of this earth and to propagate once again the true Islamic creed of the Prophet.

4. The Moulvi group did not exist in the 'Qurn-i-Awwal.' Therefore, the Khaksar soldier aims at establishing in its place the order of the Imams who will rule over the nation according to the Islamic Law.

5. The Khaksar soldier will not interfere with the belief of any section of Muslims, for he considers freedom of belief as the religious right of every Musalman; but he stands for unity among all these sections.

6 The Khaksar soldier considers it the religious right of every Musalman to follow every bit of the word of the Holy Quran, whether prevalent or non-prevalent; and he is prepared for all sacrifices in order to free such practice from the hold of legal and political regulation of the Government.

7. The Khaksar soldier stands for (*a*) regard for the religious and social sentiments of all communities, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Christian, Jew and untouchable, etc., (*b*) maintenance of their particular culture and customs, and (*c*) general tolerance; and believes this policy to be the secret of Muslim rule in India for a thousand years.

8. The Khaksar soldier considers it the first duty of his organization to secure for every community its proper civic rights and to guard its internal and external interests. In order to maintain cordial relations amongst the various communities, the Khaksar soldier is prepared to recognize each community as its ally and comrade, and invites them to be so.

9. The aim of the Khaksar soldier is to establish sovereignty over the whole world and to secure social and political supremacy through their fine conduct.

10. The aim of the Khaksar is to establish one Treasury, which has already been set up by the Indian High Command, for the whole of India. He will oppose the establishment of separate exchequers, at whatever cost. The object of this Treasury would for several years to come be to collect funds, without spending anything.

11. The Khaksar soldier believes that he can win over every community and every individual in the world by his goodness and integrity alone. These moral virtues form common property of more or less all religious scriptures.

12. To ameliorate the economic condition of the community, every Khaksar thinks it his duty to spare no pains in promoting the business of a fellow Khaksar. He believes that he cannot attain his object except by pursuing this course.

13. Henceforth, the definition of a Muavin or subscribing Khaksar will be as follows : that he will directly subscribe to the Treasury of the Indian High Command at the rate of six pice a month or one rupee a year, and that he will obey any general command issued by the High Command irrespective of all sacrifices involved therein. A Khaksar soldier is positive that one who fails to do this cannot help the Movement to its goal of supremacy and is consequently of no use to the Movement.

14. We, Khaksars, are sworn enemies of and shall take severe revenge (even at extreme personal sacrifice) upon treacherous and dishonest leaders who have harmed the national cause and are exploiting the masses, upon the mercenaries of hostile nations, upon anti-national editors and journalists, upon misleading propagandists, upon betrayers of the country's interests, and upon miscreants, to whatever community they may belong, who have stirred up sectarian animosities among the various communities of India or among the various sections or groups of Muslims.

These points establish three things: firstly, that the Khaksar movement is essentially a military movement—its organisation is dictatorial, believing in leadership and the necessity on the part of the followers to place implicit faith in and to give implicit obedience to the leader; secondly, that the Khaksar movement aims at the establishment of sovereignty over the whole world, certainly over the whole of India; thirdly, that the Khaksar movement believes in the domination of India by the Musalman and is as such a communal movement, although it professes to be guided by the policy of general tolerance for other communities as well.

II

The military character of the Khaksar movement becomes clear even to a casual observer The very dress of the Khaksar 'soldier' and his equipment and discipline—all point in the same direction. The Khaksar soldier is always dressed in Khaki with military boots. The adoption of the spade (belcha) as the distinctive weapon of the Khaksar

soldier may be an inspiration from the Nazi organisation of Hitler, whom incidentally the Allama met in 1929 in Germany, although the Allama professes that it has been adopted in imitation of the Prophet who used it in the battle of Badra. Further, the Khaksar soldier holds his daily parades and occasional camps, where regular military drill and sham fights are organised; at these camps even cannons are fired. Such firing resulted in the death of one man at Peshawar and in the burning of several at Ludhiana.

Again, the organisation of the whole movement is typically militaristic—perhaps even blatantly so, such as we have become familiar with in the organisation of the Nazi party in Germany. The Khaksar force is organised in three different classes: (1) the Khaksars or Mujahids, (2) the Janbaz, and (3) the Muavins or Reserve. Muavins are not regular soldiers, they are merely sympathisers, although as a mark of their sympathy they have to contribute 'at the rate of six pice a month or one rupee a year' to the funds of the movement and have to agree 'to obey any general command issued by the High Command irrespective of all sacrifices involved therein.' The Mujahids are the regular Khaksar soldiers, who agree to be governed by the usual discipline and are active in the normal service of the movement. The Janbaz form a different category altogether. They are a band of soldiers, who write in their blood a pledge of implicit obedience to the Leader, placing their life, property, honour and all at his beck and call. It may be of interest to point out that the distinction between the Mujahid and the Janbaz Khaksar corresponds very nearly to the distinction between the S. A. and the S. S. branch of the Nazi party. The S. A. was organised in 1922 as the popular army of the Nazi revolution, the S. S. in 1928 as a sort of elite by the side of the S. A., only particularly reliable Nazis, preferably those coming from the better classes, being admitted to this.

Underlying the whole organisation of the Khaksars, there is the idea of violence.

> "What is the life of a nation which has not learnt to kill and then die? The life of nations really means the preparedness of individuals to die. The greater the number of those in it who are ready to kill and die, the higher will it be able to hold its head in the world." (*Moulvi ka Ghalat Mazhab,* No. V, p. 11).

The organisation of the Khaksars is dictatorial in its authority. Ultimate control is completely centralised in the hands of the Allama, who has his central office—in normal times—at Ichchra, Lahore, which he calls by the name of the Indian High Command. The Leader can theoretically be removed from his position by the High Command, but the High Command is nothing different from the Leader himself; so that unless dethroned by a revolutionary surge within the movement, the Allama is a dictator for life. This is how he described his position in *Quol-i-Faisal,* pp. 13-14:

> The Founder of the Khaksar movement is himself a soldier. He can issue the highest and the most stringent orders for the Khaksars. He holds at all times and under all circumstances the reins and full control of the movement, as head of the High Command. The Founder of the movement has made it a rule that he would keep the guidance of the movement in his own hands, without anybody else's interference or participation. The High Command is only a formal symbol of the power which the Founder has created. He is the foundation of all orders and powers. The Leader, so long as he is the Leader, is solely responsible for the movement, and no power can remove him from his office except the High Command."

But the movement is served by a large mass of men inspired by its ideals and sentiments. The smallest unit is organised under an officer called the 'Salar-i-Mohalla', whose duty is to call all Khaksars in his street by a bugle call at 8-45 a.m. for parade. The importance of parades is fully recognised by the Allama; for, as Hitler said in his Autobiography, 'whilst attending them the individual who feels on the point of joining a young Movement and takes alarm if left by himself receives his first impression of a larger community, and this has strengthening and encouraging effect on most people'. The Salar-i-Mohalla is helped by a clerk, 'Salar-i-Adria,' who calls the roll of the Khaksars. Over the Salar-i-Mohalla there is one 'Sir Salar' and over him a 'Salar-i-Ilaqa'. In the city of Lahore, there are as many as five Salars-i-Ilaqa. For propaganda work, there is a separate organisation of propaganda officers called 'Salar-i-Tabligh'. Over all there is the 'Salar-i-Shahr' or the Commandant of the City. Then comes the 'Salar-i-Zila' or District Officer, who is assisted by an office superintendent. The Office Superintendent is a quite important officer; in addition to his own work, he is meant to keep a watch over the movements of the Salar-i-Zila and to see that the social, political and religious policy of the Leader is strictly carried out. In cases of inefficiency he can even suspend him and take over the charge of the District himself. This secures the operation of an automatic system of checks and balances. Over the District Officer is the Provincial Salar or 'Salar-i-Khas'; and the highest post is that of

a 'Nazim-i-Ala', who is given charge of two Provinces at the same time.

Besides the hierarchical governmental organisatoin, there are two special departments, or sets of officers. There is, firstly, the Intelligence department, under the control of the 'Khufia Salar-i-Zabt'; this is manned by persons who are appointed by the Leader himself and who work in plain clothes, reporting on the behaviour and utterences of Khaksar soldiers. Secondly, there is a special officer called the 'Jallad' who is responsible for meting out punishments to offending Khaksars. Every Khaksar organisation has its own Jallad, although generally he is a confidant of the Leader. On receiving the order, he punishes the offender by the strike of his long and heavy leather lash. All punishments are given in public and their details are published in the *Al-Islah*, the paper of the Khaksars; generally speaking, the higher the position of the offender, the greater is the punishment given to him.

III

The objective of the Khaksar organisation is to gain political ascendancy in India and mastery of the whole world. The aim is clearly stated in Point 9 of the Khaksar movement and is emphatically re-iterated throughout the Khaksar literature.

"The Khaksar movement is right because the commotion and unity created by it are the surest and shortest path to p o w e r, domination, rule and sovereignty" (*Quol-i-Faisal,* p 3).

Or again,

"'If you have faith, then dominate all'—keeping this commandment of the Prophet in view, we have again to dominate the whole world. We have to become the conquerors and rulers of the world" (p. 11).

In another book *Moulvi ka Ghalat Mazhab,* No. I, also the Allama is insistent on the same ultimate objective.

"In short, you should be united. You should dominate. You should again become conquerors and masters of the world. This is the true teaching of the Quran, and it was on account of this that the Musalmans became the masters of the world in the early stages of Islam." (p. 14)

Indeed, the Allama's denunciation of the Moulvi proceeds from this main cause, that the Moulvi attaches importance to various aspects of ceremonial religion, while in the Allama's view Islam means fundamentally a life of domination.

A true Muslim must combine spirituality with soldierly ability.

"To fight the enemy on the battle-field is the condition which has been clearly laid down in your Quran for the attainment of Paradise." (*Islam ki Asfari Zindgi,* p. 9)

Namaz, Roza, Haj and Zakat are all means for creating a corporate and soldierly sense in the Islamic peoples.

"Did not a Musalman when he kept a fast understand that this habit of keeping fast would stand him in good stead on the day of his capturing a fortress? Did he not realize when he was giving Zakat that the money would be spent for the purchase of guns and cannon?" (p. 7).

The old Musalman, according to the Allama, considered the Roza, Namaz, Haj and Zakat merely as the weapons for waging war against the world and as the pillars for the erection of 'a magnificent dome of world domination and sovereignty.' The Quran has proclaimed in unequivocal terms to the world that the Prophet came to the world with the true religion and "with definite instructions that he should impose the domination of this religion on all other faiths, even if such domination causes affliction to the Kaffirs" (p. 8). Islam is thus essentially a religion of soldiers; and

"since the Musalmans gave up military life and divorced soldierly qualities from religion and religion from the world, God has become angry with the Musalmans and has remorselessly taken away kingdoms from them and given them to other militaristic nations." (p. 10)

In Islam, says the Allama, implicit obedience as a duty is due only to that Muslim ruler who has the sword of 'the inheritance of the world' in his hand, that is to say, who rules over the world with his sword. Only such ruler is the true religious scholar, preceptor or faqir.

"In my opinion, if there is any successful preceptor or pir of the Musalmans and their greatest ruler, it is Mustafa Kemal. If there is any Maulana, it is Ghazi Ibn Saud. If there is a scholar of eminence, it is His Majesty Reza Shah Pehlavi. If there has been any successful faqir, it is Ghazi Nadir Shah. If there was ever a sagacious Imam, it was Ghazi Amanullah; and so on and so forth." (p. 16)

The Prophet made the rustic and hopelessly divided Arabs dominate a large part of the earth: and the present generation of Musalmans, also, if they are to justify their faith, must take to the life of soldiers and use their resources to conquer and master the whole world.

It is needless to hammer the point that the mastery of the world, to the Allama, means the domination of the world by the Muslims and the Islamic faith. Point No. 7 of the Khaksar movement indicates what the different statements of the Allama unmistakably establish that the ultimate objective of the Khaksar momevent is the re-establishment of Muslim rule in India and possibly throughout

the world, although the Allama recognises that the Muslim rule in India can be successful only on the policy of (a) regard for the religious and social sentiments of the various communities that live in this country, (b) maintenance of their particular culture and customs, and (c) general tolerance.

IV

To help the Allama in securing the establishment of Muslim rule, the Khaksar movement has created a 'Beit-ul-Mal' or Treasury. The Allama is building up the Treasury from voluntary subscriptions. As he says in Point No. 10 of the Khaksar movement, he is not spending anything out of it, but is reserving it for a distant day when it will be needed—when, perhaps, the Allama feels himself strong enough to make a bid for the sovereignty of India.

This 'Beit-ul-Mal' includes tents, guns, horses, lands, and cash. Regarding tents and horses, the Allama explained in his pamphlet entitled 'Beit-ul-Mal' that his desire was

"that every district should supply at least 50 tents and 50 young and strong horses. In addition to the horses and tents, saddles, transport carts, transport mules, pegs, swords, daggers, artificial cannon, ammunition, military band,—in short, every thing which is needed at the time of camp, should be supplied. The horses will be fed by those who have presented them. They may use the horses for their ordinary daily needs, but will always keep in view that they have been dedicated to God" (p. 7). "All trapping will remain in the custody of the head of the area and will legally belong to the movement" (p. 8). "It is also my desire to see lacs of money in the Beit-ul-Mal. For the present, let Khaksars contribute as much as they can conveniently spare from their needs and non-Khaksars as much as their sense of self-respect impels them to do. The day is yet distant when we shall demand of every Khaksar his life and his whole wealth, but it is necessary that he should prepare himself from now for that day of trial. I desire that all this money should go on accumulating and nothing should be spent out of it unless we are face to face with some big effort" (p. 4).

Although the Allama is anxious to see that each locality will have sufficient military equipment for the organisation of occasional camps and that individual Khaksars will be required to pay only for the board and transport of three days' camp life, yet he feels that

"The Musalman on account of his lamentable poverty is unable to bear even this expense willingly. The result is that hundreds of Khaksar soldiers, who cannot pay, remain mere spectators of the camp....I, therefore, lay it down as a rule that in future every soldier will bring his food in a dry condition for three days in his bags. We generally hold our camps on Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Let the soldier take his food on Friday before he leaves his house; let him bring food with him for the Friday evening. His morning food for Saturday should consist of bread fried in ghee, and that of Saturday evening should be *missi* bread (*i.e.*, prepared from a mixture of wheat and gram flour). His Sunday morning meal will be parched gram, while in the evening he will have reached his house to take his supper there. These arrangements will be cheap; and this practice will make the soldiers patient and hardy." (pp. 9-10)

The Allama mentions that the Treasury is ever on the increase, and that on the 4th November, 1937, a certain gentleman from Sindh made contribution of 900 acres of land worth several lacs, bringing an annual income of more than Rs. 5,000, and of cattle worth Rs. 4,000.

V

It will be clear from the above description of the aims and the detailed organisation of the Khaksar movement that the Khaksars are an important portent on the Indian political horizon. The Allama is bitterly hostile to the Congress as well as the British Government. Of Mahatma Gandhi's leadership the Allama is particularly critical.

"Your effeminate leader was the leader of a community which never wielded the sword. What else could this poor creature teach them than that they are meant for being beaten, so they should go on being beaten....Tell me frankly what else could the naked Mahatma teach them? The poor man, not finding his people fit for anything else, devised the ridiculous methods of satyagraha, ahimsa, non-violence and non-co-operation, in the name of Hindu philosophy, and these have staggered the whole world." (*Quol-i-Faisal*, p. 16)

He is also denunciative of the British character—

"The Englishmen is in most matters dishonest. This satanic lie of a satanic nation in attributing the building of the Roza Taj Mahal of Agra to Italian architects has been given a historic importance at least in educated circles." (*Isharat*, p. 17)

and of British Government—

"Just mark that to form Parliamentary boards and to be returned to the Councils has today become Islamic conduct, although only yesterday the boycott of Councils, resignation from Government service and going to Afghanistan on Hijrat after selling all your property used to be Islamic conduct. Only recently the verdict of the Quran was that it was profane to serve the Englishman, to co-operate with him in the slightest degree or even to transact any business with him; but the verdict of the Quran today is that the mosque (Shahid Gunj) cannot be taken back unless members are sent to the Councils." (*Moulvi ka Ghalat Mazhab*, No. 2, p. 5)

Against the Indian press the Allama brings grave charges. Indeed, he has a whole plan of controlling the Indian press, of passing his own Press Act which will be far more exacting and oppressive than any Press Act so far passed by the Indian Legislature. His plan may be given in his own words, taken from *Al-Islah*, dated 16th December, 1938.

"I hereby order Mir Hasrat Shah, B.A., LL. B., Salar District Campbellpur, to establish a censorial department for the Islamic papers and to some extent for non-Islamic papers as well, for the whole of India, from 1st January, 1939.

"The censorship of Islamic papers will remain limited for the present to the following points :—

(a) The opposition of the Khaksar movement and the publishing of articles against the movement.

(b) Absence of support or silence about the aims and objects of the Khaksar movement.

(c) Mutual wrangling of the papers and their mutual personal recriminations.

(d) Publication of obscene and sensational news.

(e) Obscene advertisements.

(f) Obscene pictures.

(g) Meaningless literature and poetry,

(h) In women's journals, the publication of improper and anti-Islamic articles.

"Every Khaksar soldier or sympathiser should at once send the cuttings of such objectionable articles, with the full name of the paper, its address and the date of its publication written thereon, to the Salar of Censorship at Campbellpur....

"It will be the duty of the Censor to give due consideration to the cuttings and reports sent to him. He should draw the attention of the Manager...... Failing in that, he should announce in the Al-Islah that the name of the paper or journal has been brought on the Black List of the High Command.

"From the moment the name of any paper is brought on the black list, it will become the duty of all high officers, Salars of areas, Pakbaz, Janbaz Khaksars and soldiers, reservists, sympathisers, in fact of all who have any kind of contact with the movement to see that the paper or journal is rooted out from the soil, and not to give themselves any rest so long as even one paper is received in the locality."

NOTES ON THE FLOUD COMMISSION REPORT

On a first reading of the Report it seems to us that the whole of it is more a specious pleading for the abolition of the Permanent Settlement than a serious study of the entire subject. For example, at p. 31, it says :

> "The most obvious financial result of the Permanent Settlement is that the land revenue, which is the *chief resource* of Government in an agricultural country, has remained almost entirely inelastic for 150 years."

The Bengal Government has a revenue income of Rs. 13,78 lakhs, of which land revenue from permanently settled estates, is Rs. 2,15 lakhs. It comes up to 16 per cent of the total. If both the Imperial (Central) and Provincial Revenues collected in Bengal are taken into account, the percentage comes down to 5 or 6. How can it then be described as the *chief resource* of the Government ?

Demagogue-like their object is to inflame mass passions, hence the Commission have made rhetorical exaggerations.

Down the same paragraph, it says :

> "The mineral resources of the province, coal being the most important, which were not taken into account at the time of the permanent settlement or were of no commercial value, have been developed for the benefit of individuals without any co-ordinated plan."

This is all right, so far as it goes. But long after its discovery and its successful working the Government of India referred to the Secretary of State in 1879 whether it shall claim the subsoil rights in the permanently settled estates. In his reply Lord Cranbrook said that even if the legal right was with the Government, it was not desirable to enforce it. He believed that indirect returns to the State would be more valuable than any direct returns.

The implications of the sentence quoted above are not quite correct. It should have stated the whole truth.

Further, one can understand the nationalization of mines; but what the Commission proposes is to buy out the Zamindars getting royalties, leaving the actual working to the mainly British-owned private companies. If the Hindu Zamindar makes a profit in the shape of royalties, buy him out at ten times the profit. If the European company makes the profit by sweating labour, leave him untouched.

They should in all honesty Nationalize the mineral resources if they want the State to get the full benefit of the nation's resources.

At p. 35, dealing with the absence of contact of the Government with the cultivator, it says :

> "Even though settlement operations have improved the position, there is no provision in Bengal for the maintenance of an up-to-date record of rights such as obtains in other provinces."

The Commission have not taken into account the existence of the Land Records Maintenance Act III of 1895 and of its application in certain areas of Midnapore. They do not say anything either about its success or failure. If the Government, after having come

to realise the advantages of the maintenance of up-to-date records, deliberately does not enforce it and thus loses contact with the cultivators, the same cannot be charged against the Zamindars. But that is exactly what they have done.

At p. 37, it says :

"This army of rent-receivers is increasing in number each year. The census figures show an increase of 62 per cent. between 1921 and 1931."

The Commission wants to paint an alarming picture; so they have adopted the crude census figures. Dealing elsewhere (p. 74) with the pressure of population, it says :

"The economic difficulties that exist in Bengal today are primarily due to the ever-increasing pressure of population on land. Between 1891 and 1921 the agricultural population increased from 25·5 to 36·1 millions. The 1931 census returned the agricultural population at 33·4 millions, but it is certain that the apparent decrease is due to a different system of census classification, and it is unlikely that there has actually been a decrease."

Here they want to paint an opposite picture; so the different system of census classification is taken into account ! May not the alarming increase in the number of rent-receivers be more due to this different system than real ? No answer, no analysis has been attempted by the Commission.

FLOUD COMMISSION AND THE TENANTRY

Let the Permanent Settlement be abolished; and let the Zamindars be expropriated. Of what benefit it will be to the general mass of tenantry ? Will the rents—now payable to the Government—be permanently fixed so that the raiyats may reap the full benefit of their improvements ? No; for according to the Commission :

"It would be a mistake especially if the Government becomes the sole landlord to adopt the principle that the present rents should remain fixed for ever."

They go on to observe

"That if the State becomes the landlord, it would be a mistake to fix rents in perpetuity."

The tenantry will not be permitted to sublet or transfer their lands. If sub-letting or transfer cannot be controlled, the tenants (who will then become rent-receivers) will be purchased out at intervals of 30 or 40 years.

A foretaste of how their rents will be realised is given in the recommendations for the realisation of rent. Jurisdiction over rent suits shall vest in Revenue Officers, *i.e.*, glorified kanungoes and Sub-Deputy Collectors instead of Civil Courts. Rent suits should be summarily disposed of by Revenue Officers at local centres (*i.e.*, on the locale as far as possible) after the main harvest each year. Limitation of suits and for filing execution cases are to be reduced to one year. The object is

"To deal with applications for recovery after the main harvest, and to execute the decrees **immediately** after the following harvest."

According to the Commission :

"Sale of holdings is the least harsh method of realising arrears of rent and is preferred to sale of movables, ejectment or distraint."

In another place they observe that

"It is only because there is a permanent settlement in Bengal that a delay of as long as four years can be allowed. It is hardly conceivable that any Government which has a raiyatwari system would allow the payment of its revenue to be postponed in this manner."

On a first reading we have failed to find any recommendation which would benefit the tenantry immediately. Of course there are lots of platitudinous solicitations for their welfare, but we have become accustomed to such platitudes.

FLOUD COMMISSION AND THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

The majority of the Floud Commission have reached the conclusion that whatever may have been the justification for the Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue in 1793, it is no longer suitable to the conditions of the present time; and that the Zamindari System has developed so many defects that *it has ceased to serve any national interests*. The defects have been enumerated in paras 80 to 88 of the majority Report. They are :

(1) Financial loss to the Government;
(2) Absence of contact with the cultivators on the part of the Government;
(3) Absence of agricultural improvement;
(4) Criticism by Lord Curzon's Government in 1902;
(5) Sub-infeudation has been encouraged;
(6) Administrative defects;
(7) Absence of remission of rent;
(8) Increasing loss of occupancy rights and
(9) Accumulation of arrear rents.

Some of the defects are no defects at all; and cannot be rightly fastened upon the Permanent Settlement. To say that Permanent Settlement is bad because Lord Curzon said so is no reason at all specially as a great many of Lord Curzon's statements on various subjects were based on faulty—even imaginary—premises. If Lord Curzon pointed out some defects, the late Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt pointed out its advantages. And neither the one can be

cited against it nor the other can be used in its support.

The majority of the Commission have found that the rent-receivers (Zamindars) are seriously hampered by the absence of any satisfactory procedure for rent recovery, and the process in the Civil Courts is cumbrous, expensive and dilatory. The result is that rents are allowed to get into arrear for several years before suits are instituted.

Is that a fault of the Zamindars or of the Permanent Settlement ? The Government realises its revenue punctually, and does not care whether the Zamindars can realise their rent or not. The majority realise that

"This is a highly undesirable feature of the present system which it may not be possible to alter radically, so long as the permanent settlement and the zamindary system remain in operation."

Why it can not be altered radically, we do not know. The Commission elsewhere say :

"So long as the zamindari system remains, in view of the stringency of the sunset law by which Government realises its revenue from the zamindars, *it is clearly the duty of Government to provide the zamindars with an efficient machinery for collecting their rents*" (italics ours).

And they have made certain specific recommendations. The same specific recommendations for the realisation of rent may be carried out and the Permanent Settlement retained. Accumulation of arrears of rent will not then be a defect of the Parmanent Settlement.

Absence of remission of rent is another of the defects of the Permanent Settlement. They say that it is virtually impossible to grant remissions of rent in permanently settled areas affected by drought, flood or other natural calamities. The implication is that even if the Government is ready to grant remission of Land Revenue, the Zamindar is not willing to grant remission of rent to his tenants. As a matter of fact

(1) Rent is often allowed to be in arrears for 4 years;
(2) According to the majority "remissions are not in practice given in the permanently settled area, *though some rents are allowed to become time-barred,*" (italics ours);
(3) Even in the encumbered estates managed by the Court of Wards, armed with the power of issuing certificates, about 6 or 7 per cent. of the rental is remitted in a normal year.

If it is possible for the Government to grant remissions in a temporarily settled estate, it is equally possible for it to grant remissions in the permanently settled estate. The Commission is altogether wrong when it says :

"Although the Tauzi Manual makes provision for remissions, that provision, so far as is known, has never been used, because it would never pay a zamindar to take a remission of Rs. 100 in revenue if at the same time he had to allow Rs. 1,000 in remissions of rent."

In actual practice the trouble is so great, and the conditions which have to be satisfied are so many and so irksome, that no prudent Zamindar would apply for it.

Increasing loss of occupancy rights is one of the defects charged against the Permanent Settlement. They admit that "the general level of the rents of the statutory raiyats is low," but owing to sub-letting and the free right of transfer the actual cultivators are to an increasing extent men who are either paying a cash rent which corresponds to a full economic rent, or are cultivating under the barga system and paying as rent one-half of the produce. How can the Zamindars prevent their tenants from sub-letting? Before 1928, they could refuse to recognise a transferee and thus had some indirect rights to prevent transfers. But it has been abolished and every occupancy raiyat now has the absolute right to transfer. Even in Government Khas Mahals, occupancy raiyats can and do sub-let.

The Government cannot oppose under the present law and has not by legislation or executive instructions opposed such sub-letting. It seems that according to the Commission, any evil that Bengal is heir to is due to the Permanent Settlement.

In the course of a short note all the points raised by the majority of the Commission can not be examined; but we shall revert to it later on.

How the Report was Produced—Consequence of Some of its Proposals

On going through the recommendations of the Floud Commission what strikes one as the central idea is that their primary aim is not the improvement of the condition of tenants or the re-organisation of agriculture on a sounder basis, but the increase of income of the State and provision of innumerable jobs—petty or fat, for Muhammadans mainly. At present more than 44,000 persons earn their living as estate agents, rent collectors, &c, of *private* owners; besides 8,000 persons who are engaged in these as subsidiary occupations. The majority of landlords being Hindus most of these persons are Hindus epecially these occupations require educational efficiency. The relative proportion of Hindus and Muhammadans in these occupa-

tions was in 1921 (the later statistics are not available) 111 : 22 *i.e.*, only about 16 per cent were Muhammadans.

If the State becomes the landlord, these persons will be thrown out of employment. The State will surely require rent-collectors, etc., and it will employ at least 50 per cent Muhammadans. In actual practice it will employ more; for has not Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq said that a Muhammadan official is better able to come into touch with Muhammadan cultivators ? If the State is to acquire Zamindaries, it will begin with Eastern Bengal, for the incidence of land revenue is low there. For 19 lakhs ×10, it will acquire the whole of the Chittagong Division, while it shall have to pay at least 3 crores for acquiring the single district of Burdwan. And in Eastern Bengal, the Muhammadans are three-fourths of the population—and their clamour will be to employ 75 per cent Muhammadans as rent-collectors, &c. The percentage of Muhammadan teachers in the primary schools was 53·9 in 1930-31; the Moslem Education Advisory Committee reporting in 1934 urged that

> "Provision should be made for the employment of a due proportion of Moslem teachers in the district board schools, and this proportion should be on the *population basis of the locality*" (italics ours).

And the communally-minded *dal bhat* Ministry is sure to provide *dal bhat* for many of its brothers-in-faith.

At present rent suits are tried by Munsiffs, who are appointed by the High Court. As the proportion of Muhammadan B.L's is not much above 6 per cent; the proportion of Muhammadan Munsiff's is likely to remain low (it is now we understand to be about 15 p.c.) for some time to come. And the High Court does not readily lend its ears to the communal claims made by the Ministry. The proposal therefore is not only to simplify the law and procedure, but to transfer the trial of rent suits to revenue officers—*i.e.* sub-deputies and glorified kanungoes; where the Muhammadan's share will be more.

We shall revert to this aspect of the Report later on. Now, a few words as to how the Report was produced. The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan and Mr. Brojendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury have pointed out that an unaccountable procedure was followed by the Government in adding three members to the Commission almost at the report stage. Was it to give political weightage to the value of the Report ? The only Hindu who has supported the majority Report is one of the added three—and he is known to be a staunch supporter of the Ministry. None of the added members could claim any special knowledge or experience or was possessed of any other qualification that one could see. The Maharajadhiraj in his Minority Report observes :

> "The commission devoted a considerable portion of their time to recording written and oral representations, but in the course of discussions, it was found that the members relied more upon personal convictions and preconcieved notions rather than on the evidence before them. In consequence, it seems that the Commission's elaborate procedure of receiving memoranda and recording evidence was a sheer waste. Important decisions were taken by the weight of votes without reference to the evidence collated and placed before us; definite historical statements were made in defence of a particular line of reasoning without giving due importance to all the points of view."

This shows the character of the Report. And we would know what value to attach to it.





INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Temple of Permanent Peace

Wars impoverish humanity. Peace enriches it. Hatred corrupts beauty, virtue, truth. Wars will cease not by wars, but by justice, by the sense of duty which recognizes the rights of all, including oneself. This message of the Buddha, given over two thousand five hundred years ago, has a most practical bearing for the world of to-day. *The Aryan Path* observes :

By looking away from the world of objects where shadows glamour and entice and by turning to the world within and behind, where the purpose of existence is to be seen and the right mode of living can be learnt, men and women find what they are seeking —Sva-raj , of which Sva-raj the political freedom of Hindusthan is but an emanation, an aspect.

The Buddha taught that he who is not loyal to the world of Nirvana cannot be truly patriotic towards the country of his birth. Modern patriotism shows fidelity to a geographical territory, imprisons the ideal of brotherhood in skin of a particular colour, and in other similar expressions enhances the differences and divisions between man and man. Spiritual patriotism does not war against another country separated by a mountain range or a flowing river; does not put on superior airs because it speaks a particular tongue. All lands are but parts united in one Earth, all tongues but children of the One Mother Tongue from which even the language of the Gods and its sister tongue of Avesta were born.

The world needs today the overthrow of false patriotism, worked up to a war-pitch by nationalistic politicians. The evil force obsessing false patriotism is greed—the sense of possession, the urge to get more. Wars of today are said to be between the haves and have-nots; that is, they are based on false concepts of gaining, accumulating and using wealth, principles of economics as false as they are immoral, as the disastrous consequences reveal to those who have eyes to see.

C. F. Andrews

C. F. Andrews was in many ways a unique figure; and now that he has passed away, there is no one who can fully take his place in India. Observes E. C. Dewick in *The National Christian Council Review* :

My own recollections of him go back to 1904, when I remember him, a young 'Don' at Cambridge, in severe clerical garb, with an ascetic, clean-shaven face, speaking at a Farewell Meeting, which was called at Pembroke College to bid God-speed on his first going-out to India. After that, I never saw him again till I myself came out to India in 1919; and then I found him in the forefront of the controversy which was raging over General Dyer and the Jalianwallah Bagh incident at Amritsar. At that time, he had only recently resigned his orders as an Anglican priest, and he was flaming with indignation at the methods of military rule in the Punjab, and at the general attitude of the average Englishman in India towards the people of this country. On the other hand, the feeling against him, on the part of nearly all Englishmen, both missionary and non-missionary, was extraordinarily bitter. In the English clubs, his name was execrated as a traitor to his country; and in Christian circles, he was referred to with horror as an apostate from the Faith. I vividly remember seeing a leading and devout layman of the Anglican Church turn on his heel, and abruptly refuse to shake hands with Andrews, when introduced to him in a Calcutta drawing-room by an episcopal host, with the audible remark: "I wouldn't soil *my* hands by touching *that* man's !" It is well to remember all this, in order to realize the wonderful way in which Andrews refused to allow himsef to be crushed or embittered by such rebuffs, and eventually found his way back into a large measure of fellowship with the Christian Church.

The writer continues :

During those tense years, he was a frequent visitor to our College Staff 'chummery' at St. Paul's College, Calcutta; and I came to realize something of the terrible loneliness of his soul, and the dauntless courage with which he followed his convictions and ideals. To him, those were years of ceaseless struggle against what he felt to be a wrong attitude to India, both in Church and State, and of constant championship of causes which were unpopular among those of his own race and religion.

The last time that I met him was not long before the end, when he was visiting Nagpur. Physically, his strength was then obviously failing; mentally, there was a slight loss of the old 'grip,' though he was alert and keen as ever; spritually, there was a richness—and, I think, a balance of judgment—which seemed to me mellower and riper than I had known in him before. He spoke with especial joy of the opportunities that had lately come to him of taking some share again in the Church's ministry of the World and Sacraments.

One felt that the old warrior, who had always been so ready to espouse the cause of the oppressed in every part of the world, had won his way through to a great inner Peace, and that he himself realized how great a place he had come to hold in the affections of an immense circle of friends. The chorus of appreciation at the time of his death has indeed been unique—Mahatma Gandhi said : 'I never met a better man, or a better Christian than C. F. Andrews.' The Metropolitan, in his broadcast, confessed : 'I for one, have seen in him one who seemed to me to reveal, as few of us do, the character of the Master whom he sought to love and serve.' And *The Times* of London, in a

discerning Obituary Notice, wrote: 'None could doubt his singleness of aim and his passionate devotion to India and her peoples.'

Some Reminiscences of C. F. Andrews

Gurdial Mallik recalls reminiscences of C. F. Andrews. The stories that he narrates in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* reveal significant traits of the personality and character of Dinabandhu Andrews:

Many years ago a high official of the Bengal Education Department—an Englishman—visited Santiniketan and stayed for a day in the Guest-house. It was summer, when the thermometer often touches 112°. Mr. Andrews went to see him at noon. He was dressed in the Santiniketan style, *dhoti,* shirt and hat, while the visitor, in spite of the sweltering heat, was wearing a smart lounge suit. The official was very much put out by one of his fellow-countrymen appearing before him in the dress of the "uncivilized native," and he burst out, "Mr. Andrews are you not ashamed of yourself? Is this dress of yours in conformity with the dignity and decorum of Englishmen?" Mr. Andrews only smiled and went away, saying he would be back soon and join him at lunch. And lo! the horror of horrors, when about half-an-hour later he returned, *minus* his shirt, and sat down at the table, opposite the hundred-percent little Englander!

Mr. Andrews usually travelled third, except when his health was not good, during his six-month sojourn in the Punjab in 1919. On one occasion, however, he purchased an intermediate-class ticket. At one of the small stations, he noticed an aged Hindu woman being helped in getting into a third-class compartment. She was crying in pain because of some physical infirmity. Immediately he got down and going up to the sufferer, said, "*Mata, ap us gari me baithen*" (Mothtr, sit in that compartment). At first she refused but eventually she was won over by the child-like, peristently pursuasive love of that angel of mercy, who himself took his seat, instead, in a third-class compartment.

It was raining very hard. Mr. Andrews was at his desk and writing an article for the press. Suddenly, at the door, there appeared a blind Santhal, wearing a scanty loin-cloth and supported himself on a stick. He sat down with his face turned towards Mr. Andrews. Only when the latter got up after some time to take out some paper from his suit-case, did he see his visitor. So along with the particular paper that he wanted to find out, he also took out a brand new English suit, which Swami Shraddhanand had got made for Mr. Andrews as part of the latter's outfit for going abroad. Then raising the visitor and embracing him with deep affection, he gave him the suit and resumed his writing.

Let me conclude with my last reminiscence of that painful period. We were staying in a certain town in the Punjab. Mr. Andrews thought that he would attend the Sunday service in the local church and asked me if I would also go, to which I agreed. And so we went to the church. When we reached there, the congregation had already gone in. So we walked in on tiptoe and took our seats in the last row. Now somebody who was sitting near the pulpit saw us entering and, though most of the people sat with heads bowed in silent adoration, he at once came up from behind and pulled us out. On being asked by Mr. Andrews why he had acted in that peculiar way, the gentleman

retorted, his face flushed with fury, (presumably he had heard of Mr. Andrews' work of inquiry into the events and injustices of the Martial Law regime), "This house of God is not for rebels."

"But Christ was a rebel, too," answered Mr. Andrews with the joy of resurrection in his eyes, as he walked away.

Rabindranath Tagore

The following talk by the late C. F. Andrews broadrast some time ago by the All-India Radio is published in the May issue of the *Visva-Bharati News* :

What is it that makes the true greatness of a poet of world repute such as Tagore ? What is the mysterious creative force that throws up from the mass a single genius among mankind, able to touch the hearts of millions of people ? What is this still greater mystery that the most universal of all the poets, among whom we may surely rank Rabindranath Tagore, are able to go on doing this for hundreds of years and also to reach at the same time all the races of mankind ?

I would like to face with you the riddle of his mysterious universe of sound and speech, of music and song. Perhaps I can best do so by telling the story, how I first met Rabindranath Tagore in London, nearly 30 years ago, and how from that first meeting some new thing came into my life which can never be taken away. I have related the story before, and even though some may have read what I have written about it, they will like to hear it again.

Tagore had come once more to the West after thirty years, and had gone to live in Hampstead. It was nearly mid-summer, and I had endeavoured eagerly to find him at his house in Hampstead but had come away disappointed. Then by accident I met H. W. Nevinson, the author, who was my friend. "Hallo !" he said to me, "What makes you here in London ?" I told him of my very great disappointment at not being able to see Tagore, who was not at home when I called. "Come back and dine with me," said Nevinson, "and we'll go together after dinner to Rothenstein's house, where you are sure to find him. For Yeats, the Irish poet, is going to recite some of Tagore's own translations of his poems in manuscript and Tagore will be there himself."

So, after we had dined, we walked across to Rothenstein's house, which was on the edge of Hampstead Heath. There I saw Rabindranath Tagore for the first time. He had come to England for reasons of health; already he had been warned by the doctor that he would have to undergo a very serious operation. He was just fifty years old, and his hair and beard were beginning to turn grey for he had suffered much. I had never seen his wonderfully beautiful face before, and I remember how I was overcome with reverence when Mr. Rothenstein introduced me to him. He looked very frail indeed on account of his recent illness. He was evidently much embarrassed by the people who crowded round him for they were all strangers to him and to his country. But when he knew who I was he put me at my ease at once. All his shyness left him as he talked to me about Santiniketan and he gave me a pressing invitation to visit his Ashram as his guest.

Then Yeats began to read poems from the manuscript of *Gitanjali*, some of his own favourites among Tagore's poems. One of them, which also is published, I believe, in the *Crescent Moon*, is my own favourite. It reveals most of all that mystery of the beauty of words about which I have just spoken.

"On the sea-shore of endless worlds children meet."

Scientific Research in National Planning

The short cut to industrial progress lies in a careful and deliberate industrial planning backed by scientific and industrial research. *Science and Culture* writes editorially :

The Great War of 1914 had at least one notable result. It brought home to the British people the unpleasant knowledge that even with half-a-century's start in industrial development they were badly beaten by the Germans in many fields of industrial activities.

Statesmen at the helm of affairs were frantic in enlisting the services of eminent scientists for solving urgent war problems. Prof. Sir William Bragg devised very sensitive instruments for detecting submarines. Dr. Weismann discovered a method for manufacturing by fermentation acetone, an indispensable war chemical, and when Lloyd George offered to reward him for this conspicuous service he asked for a national home for his co-religionists, the Jews, in Palestine under British. Protection—a request which was granted with consequences known to all. This example was quickly followed in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, which set up Industrial Research Councils charged with similar duties. In the United States of America, a National Research Council was organized at the instance of President Wilson, by the National Academy of Sciences of Washington. It developed in 1934 into the National Resources Planning Board with affiliation covering the full gamut of all sciences.

Thus in the countries which came out of the last great War with their political and social systems practically intact, the conviction has grown up that only that nation can enjoy the benefits of science in the day-to-day progress of its industries which habitually applies to them scientific method and scientific knowledge.

This much has become absolutely clear that science and industry have both prospered when brought together, and they will prosper all the more if there is a symbiosis between them like the common lichen on the rocks—a colourless fungus living together with a minute green organism, an alga—the green cells manufacturing food for both by photosynthesis from the air, and the colourless plant protecting in turn the food manufacturing unit—thanks to its tough and poisonous tissue. Scientific research should similarly foster industries and industries in turn endow research.

It was also fully realized that these individual efforts were not sufficient. It was felt that if British industries were to get the same measure of aid from planned scientific research as Germany was getting it was necessary to interest the State as well as the industries in one comprehensive scheme.

British statesmen went ahead with their plans for building up a proper organisation for the utilisation of scientific inventions and discoveries to industries.

In 1916, the Parliament decreed the establishment of a Department of Scientific and Industrial Research

(called D. S. I. R. for the sake of shortness) and voted a million Pounds for financing its activities. This was the first organized measure taken in Great Britain for helping industry through the application of science. Under the guidance of Lord Rutherford as chairman and other non-official eminent scientific men the activities of this Department grew enormously; to mention only a few of these, reference may be made to the very important researches on the designing of ships, on the stability of aeroplanes, on high-definition television, on the conversion of coal into oil, on the cold storage and transport of perishable foodstuffs from the antipodes, on new materials for roads and buildings, on synthetic plastics, artificial fibres, etc.

Russia, like India, had just touched the fringe of industrial development when the Bolsheviks came into power. The conditions in pre-War Russia were in some respects parallel to those of our country. The Bolshevik leaders realized that thorough-going industrialization was essential for the new life they had in view. For thirteen years, from 1926 onwards, the entire adult population of the country has planned and worked hard with the result that today the industrial production of Soviet Russia amounts to 120 billion roubles as against 16 billion roubles in 1926—a phenomenal increase of 7·5 times.

The Theory of Two Nations

Writing under the above caption in *The Twentieth Century* Sir Wazir Hasan observes :

> As to the merits of the plan of dividing India into Muslim India and Hindu India, on the assumed ground of Hindus and Muslims constituting two different nations, there are none. The assumption is as ill-founded as the conclusion though it may readily be conceded, in a restricted sense, that Hindus and Muslims are not one and the same people. But why the two peoples cannot be merged, again, in a restricted sense and for particular purposes, into one nation, it is difficult to see Indeed, the process of fusion began centuries ago and today it would seem to be absurd to suggest that Hindus and Muslims do not form one nation at least for political, economic and social purposes. But the greatest demerit of this plan is that it stultifies the very objective which it has in view. The exchange of populations not being within the ken, there must be a minority community in Muslim India as well as in Hindu India, and the idea seems to be that the minority in each division should be protected by providing safeguards in the constitution of these States. But obviously, some protection can be provided for in the future constitution of India without dividing it into two hostile neighbouring States.

In the Muslim India as well as in the Hindu India the sovereignty of numbers will still persist.

> But the central idea of the scheme of partition seems to be an escape from the domination of the majority party. Again, the religious passions must remain as active and hostile within each unit of the divided India as they are in the India of today. According to the Muslim League, the activities of the Congress Governments in the eight provinces of British India were always actuated by religious motives. Does there exist any valid reason for thinking

that such motives will cease to operate in an exclusively religious State of the future or should the minorities in those States be left to the tender mercies of the religious fanatics? What I consider to be true of the Hindu State must also be true of the Muslim State of the future. The answer to my reasoning may be that minorities in both these States will be protected by enacting safeguards in the constitution itself. This answer at once demolishes the case of partition altogether. Why not then be content with safeguards for minorities in the future constitution of India as a whole, instead of dividing it into two religious States?

A United Indian Nation

In the civilised world today, we find different social, religious and even racial groups living together and forming one nation, for the reason that they have one common economic and political aim. The obstacles to the evolving of a united Indian nation with which we are faced today, are similar to those present in the European countries two centuries ago. In France and Germany there were many and almost insurmountable obstacles to the emergence of a united nation, and yet they disappeared only because the people of these countries were determined to weld themselves into homogeneous and powerful nations. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians, writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

The question of questions today with us as Indians is whether we shall allow our personal or group interests to stand in the way of the appearance of this great Indian nation. India is one of the oldest civilized countries but she is again the youngest of nations with a long and brilliant future before her. Let those who would place obstacles in her path and prevent her from making her contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind, take care how they meddle with what does not concern them. To do anything calculated to even remotely diminish her importance in the comity of nations would be a sin against the motherland. And to do anything which would tend to lessen the value of her contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind would be a sin against God in whose hands lies the destiny of man. Therefore, let those who even dream of interfering with her pre-ordained destiny take care lest they be shunned by man and condemned by God for their narrow and short-sighted selfishness. We are always talking about exploitation by foreigners. Let me assure my readers that this exploitation will continue so long as we do not unite to set our own house in order.

Here is a lesson from Egypt:

At the invitation of the Indian National Congress, a delegation of the Egyptian nationalist party, known as the Wafdist party, attended the Tripuri session of the Congress. It was to have been headed by the leader of this party, Nahas Pasha, but he was prevented from coming himself owing to important political circumstances and constitutional issues at home. His place was taken by Mahomed Bey. Speaking on the 10th March at the open session of the Congress, he is reported to have said that the East is the cradle of religions and philosophies which have preached co-operation and peace and sought the welfare and happiness of all. Continuing he pointed out that the year 1918 was fateful for both Egypt and India. In that year the leader of the Wafdist movement started his campaign for the economic and political independence of Egypt and that was the year in which Mahatma Gandhi led a similar movement in India. By two treaties, one signed in 1936 and the other in 1938, Egypt has at last secured what she wanted. The decisive element in the attainment of success was, in his opinion, absolute unity among her nationals. Continuing he observed: "No people fighting for their liberty can afford to be disunited. We were a nation of Muslims and Christians, but Zaghlul Pasha forged us into a nation of Egyptians. I hope that, just as in Egypt, where Arabs and Christians merged together and fought against Imperialism, in India also the people will merge together and fight for their independence."

Dominion Status or Independence?

If freedom comes to India as a free gift from England, such freedom will not be worth having. According to P. R. Das, there is some misconception as to the implication of Dominion Status in the minds of Indian politicians: complete independence is attainable within the Imperial structure. He writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

The Congress has declared that nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India. It has made the position clear by stating that Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of Imperialism and that Dominion Status or any other status within the Imperial structure is wholely inapplicable to India. Why? Because it is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation and would bind India in many ways to British policies and economic structure.

I believe that the great Dominions are completely independent. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the excellent autobiography of his says that "basic changes are essential." He adds, "Herein lies the difference between Dominion Status and independence. The former envisages the same old structure with many bonds visible and invisible tying us to the British economic system; the latter gives us, or ought to give us, freedom to erect a new structure to suit our circumstances." But I do not think that he is right. There was, it is true, restrictions at one time on the legislative authority of the Diminion Parliaments; but the Statute of Westminster has removed all such restrictions. It is true that the power of repealing the Constituent Act has been withheld from each of the Dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This limitation was put on the invitation of these Dominons themselves. But the other Dominions, the Irish Free State and the Union of South Africa have unfettered power to repeal the Constituent Act. The Dominions have acquired full liberty to enact whatever law they like.

It has not yet been decided whether the Dominions have a right to secede from the Empire; but Mr. Keith, the well-known constitutional lawyer, says: "What is obvious and is never denied is that, if any Dominion should really decide to sever itself from the Empire, it would not be held proper by the other parts of the Empire to seek to prevent it from doing so by the application of armed force." As early as 1920 Mr. Bonar Law recognized the right of the Dominions to secede from the Empire; and I believe that this position has been accepted ever since. As regards other internal affairs, the Dominions have as much sovereignty as completely independent states. In respect of external affairs also, the Dominions are completely free.

Economically the Dominions are completely free. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself points out that Canada and Australia struck a hard bargain with Britain under the Ottawa agreement and got most of the advantages at Britain's expense. I have shown clearly, and I have quoted extensively from the excellent article of Sree Nalini Ranjan Sarker published in *The Modern Review* of February, 1940, that the Dominions enjoy complete independence so far as political and economic powers are concerned, both internal and external. I ask, how does this status differ from the status of complete independence?

Why Teeth Decay

Dr. J. Russell Mitchell, writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

Tooth decay is one of the oldest and most universal maladies which afflict the human family. Cavities have been found in the teeth of Egyptian mummies whose age is said to be at least four thousand years. Modern medical and dental science has made wonderful progress in the control of some other diseases; but the one of decay seems to persist regardless of all known preventive measures.

Tooth decay is a germ disease, and eminent scientists tell us that it begins at some vulnerable point on the outer surface of the tooth and proceeds inward along the dentinal tubles.

Teeth are composed of three anatomical divisions—the crown, the neck, and the root or roots.

The six anterior teeth, upper first bicuspids have two roots, while the second upper and both the first and the second lower bicuspids are ordinarily single-root teeth. The lower first and second molars have two roots each while the upper molars have three. The third molars or wisdom teeth, do not conform to any regular plan of development, and may have one root or more. I have seen one such tooth with six different roots.

The crown of the tooth is that part above the gums, and is the portion most susceptible to decay. The neck is a slightly constricted part between the crown and the root, and may be seen at the end of the enamel of the tooth if the entire crown has erupted. The enamel forms the covering of the crown of the tooth, and is the hardest substance in the body. It is the only non-sensitive portion of the tooth.

When there is an abundance of calcium and phosphorus in the diet in the presence of vitamin D and they are assimilated by the body, these minerals are deposited very densely around the fibres of the

enamel, and the tooth is almost immune to the attack of micro-organisms.

If calcium is not available, nature will do the best she can, and substitute magnesium, a chalky mineral, which makes a more or less porous tooth structure which is non-resistive to germ life.

White chalky spots begin forming on the enamel surface, particularly around the necks, and the entire tooth structure becomes more or less porous. Germs find in such spots a lesion for entry into the tooth, and their acid excretions precipitate from the mucus of the saliva a jellylike substance which seals them in and to the tooth. Such a mass is called a bacterial plaque, and the destruction of the tooth will continue unless this plaque is removed or destroyed.

Decay begins at a vulnerable or weak point without and proceeds inward along the dentinal tubles.

When the germs succeed in burrowing through the weak chalky enamel, they find the dentine much less dense and less resistive, and they therefore make much more rapid progress in further decalcifying and destroying this portion of the tooth. They spread out in all directions, and extend rapidly up the little tubles toward the pulp, or nerve. These germs are acid-forming, and, as they decalcify the dentine, leave a mass of leathery decomposed fibrous tissue which has a very foul odour, and is eventually completely destroyed and washed out, leaving a large cavity.

John Galsworthy As A Writer of Problem Plays

In the course of his article on John Galsworthy as a writer of Problem Plays in *The Educational Review* S. B. Nerurkar observes:

Though Galsworthy fails to give us a rousing and passionate spiritual faith, he offers us the distinctive service of imaginative art. Galsworthy is pre-eminently an artist even in his observation of life. Art as he takes it is the "imaginative expression of human energy which through technical concretion of feeling and perception, tends to reconcile the individual with the universal by exciting in him impersonal emotion." Art thus has the power of lifting man clearly out of his narrow confines seething with private prejudices and personal idiosyncrasies and placing him in tune with the universal life by enlarging his points of view and extending his sympathies. True art, therefore, corrects one-sidedness. It aims at balance, symmetry and poise and herein does it come to the rescue of the present perturbed, topsy-turvy social order. Art, in the unforgettable words of Galsworthy, "is the continual unconscious replacement, however fleeting, of one self by another; the real cement of life; the everlasting refreshment and renewal."

Such a view of art, at once, clarifies Galsworthy's position as a dramatist. He has said significantly enough "A drama must be shaped so as to have a spire of meaning. Every grouping of life and character has its inherent moral; and the business of the dramatist is so to pose the group as to bring that moral poignantly to the light of the day." The temple of art is thus not without an altar; but it is a well-known fact that an altar is not a pulpit. "The moral," to borrow the fine words of Professor Coats, "should exhale the work of art as a whole and not proceed from any one part of it; and it should be strictly subordinate to the first requirement of a work of art, that it should give imaginative pleasure."

This the work of Galsworthy admirably does. Galsworthy is never like Shaw a missionary dramatist. He is, as is beautifully remarked, "a Daniel come to judgment." The message he has to convey is artistically embedded in the play and is evolved slowly and gradually from the incidents woven harmoniously in it and not imposed from outside as in Shaw's plays so as to give an impression that the play is for the message. The propagandist in Galsworthy never gets an upper hand. He is first and foremost an artist. With his Tolstoyan reverence for all life, Galsworthy, it must be admitted, could not wholly keep himself aloof from his plays; but this is done in so deft a manner that the general impression is one of reticence and restraint on the part of the dramatist. "Galsworthy," to quote Coats once wore, "is too skilled a dramatist to let his moral indignation get the better of his imagination. Only very rarely does he allow the artist in him to be handcuffed by the pamphleteer."





FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Fifth Columnists

The *News Reviews* writes :

If Adolf Hitler has a Fifth Column in Britain it is a very secretive body.

The strutting, handsome orator who leads the un-uniformed British Union (of Fascists and National Socialists), Sir Oswald Ernald Mosley, conducts it as a purely national movement, will have no truck with aliens, and merely wants to stop the war lest the octopus of Communism spreads its tentacles round the bleeding Western Powers.

Friends and admirers of Joachim von Ribbentrop, when the Nazi Foreign Minister was Hitler's envoy in London, included the blue-blooded Marquess of Londonderry, and Unity Mitford's father Lord Redesdale. Both have strenuously asserted, since this war began, their hatred of German aggression, their anxiety to see the Allies victorious.

In Austria

To no standard pattern are Nazi intriguers cast. The man who delivered Austria into the hands of the Fuehrer by an act of brazen treachery was Arthur Seyss-Inquart, a respectable Viennese lawyer who had many Jews among his clients.

A fair-haired man of 46, faultlessly dressed and of impeccable manners, he is the son of a schoolmaster, served during the war in the Tyrolese Imperial Jaguars and seemed to have no interest in politics.

Outwardly he was the friend of luckless Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg, with whom he had been educated at the same Jesuit college.

At the Chancellor's request in 1936 he went to see Hitler at Berchtesgaden ostensibly to plead for moderation in Austro-German relations. But within a few weeks this quiet, unsuspected solicitor was standing in the centre of Vienna surrounded by croaking Nazi youngsters, welcoming Adolf Hitler as the "Liberator" of Austria.

Today Seyss-Inquart rules with a rod of iron the cowed and mangled people of German Poland.

Is there a secret Fuehrer in Britain who measures up to him?

In Denmark

The Nazi leader of Denmark who paved the way for Hitler's almost bloodless occupation of that peaceful little Kingdom was no mystery man like Seyss-Inquart, but an avowed anti-Semite and anti-Communist named Fritz Clausen.

A hulking six-footer addicted to cigarettes, jack-boots and brown shirts, Fritz Clausen is a Schleswig medical man who tried for years to get his men into Parliament before he secured three seats in 1939.

Denmark's *Partiforer* disdained any connection with official Germany, used a red and white swastika emblem instead of the black Nazi one, stood for the prosperity of the little man, the suppression of monopolies and chain stores.

His money came from landowners and indus- ... who hated the bankers as much as they did the Communists. Danish party politicians thought Dr. Clausen rather a joke, for he never collected more than a tiny proportion of the people's votes.

But this persuasive 17-stone political failure was powerful enough to undermine his countrymen's resistance to Nazi aggression.

Has Britain a Dr. Clausen?

In Holland

Cleverly exploited by the Nazis as a would-be Fuehrer of Holland is another discredited politician—Anton Mussert, double-chinned, pot-bellied and heavy of jowl.

Now 45, he was studying to be a civil engineer, when, at the age of 23, he married his 41-year-old aunt, his mother's wealthy sister.

In 1931, he founded the *National Socialistisch Beweging* (Dutch Fascist Party), set up portraits of Hitler and Mussolini in his office and began proclaiming:

"We are thought of as a free nation. We are not! We're only England's servant with no power . . . . England is ready to declare war on Germany and is forcing us to join with her, using the threat of stealing our Dutch Indies if we don't . . . . We are of the same Germanic core as our neighbours in the east. I have seen the great ones in Germany and we are in accord."

By dint of much heavy oratory, fascist saluting and bawling of "*Hou zee!*" (Heil!) Fascist Mussert, onetime civil servant and now an engineer in Utrecht, gathered 294,280 votes in the provincial council elections in 1935. Fighting his first general election in 1937 in strong hopes of winning 20 seats, he got a miserable four.

Like Denmark's Clausen, he aims at national industrial reorganization to crush the power of the capitalist, was recently in touch with quickly-ousted Puppet Fuehrer Vidkun Quisling of Norway.

Is There A Mussert In England?

In Belgium

At 34, Belgium's semi-Fascist Leader stands discredited but unabashed.

A dashing youngster who denies he is a Fascist or a Nazi, but yet wants to limit the Belgian Parliament's functions to a two-month session each year for Budget purposes only, Leon Degrelle heads the Rexist Party.

He champions the little shopkeeper against the big stores and combines, but most of all he hates the Communists, and once delivered a broadcast from Radio Roma calling on the people of Italy and Belgium to "bar the way to diabolical Bolshevism."

To charges that his funds are provided by Big Business, Rexist Degrelle replies that party members' subscriptions are all he has got, but for years he managed to publish two well-produced daily newspapers which experts estimated to be costing at least 3,000,000 francs a month.

"We want nothing to do with Hitler or Mussolini," he says, "but a fairly close economic co-operation with

Italy and Germany would prove beneficial to our trade and industry."

Who is Britain's Leon Degrelle ?

Ancestors of the U-Boat

Long before Jules Verne's *Nautilus* aroused the interest of readers of imaginative fiction, the possibility of underwater navigation had occupied the minds of intelligent men, writes John Lepper in the *Nineteenth Century and After*. As far back as 1490, Leonardo da Vinci, who is also credited with the invention of the first flying machine, produced plans for a submersible craft which could cross rivers unseen by an enemy.

There is, however, no evidence that Leonardo ever attempted the construction of such a vessel.

What is probably the first reference to the submarine in literature appears in a play, *The Staple of News,* by Ben Jonson, produced by His Majesty's Servants in 1625.

We do not hear anything of the submarine again until almost a hundred years later,

when an Englishman named Day produced a wooden submersible in which he undertook for a wager to descend to a considerable depth, and remain under water for twenty-four hours. He won his wager—but he never returned to the surface to claim his winnings.

To America fell the distinction of being the first country to produce a submarine which carried out an attack on an enemy warship.

During the American War of Independence, Dr. David Bushnall of Connecticut constructed *The American Turtle,* a strange craft which in shape resembled a turtle tail-downwards in the water. Motive power was supplied by a hand-operated screw propeller, and by taking in water ballast the submarine could descend to a depth of 25 feet. By way of offensive armament *The American Turtle* carried on her back a primitive torpedo made from a block of wood containing a charge of 150 pounds of gunpowder. This charge was set off by fuses controlled by clockwork timing gear, and the whole cumbersome apparatus was attached to a screw on the hull of the submarine by a length of line. The procedure was for the navigator to anchor himself beneath the keel of the enemy vessel, to drive the detachable screw between the ship's plating, and then move away, leaving the torpedo to do its work. In June, 1776, an attempt was made against the British sixty-four-gun frigate *Eagle,* anchored in New York Bay. Fortunately for the British, the operator of the submarine was unable to penetrate the hull of his intended victim; the torpedo drifted away, and exploded some distance from the frigate, to the great alarm of all on board. Nevertheless, the attempt was so nearly successful that other inventors were encouraged to continue their experiments with under-water vessels, and in 1801, the American engineer, Robert Fulton, produced the *Nautilus,* an ovoid-shaped submersible nearly 6 feet in diameter. The *Nautilus* was fitted with reservoirs of compressed air, and a tank into which water could be

troduced to make her dive. A simple force pump :pelled the water when the operator wished to return the surface. As in the case of *The American Turtle,* is vessel was propelled by a hand-operated screw, but hen travelling on the surface additional motive power ıs supplied by a sail fitted to a collapsible mast, rembling in appearance an umbrella blown inside out. ılton estimated that the navigator could lower the ast and submerge the vessel in two minutes. He car- :d out several successful tests before officials of the ·ench Government, to which he offered his invention. ıt the French authorities rejected his offer on the ounds that the low underwater speed of the *Nautilus* . bare two knots) rendered her unsuitable for opera-)ns of any real importance. Also, they did not hesite to express their condemnation of a mode of warfare ıich they considered barbarous and inhuman.

The disappointed inventor then offered his subarine to England, and Pitt, foreseeing the danger to ıgland's naval supremacy constituted by this type vessel, bought the *Nautilus* for £15,000. He stipuled, however, that Fulton should not disclose his plans any other European Power. The Admiralty made › attempt to develop Fulton's invention.

Early in 1864 a new and improved type ' submarine made its appearance. This was ıe *Huxley*, so called after her inventor.

The *Huxley* was a cigar-shaped craft, 35 feet long, feet in beam and 5 feet in depth, and was equipped th a small conning-tower. She was propelled by the nd power of eight men working on a handle turning e screw, had an air supply for two hours, and could ıke limited dives.

The *Huxley's* achievement is of particular interest, as it affords the first and last example of a successful submarine attack until the war of 1914.

Racial Purity

That any type represents a pure race and that any one race is superior to another are among the pernicious and popular beliefs which are shattered by Franz Boaz in an article contributed to *Asia*. Racism, Professor Boaz points out, has no scientific standing, and is based fundamentally on two misconceptions :— the one, the confusion of heredity in a family and heredity in a population; the other, the unproved assumption that the differences in culture which we observe among peoples of different type are primarily due to biological causes.

We do not deny that relations exist between the biological make-up of an individual and his mental characteristics. The behaviour observed in extreme pathological cases is sufficient to show that the operation of the mind depends upon the health of the body. Investigations of personality also indicate differences which can be explained only on a biological basis. It is furthermore probable that mental characteristics dependent upon anatomical structure may be hereditary. The best proof of the correctness of this opinion is found in domesticated animals bred by careful selection. The mental behaviour of different breeds of dogs or horses shows that within a limited range each breed has

a personality of its own. The difference in behavior of a poodle and a bulldog or bloodhound may serve as an example. If we claim that a human "race" has such characteristics it would be necessary first of all to prove that a human "race" is genetically as uniform as a race of poodles or of bulldogs. In other words, we should have to prove that each "race" is so strongly inbred that anatomical characteristics which determine behavior would be inherited by all its members, or at least that they are so common that they will give a certain stamp to the behavior of the whole group. It is, therefore, important to know how far a population develops by inbreeding,

Among small isolated tribes, particularly among those with preferential cousin-marriage, there must be a considerable amount of inbreeding, but we have no records that would allow us to determine the degree of relationship of the members of the living generation.

Since it is impossible to obtain exact data regarding the ancestry of the people inhabiting a certain area, the question of homogeneity of the whole population must be solved by an objective study of the hereditary lines which exist in each population. If it can be shown that each family line differs in its hereditary traits from all others, then it would be impossible to speak, in such a population, of hereditary traits common to the whole group. All the available material proves that, even in the most closely inbred groups, the diversity of family lines is so great that no sharp distinctions can be made between various European populations.

The history of mankind is such that this result might be expected. We know only a small fragment of human history, but anthropological and archeological research permits us to determine in broad outlines what has happened in the remote past. In the latter part of the Old Stone Age Europe was swamped by a new race which presumably came from Asia. A little later man began to swarm over the previously uninhabited American continent and had reached, not later than three or four thousand years ago, its extreme southern point. Later on, we can follow his migrations more in details. Tribes of northern Europe migrated in the second millennium B.C. into the Mediterranean countries; others left their western Asiatic homes and invaded India. In America tribes of the interior of Alaska swept down the Pacific Coast. South American tribes spread from southern Brazil to the West Indies; in Africa the Bantu, who probably lived first near the sources of the White Nile, spread over the greater part of Africa south of the Sahara.

In historic times the picture is clearer, and we see that Europe, North Africa and Western Asia were the scene of constant migrations. The Keltic people moved from Gaul into Spain and Italy and extended their migrations in later times as far as Asia Minor. The Teutonic tribes left their eastern home and invaded Gaul and Italy and swept over Spain and parts of North Africa. Others settled in England. The Arabs swept over large parts of western Asia, over North Africa, and established their empire in Spain and invaded France. Waves of migration came from Far Eastern Asia: the Huns, the Avars, Turks, Finnish people like the Magyars, hordes of Mongols, kept a large part of Europe in constant turmoil. The Crusades also contributed to an intermingling of peoples. The absorption of the migrants who had established themselves as political masters of the country shows that all these migrations were accompanied by intermarriages.

Mixture was also favoured by colonization. Phoenician, Greek and particularly Roman colonization brought about more intimate contact between the people derived from diverse regions than sudden warlike expeditions could do.

The modern distribution of languages proves also that extended intermingling of peoples must have occurred. There are a few languages which have attained a wide distribution. These languages must have superseded, in many areas, older idioms. Exchange of languages requires the most intimate intercourse, which presupposes extended intermarriages.

For these historical reasons it would be futile to look in Europe for a "pure" race.

We do find in small village, with stable landholding, inbred groups in which all the families are much alike, but they do not represent a pure race. The individuals comprising such a community are descendants from many distinct ancestral types. There is no reason to believe that in course of time a pure race would develop, that is to say, that by inbreeding a population would become as stable as a select breed of domesticated animals.

As a matter of fact, even in those regions in which we suppose that the "purest races" occur, the individuals representing the type form only a small part of the population.

Thus the "Nordic" type is said to be characterized by long and narrow heads, tall stature, blue eyes and blond hair. In Sweden this type occurs with greatest frequency in the province of Dalsland, where it forms eighteen per cent of the whole population. It is obvious that if some other characteristic features of this type, like form of the nose and ear, were added the percentage of representatives of the "pure" type would be even lower.

In short, then, the claim that any type represents a pure race, essentially different from all others, to all members of which pertain the same characteristics, is quite untenable. Neighbouring groups are so little different in their average characteristics and contain so many varying types that no fundamental differences between them can be found.

The claim to biologically determined mental qualities of races is not tenable. Much less have we a right to speak of biologically determined superiority of one race over another. Every race contains so many genetically distinct strains, and the social behavior is so entirely dependent upon the life experience to which every individual is exposed, that individuals of the same type when exposed to different surroundings will react quite differently, while individuals of different types when exposed to the same environment may react the same way.

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